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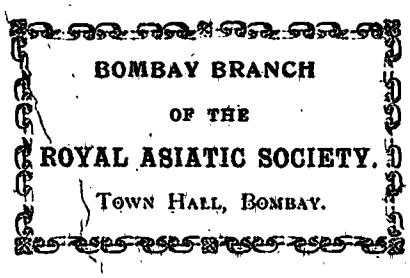

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FRONTISPIECE.

Fac-Simile of an Original Letter written by John Evelyn to Archbishop Tenison in the possession of the Editor.

4th 9br — 80

My Revd Lord,

Being now (thro the infinite Clemency of a gratious God) arivd to the Sixtieth-yeare of my age; I haue (upon very serious Consideration) thought it absolutely necessary, to make a more accurate Discussion & Search into all the passages of my whole Life, to this large period; And that what I haue but hitherto don perhaps (yea, doubtlesse) too partialy, and upon solemn Occasions Chiefely, with greate infirmities; I might now do Universaly, and so, as I woute desire to haue my last Audite & Accompts stated, when God shall call me to die; and haue then onely ~~[illegible]~~ that Work (which is also a very greate one) to finish: I cannot expect my time shoute now be long in this World: By the Course of Nature (thô blessed be God I haue enjoyd wonderfull health of body) I must, and do now looke when my Change shall come, and I woute not be surpriz'd (as I perceive daily, most men are) with either weakenesse, paine or stupidity, which renders them exceedingly indisposd for the finishing of any-thing of this nature, and altogether, for beginning of it with any certaine Comfort: To put this then to adventure, I haue not the Courage; and do therefore endeavoure so to prepare, that I may have nothing then to do, but resigne my-selfe wholy to the mercifull Jesus. I haue now bee in this Exercise some time; but find greate necessitie of your prayers, which I beg you will send-up for me in particular; that God will especialy soften my heart, pardon my greate sins, Accept, & Sanctifie my purposes of so living, as I may die his Servant, and behold his Glorious presence with joy: And if it were not too bold an interruption, I woute also humbly desire to know, about what houre tomorrow in the Evening, or Saturday, I might waite upon you with least inconveniency, for I know you are full of buisinesses; but You are also full of Charity; and it woute be no small Consolation to me at this time, to receive more particularly the Seale of Remission from yr Ministry & discerning Spirit, and (I am perswaded) extraordinary power with God, full of holy Compassion as you are. I humbly implore your Lpr prayers & Blessing, & remaine

Yr Lpr most dutifull Servant.

Evelyn

THE

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

OF

JOHN EVELYN, Esq. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF

SYLVA, OR, A DISCOURSE OF FOREST TREES; MEMOIRS, &c.

Now first collected, with occasional Notes,

BY WILLIAM UPCOTT,

OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

97120

" From an early entrance into public life to an extreme old age, he considered himself as living only for the benefit of mankind. As long as there remains a page of his numerous writings, and as long as Virtue and Science hold their abode in this Island, his memory will be held in the utmost veneration."

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON-STREET.

1825.

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THIS COLLECTION

OF THE LITERARY REMAINS OF

JOHN EVELYN,

IS DEDICATED TO

CHARLES HAMPDEN TURNER, Esq. F.R.S. &c

OF ROOKSNEST, NEAR GODSTONE, IN SURREY,

THE POSSESSOR OF LEIGH PLACE,

FORMERLY AN ESTATE OF THE EVELYNS;

AS TO ONE WHO JUSTLY VENERATES HIS MEMORY, AND EMULATES HIS VIRTUES,

BY HIS GREATLY OBLIGED,

AND FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM UPCOTT.

London Institution,
May 30, 1825.

PREFACE.

THE amiable, accomplished, and worthy Patriot and Philosopher, whose Miscellaneous Writings are here for the first time given to the world in a collected form, is already known to fame by his "SYLVA, or DISCOURSE OF FOREST TREES;" but more especially since the recent publication of his "DIARY and CORRESPONDENCE," in which the principal events of his life and times are so delightfully laid open to us, that no other work of the kind, attractive as auto-biography generally is, can in any degree compare with it for the interest it excites, and the amusement it affords.

In this Kalendarium, or Diary of his Life, he has so often adverted to his writings, that a general reference to that work would perhaps have answered the purpose of a Preface, but the Reader may consider something more than a mere table of contents necessary to inform him what he is to expect in the following pages.

It is a remarkable circumstance that, though Evelyn's mind was early turned to literature, for he tells us he began to journalize, and note occurrences when he was in his eleventh year, the first ascertained production of his pen was not published until he had attained the mature age of twenty-nine. This publication, the first tract in the present volume, is a translation from the French, of an "Essay on Liberty and Servitude," by La Mothe le Vayer; it appeared in 1649, only a few days previous to the martyrdom of his Sovereign.

On this occasion, the honest hardihood with which Evelyn, in his preface, ventured to express his loyalty and hatred of anarchy had nearly brought him into trouble: 'Never (says he) was there heard or read of a more equal and excellent form of government than that under which we have ourselves lived during the reign of our most gracious Sovereign's halcyon days.—If therefore we were the most happy of subjects, why do we attempt to render ourselves the most miserable of slaves? God is one, and better it is to obey one than many. *Neque*

enim Libertas tutior ulla est quam Domino servire bono, that is, C[harles].'

La Mothe le Vayer has not unaptly been styled the French Plutarch: his essays, though they betray somewhat of a cynical and sceptical disposition, are fraught with good sense, and full of learning; his works have been a storehouse whence philosophical Essayists of later times have gleaned an unacknowledged harvest of ingenious thoughts: Evelyn has on more than one occasion shown that he was familiar with his productions. The scope of this essay, it will be understood, is Philosophical Liberty, not that '*impostoria pila*,' which has been the bait held out to the many by the designing few in all times of anarchy.

"The State of France, as it stood in the ninth year of this present Monarch Louis XIV., written to a Friend by J. E.," was published in 1652. To this was prefixed a Prefatory Letter, which contains some admirable observations upon the utility and end of Foreign Travel. Speaking of himself, he says, "what first moved me to this '*apodemick* humour,' was a certain vain emulation which I had to see the best of education, which every body so decrying at home, made me conceive was a commodity only to be brought from a far country; and I cannot say, without a little ambition too of knowing, or at least of having the privilege to *talk* something more than others could reasonably pretend to, that had never bin out of sight of their own chimnies' smoke." This is doubtless the predominant motive of ordinary travellers, and there is great honesty in the confession; but Evelyn's judgment taught him to derive better fruits from it. He knew, that 'he who would travel rationally must industriously apply himself to the pursuit of such objects as may result to the profit of his own country at his return. It is not the counting of steeples and making tours, but this ethical and moral part of travel which embellisheth a gentleman.' Evelyn had been preceded in the judicious observations of his preface by the pleasant little book of our favourite James Howel, "Instructions for Forreine Travel," published in 1642, which even now may be read with advantage and pleasure. In the substance of his work too he had

a precursor in Sir George Carew, though he could not have been acquainted with his book, which is a relation of the state of France in the reign of Henry the IVth. drawn up during his embassy, and presented to King James I. at his return in 1609. This curious and interesting performance was first printed by Dr. Birch in 1749. Had Evelyn, however, been familiar with the work of his predecessor, it would not have deterred him from giving the result of his own observations; for he justly remarks, that France in his time was 'now no more the thing it was forty years since,' and that the kingdom had undergone as great a change as the garb and fashion of men.

In the previous year (1651) he had put forth a little satirical *jeu d'esprit*, entitled, "A Character of England," written in the assumed form of a translation from the French, in which he touches with no unsparing hand the defects of the national character; the coarseness of manners, and want of due observance of the established forms of devotion attendant upon those times of turbulent faction. This called forth the animadversions of some anonymous writer, under the title of "Gallus Castratus," and it has been thought proper to insert this piece as a running commentary, that if Evelyn's picture be in some degree too highly coloured, it may find its corrective in the same page. Some of the defects which he has laid to the charge of his countrymen, are also urged against them by Samuel Sorbiere, in the account which he published of his visit to England in 1663, and to which Bishop Sprat afterwards replied.

In 1656 he published what he calls "An Essay on the First Book of Lucretius *de Rerum Naturâ*, interpreted and made into English verse;" with a frontispiece designed by his accomplished and excellent lady, and with laudatory verses by Edmund Waller the poet. It has not been deemed necessary to give any portion of this translation: when Evelyn attempted verse he only added one more instance to the many of persons, otherwise of excellent judgment, who have mistaken their powers. Indeed he does not seem to have been satisfied with his own attempt, and having received much chagrin at the very incorrect manner in which it was

printed, never proceeded with the task, as was his first intention. Upon this occasion, that excellent Prelate Jeremy Taylor thus addressed him; "I will not say to you, that your Lucretius is as far distant from the severity of a Christian, as the Fair Ethiopian was from the duty of Bishop Heliodorus; for, indeed, it is nothing but what may become the labours of a Christian gentleman, those things only abated which our evil age needs not; for which also I hope you have by notes, or will by preface, prepare a sufficient antidote." The shadow of a doubt thrown upon the propriety of this undertaking by this pious friend, might shake the resolution of one, whose motives to the translation probably were that the poem contained an exposition of the Epicurean Philosophy.

The year 1659 was a busy and eventful period with Evelyn; he then published his translation of "The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, on the Education of Children," which he dedicated to his brothers George and Richard, 'to comfort them on the loss of their children;' and at the same time to unburthen his heart, by a tribute to the memory of his own extraordinarily gifted child, Richard, whom he had recently lost, in his sixth year; he was 'one of those rare and beautiful creatures who seem always to be marked for early death, as if they were fitter for heaven than earth, and therefore are removed before the world can sully them.' The account of his son finds its place also in his Diary, in nearly the same words. It will be read, as it was written, with the tribute of tears.

It must have been a happy circumstance, that the position of the kingdom was then such as to excite in the loyal breast of Evelyn a hope that the Restoration might be effected; it roused his energies, and probably helped to dissipate his sorrows. To aid the cause he used his strenuous exertions, not only in endeavouring to gain over Colonel Morley, the Governor of the Tower, who had been his school-fellow, thus placing his own life at hazard; but by his pen, publishing "his bold '*Apology*' for the King, in this time of danger, when it was capital to speak or write in favour of him." Its success was complete; its popularity was such, that it was three times printed within the year.

He stopped not here, but again entered the field to repel the malicious slanders of the adverse party. Marchmont Needham had published a coarse attack upon the character of King Charles the Second, intituled, "News from Brussels, in a Letter from a near attendant on his Majesty's person, to a person of honour here; dated March 10, 1659." Its purpose was to destroy the favourable impression the nation entertained of the King's naturally good disposition. Evelyn's detection of the forgery, and refutation of it, was quickly penned, and proved a complete antidote; it was published anonymously, under the title of "The News from Brussels Unmasked." The merit was the greater in this case, as he rose from a bed of sickness to his task, and endangered his life by the exertion; it caused a relapse of his disorder, 'out of which (says he, with unaffected piety) it pleased God also to free me, so as I was able by the 14th [April] to go into the country, which I did to my sweet native air of Wooton.'

In the same year he had found time to give to the press a work connected with his favourite *Hortulan* pursuits, entitled, "The French Gardener," which he describes with honest confidence as 'the first and best of that kind, that introduced the use of the Olitorie garden to any purpose.'

The happy tidings of the King's declaration and application to the Parliament soon after reached him, and he was designed to have accompanied Lord Berkley with the Address to invite the King over to resume his Government, but was yet too weak to bear the fatigues of the journey. He, however, received a gracious message from Charles, and was sufficiently recovered to witness the joyful entry of the King into London, after seventeen years sad and long exile. He 'stood in the Strand and beheld it, and bless'd God!' It may be imagined that he was well received at Court. The King, who called him his old acquaintance, offered him the Order of the Bath, which he declined, but was better pleased to be nominated one of the Council of the Royal Society, of which he had just been elected a Fellow.

He had now leisure to devote himself to the pursuit of the arts he

loved, and was actively employed in promoting them by every means in his power. In 1661 was published a translation of Gabriel Naudé's instructions, concerning the erection of a library, which he addressed in a Dedication to Lord Chancellor Clarendon. This piece had a similar fate to his unfortunate translation of Lucretius; for being printed during his absence from London in a careless manner, it abounds with typographical errors *. At the end of the book is a letter to Dr. Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, by which it appears, that the Doctor wished to have honoured Evelyn, by printing the book at Oxford, but that his purpose was defeated by the copy being mislaid at the printing-house.

At the close of the same year he published, and presented to the King, his curious essay, called "Fumifugium; or, the Inconvenience of the Aer and Smoke of London Dissipated; together with some remedies humbly proposed." The plans by which it was intended to obviate the inconvenience were ingenious, and the King commanded Evelyn to prepare a bill against the next Session of Parliament, to carry part of them into effect; but it does not appear that any thing of the kind was attempted. Yet Evelyn tells us in

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* In a copy of this essay, in the library of Mr. S. W. Singer, of Boxhill; Evelyn has corrected the most prominent errata with his own hand, and written the following letter on the first leaf:

"*For My worthy Friend, Dr. Godolphin.*

"Sir. This trifle (which you tell me you met with in some catalogue of an auction) was printed during my absence from London (now near twenty-eight years since) by a very imperfect copy (my owne having been lost in the printing-house at Oxford), and is so extremely deform'd thro' the correctors negligence, that I have done all I am able to suppress the vending of it. It is yet a very useful discourse, and upon that account I presented it to some such friends as you are, who will pardon the errata, and deplore the cōmon calamitie incident to writers and translators of bookes; which is (unless they attend on the press like slaves) to be at the mercy of sotts and drunkards, that can neither print sense nor English; nor, indeed, any other language, tho' it lie never so plainely before them. Witnesse the first booke of Lucretius, which I made an essay on, almost thirty yeares past, where the Latine *è regione* (and from an incomparable Plantine edition) was abused in some hundreds of places; it not being possible for me to imagine Dr. Triplet (who was the sole supervisor, and offer'd me his service) should take no more care. And this little pamphlet has been so miserably treated by them, that the wounds are incurable."—At the end of the volume is the following note also in the hand-writing of Evelyn: "Plurima quidem restant hisce non minora sphalmata, sive a me, sive ab ipso typographo cōmissa, quibus ignoscat amicissimus doctor.'

his Diary, 11th January 1662, 'I received of Sir Peter Ball, the Queenes Attorney, a draught of an Act against the nuisance of the Smoke of London, to be reform'd by removing several trades which are the cause of it, and indanger the health of the King and his people. It was to have been offer'd to the Parliament as his Majesty commanded.' As late as the year 1772 this tract found an anonymous editor, who, struck by the increased and increasing evil, recommended it (in a Preface, which will be found in the following pages) to the attention of the Magistrates and Legislature.

Another singular production of Evelyn's pen issued from the press in 1661, entitled "Tyrannus, or the Mode." This very curious and rare pamphlet having found a place in the second volume of the Evelyn papers, is of course omitted in the present collection. A few years after, King Charles II. made an attempt to change the fashion of dress, and introduce a costume formed upon the Persian mode, which, though somewhat strangely timed, as happening just after the Fire of London, was yet worthy of success; 'his Majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, into a comely vest, after the Persian mode, with girdle or straps, &c. resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained, to our great expence and reproach.' The King had not constancy to persist in his resolution, his courtiers wagered with him that he would not, and they were right. Evelyn in his pamphlet which he gave to the King to read, had described the comeliness and usefulness of the Persian costume, and it is more than probable that Charles had been convinced by his reasoning.

The year 1662 produced his *magnum opus*, the "Sylva," a work whose beneficial influence upon the prosperity of the country has been so prodigious, that its author justly deserves to be ranked among her chiefest worthies; had he lived in times like ours, a votive statue of colossal size erected upon the hill which overlooks the place of his birth, would probably have been his meed. Many causes had operated to the diminution of our woods and forests. Men were not planters but destroyers of wood, without thought of

the future; but the civil wars gave a final blow to the work of havock: 'the aged oaks, like the old families which owned them, were, by these enemies of all that was elegant and venerable, doomed to destruction:' feeling their tenure insecure, and 'professing themselves against root and branch, either to be reimbursed their *holy* purchases, or for some other sordid respect, they were tempted not only to fell and cut down, but utterly to extirpate, demolish, and raze all those many goodly woods and forests which our more prudent ancestors left standing for the service of their country.'

At the Restoration, Charles II. intent upon the augmentation of his navy, the kingdom's surest bulwark, became alarmed at the formidable devastation which had been made; some queries were directed to the Royal Society, to which Evelyn was deputed to reply, and his "Sylva, or, Discourse of Forest Trees, and the propagation of Timber," was the result. It was the first book printed by order of the Society, and was most flatteringly received. The King thanked him more than once for it; in fact, never was a work attended with more complete success. It sounded the trumpet of alarm to the nation on the condition of the woods and forests, and awakened the landholders to a sense of their own and their country's interests. Evelyn's old age was blessed in the consciousness of the beneficial effects his book had produced; he lived to know that many millions of forest trees had been propagated and planted at his instigation. It was a work of love; the writer's soul was in his subject, and the reader cannot but catch part of his enthusiasm. It is not the planter alone, but every admirer of nature that may find instruction and amusement in this delightful work. It is a storehouse of curious facts and anecdotes relating to trees; and though the reader may sometimes smile at the amusing superstition of the writer, he will more frequently have occasion to admire his fervent strain of piety. He laboured to the end of his long life in giving it all the perfection in his power, and at a late period we find him thus encouraging the planter with the promise of longevity: 'It is observed that planters are often blessed with health and old age. *The days of a tree are the days of my people,* says the prophet Isaiah.

Hæc scripsi octogenarius, and shall, if God protract my years, and continue my health, be continually planting, till it shall please him to transplant me into those glorious regions above, planted with perennial groves and trees bearing immortal fruit.'

The first edition of the Sylva was in 1664, and it passed through five editions during the author's life. The work was republished in 1776, by Dr. Andrew Hunter, of York *, with copious and valuable notes and excellent plates. The same beneficial effects seem to have attended this republication ; it revived the ardour for planting which the first edition had excited. The work again became so popular, that four large impressions were called for. The last, in 1825, contains Dr. Hunter's latest improvements ; but those who are fortunate enough to possess the edition of 1776, may treasure it on account of the engravings, particularly for 'the admirable portrait of Evelyn by Bartolozzi, which, under the lean and fallen features of age, exhibits all the intelligence and fire of youth.'

His "SCULPTURA, or, the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving on Copper," was printed in 1662, at the express desire of the Royal Society, and was written at the reiterated instance of the distinguished Robert Boyle, to whom it is dedicated. In this work was first given to the world the method of engraving in Mezzotinto, invented and communicated by Prince Rupert, with a plate engraved by his royal hand, of which an accurate copy accompanies the present re-impression. This work having become extremely scarce was reprinted in 1755, with the advantage of some additions from the author's own corrected copy, which have received the attention due to them.

His translation of Roland Freart's "Parallel of Antient and Modern Architecture," was printed in 1664, and was also dedicated to the King, with a prefatory letter to Sir John Denham. This dedi-

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* Dr. Hunter also republished Evelyn's "Terra, a Philosophical Discourse of Earth," with notes. The first edition of this tract was in 1675 ; it was also printed by order of the Royal Society. To some of the later editions of the Sylva this essay was joined, together with *Pomona,* an Appendix concerning fruit trees and cider.

cation and letter containing several curious particulars, are given in the following pages. There was a second edition of this work in 1669, and a third in 1697, to which last was appended a very useful supplementary "Account of Architects and Architecture," with a prefatory address to Sir Christopher Wren, in which there is an interesting passage relating to the rebuilding of St. Paul's. This tract, as an original work of Evelyn's, of course finds a place in the present collection.

"The Kalendarium Hortense; or, Gardener's Almanack," was also first published in this year. In the second edition, he inscribed it to his amiable friend Cowley, who 'had once been pleased to suspend his noble raptures in order to transcribe it.' This called forth "The GARDEN," that heart-felt effusion of Cowley's muse, which he addressed to Evelyn, in 1666, and which is here printed from the original autograph manuscript. The poet thus apostrophizes Evelyn:

Happy art thou whom God does bless
With the full choice of thine own happiness!
And happier yet, because thou 'rt blest
With prudence how to chuse the best!
In books and Gardens thou hast plac'd aright—
Thy noble innocent delight:
And in thy virtuous Wife, where thou again dost meet
Both pleasures more refin'd and sweet:
The fairest garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wisest books.
O who would change these solid joys,
For empty shows and senseless noise,
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such poisonous weeds?

Evelyn's measure of happiness was indeed full, and this is no overcharged picture of his felicity.

The Kalendarium, as might be expected, was very popular, and quickly passed through several editions. It has been thought advisable to reprint it for the gratification of the curious Horticulturist.

The edition which has been made use of is the tenth, which received the latest improvements of the Author just previous to the close of his life.

In 1664 was also published "The Mystery of Jesuitism," developing the pernicious consequences of the new heresy of the Jesuits against Kings and States. He undertook the translation of this from the French, at the desire of Lord Cornbury and his illustrious father Lord Clarendon. Of this, as being a translation, the Dedicatory Epistle only is given.

Sir George Mackenzie having published at Edinburgh, in 1665, "A Moral Essay, preferring Solitude to Public Employment," Evelyn took up the pen to answer the arguments in that pleasing little work, and in 1667 appeared "Public Employment and an Active Life, with all its appanages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Conversation, &c. preferred to Solitude; in reply to a late ingenious Essay of a contrary title."

Never was a controversy conducted with more good temper and politeness. After highly complimenting his antagonist, Evelyn says, 'The war is innocent, and I would be glad that this way of *velitation* and short discourses upon all arguments, in which other languages greatly outdo us, might exercise our reason and improve our English style, which yet wants the culture of our more Southern neighbours.' It is remarkable, that it was a person busily employed in scenes of active life, the King's Advocate for Scotland, who was contending for solitude; while Evelyn, whose pursuits were principally those which ornament a retired life, was the champion of public and active employment. Letters of civil congratulation passed afterwards between the disputants, which have been fortunately preserved, and are now for the first time prefixed to Evelyn's essay. In a letter to Cowley, soon after the publication, he thus expresses himself: 'You had reason to be astonished at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I who have so highly celebrated *Recesse*, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the enemie which, of all others, it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to be-

lieve that I am still of the same mind, and that there is no person alive who does more honour and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorn by your example. But as those who prays'd dirt, a flea, and the gowte, so have I public employment in that trifling essay, and that in so weak a style, compar'd to my antagonists, as by that alone it will appear, *I neither was nor could be serious*, and I hope you believe I speak my very soul to you.'

> Sunt enim Musis sua ludicra, mista Camœnis
> Otia sunt——

Some apology was indeed necessary to his recluse friend, for the seeming inconsistency of his opinions, for he had publicly approved his love of retirement, and told him that he applauded his contempt of the world; whilst in seclusion he continued in repose and self-possession, cultivating the leisure, the liberty, the books, the meditations, and, above all, the learned and choice friendships he enjoyed. 'Who (says he) would not like you *cacher sa vie?* It was the wise impress of Balzac, and of Plutarch before him; you give it lustre and interpretation. *I swear to you, Sir, it is what in the world I most inwardly breathe after and pursue;* not to say that I envy your felicity, delivered from the gilded impertinencies of life, to enjoy the moments of a solid and pure contentment.'

His project too of a kind of Lay-monastery, which he once seriously entertained intentions of founding, and the plan of which is to be found in the works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, in a letter addressed to that eminent philosopher, may show that he was serious in his profession of loving 'the life remov'd.' It has been said, that his active mind was not fitted for retirement, and that he felt that he could be of more service to mankind in the busy scenes of public life. It is certain, though he did not seek it, that he did not shrink from public employment; and the arduous and painful office of one of the Commissioners for taking care of the sick and wounded prisoners during the war with the Dutch, was filled by him with exemplary perseverance, under circumstances the most trying. Money and means of

every kind were wanting. The distress and anxiety of mind which he suffered in the performance of his duty, are painted by himself in lively colours in his Diary.

It may be remarked that Le Vayer, whose works we have before observed were familiar to him, has a curious dialogue on the subject of Retirement. It is among those which he published under the name of Oratius Tubero, and entitled "*De La Vie Privée.*" His arguments however are opposed to those of Evelyn; yet we may perceive that the latter was not unacquainted with this performance, which is well worth reading. The writer had at least the merit of being earnestly sincere in the cause he advocates; he was a man who in manners is said to have approached the simplicity of the philosophers of old.

In 1669 appeared Evelyn's translation of Roland Freart's "Idea of the Perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the Principles of Art," with a Dedication to his illustrious friend Henry Howard, who had previously, at his instance, made that noble donation, the Arundelian marbles, to the University of Oxford. In this address he solicits him to cause his collection of Sculpture in his galleries at Arundel House to be engraved from good designs, as it would much contribute to the glory of the country, the honour of his illustrious family, and the advancement of art. This piece has been accounted one of the scarcest of Evelyn's publications, and as it is short and interesting, commands a place in this volume.

"The History of the Three late Impostors, Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei, and Sabate Sevi," was published in 1669. The materials of the principal narration he received from a Persian gentleman, whom he called Sig. Pietro Cisij. At the end of it is added an account of the extirpation of the Jews in Persia, in the time of Shah Abbas the Second. This work arose from an honest desire to expose imposture, and contains many curious particulars.

His "Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress," published in 1674, was written as an Introduction to the History of the Dutch War; undertaken by Evelyn at the express command of

King Charles II., and the materials for which were furnished by the Officers of State. The work would have formed at least 800 or 1000 pages in folio, and a great portion of it was prepared for the press, when it was put a stop to by the King himself, for some reason which does not appear. Conjecture, however, suggests that Evelyn was too veracious in his history. It appears, from his Diary, that he very much disapproved many of the transactions which it would have become his duty to narrate. His MS., as far as it was completed, he put into the hands of Mr. Pepys; but Mr. Bray sought for it in vain in the Pepysian collection at Cambridge. This introductory Preface was written at the suggestion of Lord Arlington, and was intended to contain 'a complete deduction of the progress of Navigation and Commerce, from its first principle to the time in which it was written,—all contests and differences with the Dutch at sea being derived from that source only.' Evelyn was now a member of the Council of Trade and Plantations, and he inscribed, with propriety, this essay to the King.

The "Mundus Muliebris, or Ladies Dressing-room Unlocked, with the Fop-Dictionary," is a little playful satire, in which he had been assisted by his lovely and accomplished daughter Mary, whom he had the affliction to lose in her nineteenth year, and whose character he has so exquisitely and pathetically delineated in his Journal. This was published in 1690.

In 1697 he published his "Numismata; a Discourse of Medals, Ancient and Modern, &c. with a digression on Physiognomy." But as this science was in its infancy when he wrote, and the public are in possession of excellent modern works on the subject, by Pinkerton, Ruding, and others, no part of this production is admitted into the following collection.

The last tract in the present volume, "Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets," was printed in 1699. In the preface he mentions a work on which he had spent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which filled several thousand pages. This was his grand Hortulan design, which he purposed calling ELYSIUM BRITANNICUM. The

Acetaria and the Gardeners Kalendar were only chapters in this great work, which was to have embraced every thing connected with a Garden. The plan of this Elysium has been printed among the Evelyn Papers, and his miscellaneous collections for it, exist among the manuscripts at Wooton.

Evelyn, like Lord Bacon, thought that a garden "afforded the purest of human pleasures," and his notions of ornamental gardening were such as that great man has shadowed out in his interesting essay, wherein he treats 'Of Gardens.' In one point they differ; Bacon would have a prince-like garden to consist of 'thirty acres:' Evelyn's Elysium, though the design was so enormous, might yet have been comprehended within two or three acres, 'nay, within the square of less than one (skilfully planned and cultivated), and yet have been sufficient to entertain his time and thoughts all his life long, with a most innocent, agreeable, and useful employment.' The good sense of Lord Bacon evinced itself in one respect; he did not admire topiary work, 'images cut out in juniper, or other garden-stuff, they being for children.' Evelyn's design would have comprehended all sorts of knot, labyrinth, and ground-work, all kinds of topiary and hortulan architecture, with the accompaniments of hydraulic music, and every species of fountain, grotto, rocks, crypts, and mounts. So vast was his conception, that he thought 'it would require the revolution of many ages, with deep and long experience, for any man to emerge a perfect and accomplished artist gardener!'

He had conceived and planned another work, almost too comprehensive even for his universal genius; this was "A General History of all Trades." He has assigned good and solid reasons for laying this work aside in a letter to Mr. Boyle. His "Sculptura," was only one portion of this vast project; he had also prepared treatises on the several arts of painting in oil and in miniature; annealing in glass; enameling; and making marble paper. But none of these were published.

A complete list of his publications will be found in the second

volume of the Evelyn Papers, p. 87 ; among these he enumerates, as in manuscript, Thyrsander, a Tragy-comedie; and an essay on the Dignity of Mankind.

It was toward the close of 1699, that, by the death of his elder brother George, he succeeded to his paternal estate, and early in the succeeding year he first visited it as owner. His seat at Sayes Court, which he used fondly to call his 'Little Zoar,' delighted him sufficiently, but Wooton had his heart. It was the place of his birth, and endeared to him by a thousand filial ties. He often speaks of it with rapture in his Sylva; and in his Diary he says, 'It is so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgment of strangers as well as Englishmen, it may be compared to one of the most pleasant seates in the nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous: it has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water in abundance.' It is indeed a beautiful spot, highly favoured by nature; and full of pleasing associations, sources of the purest mental pleasure, while we

> 'Invoke the Lares of his lov'd retreat,
> And his lone walks imprint with pilgrim feet,'

imagination bodies forth the shade of the virtuous and the beneficent Evelyn, and of his excellent and amiable friend the poet Cowley.

The most finished biographical sketch could have no claim to divert the reader a moment from the amusing and instructive pages of Evelyn's Diary, in which he has recorded the events of his life in an unaffected strain of pious sincerity; nothing of the kind is therefore here attempted.

It is a proud and gratifying reflection to the Editor of the present volume, that he was the humble but instrumental cause of the publication of that delightful work, which has raised the name of Evelyn in public estimation, and awakened attention to his other writings. Many of his fugitive pieces are of extreme rarity, and almost all

of them are difficult to be met with. He trusts, therefore, that he shall have rendered no unacceptable service to the world of letters, in collecting these *frondes caducæ* of the author of the SYLVA, whose whole life was devoted to the advancement of those arts which have been the source of the wealth, greatness, and prosperity of his country. Their intrinsic merit called for the more general diffusion of these literary remains of one whose life offers the most perfect model of what an English gentleman should be: who living was an example of public and private virtue, and who dying bequeathed this golden sentence to be inscribed on his tomb for the advantage of posterity:—'IN AN AGE OF EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS AND REVOLUTIONS, HE LEARNT THAT ALL IS VANITY WHICH IS NOT HONEST, AND THAT THERE IS NO SOLID WISDOM BUT IN REAL PIETY.'

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE.

Dedication v
Introduction ..... vii—xxii
Tract, Of Liberty and Servitude, 1649. Translated from the French of M. de la Mothe le Vayer ..... 1—38
Advertisement of the Editor 3
The Author's Epistle 4
The Translator's Epistle,—Address to the Reader 5
Verses to the Translator, by A. Ross.... 6
Table of Chapters 7
The Proëm—Chap. I. 8. Of Liberty and Servitude in Generall ..... 8—10
Chap. II.—In what our Liberty and our Servitude doth consist ..... 10—13
Chap. III.—That there is none can truly affirme himselfe to be free ..... 13—16
Chap. IV.—Of the Liberty Philosophique 17—27
Chap. V.—Of the Servitude of the Court 27—37
The Conclusion ..... 37—38
Tract, The State of France, 1652. .. 39—95
Epistle Dedicatory to the Translation of the French Gardiner, 1658.. 97—98
Ditto, to the *Second Edition* of *Ditto*, 1669.. 99
Address to the Reader, prefixed to the same work 100
Ditto, to *Rose's English Vineyard Vindicated* 101—102
Tract, The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, 1659; Translated from the Greek ..... 103—140
The Epistle Dedicatory..... 105—111
Epitaph on Richard Evelyn,—Note to the Reader 112
Notes upon some Passages..... 138—140
Tract, A Character of England, 1659; Translated from the French .... 141—167
A Letter in vindication of this Character, 143—146
To the Reader 147
Tract, An Apology for the Royal Party, 1659 ..... 169—192
Tract, The late News from Brussels Unmasked, 1660 ..... 193—204
Explanatory Note 194
Tract, Fumifugium, 1661..... 205—242
To the King's Most Sacred Majesty 207—209
To the Reader ..... 209—211
Preface to the Modern Edition, 1772, 212—214
Part I..... 215—230

PAGE.

Part II..... 231—239
Part III. An offer at the Improvement and Melioration of the Aer of London, by way of Plantation..... 239—242
Tract, Sculptura, 1662..... 243—335
To the Honourable and Learned Gentleman Robert Boyle, Esq..... 245—246
An Account of Signor Giacomo Favi 247—250
A Table of the Titles of the Chapters 251—257
Authors and Books consulted..... 257
Chap. I. Of Sculpture, how derived.. 258—263
Chap. II. Of the Original of Sculpture in general..... 263—269
Chap. III. Reputation and Progress of Sculpture amongst the Ancients 270—276
Chap. IV. The Invention and Progress of Chalcography in particular, and an Account of the old Masters..... 276—311
Chap. V. Of Drawing and Design, &c. 312—333
Chap. VI. Of the new way of Engraving or Mezzotinto..... 333—335
An Advertisement..... 335—336
The Epistles Dedicatory, prefixed to Freart's Parallel between Ancient and Modern Architecture, 1664..... 337—348
To the Most Serene Majesty of Charles the Second..... 339—342
To Sir John Denham..... 343—346
Latin Verses addressed to Evelyn by Dr. Beale..... 347, 348
Tract, An Account of Architects and Architecture..... 349—424
To my most honoured Friend, Sir Christopher Wren, Knight..... 351,352
To the Reader..... 353, 354
Tract, Kalendarium Hortense, or the Gardener's Almanack, 1664..... 425—498
Illustrative Note..... 427
To Abraham Cowley, Esq..... 429
Introduction to the Kalendar..... 430—434
The Garden, to John Evelyn, Esq. by A. Cowley..... 435—442
January 443—446. February 447—449. March 449—454. April 454—459. May 459—463. June 463—467. July 467—471. August 471—475. September 475—479. October 479—482. November 482—486. December 487—488
A New Conservatory, or Green House 490—495
A Letter from Sir Dudley Cullum to J. Evelyn, Esq. concerning the newly-invented Stove..... 497, 498

PAGE.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE to the MYSTERY OF JESUITISM, 1664 ..... 499, 500
Tract, PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PREFERRED TO SOLITUDE, 1667 ..... 501—552
Illustrative Note 502
Letter between Sir George Mackenzie and John Evelyn 503, 504
Dedication :—To the Hon. Sir Richard Browne, Knight and Bart. ..... 505—507
To the Reader ..... 507—509
EPISTLES prefixed to FREART'S IDEA of the PERFECTION OF PAINTING, 1668, 553—562
Evelyn's notice of the Work 554
Dedication : — To the Illustrious Henry Howard of Norfolk ..... 555—558
To the Reader ..... 559—562
Tract, HISTORY OF THE THREE LATE FAMOUS IMPOSTORS, 1669 ..... 563—620
Dedication :—To the Right Hon. Henry, Lord Arlington 565, 566
To the Reader 567, 568
The History of Padre Ottomano, the First Impostor ..... 569—577
The Story of Mahomed Bey ..... 578—586
The History of Sabatai Sevi, the Third Impostor ..... 587—614
The History of the late Final Extirpation of the Jews out of Persia ..... 615—620
LETTER to VISCOUNT BROUNCKER, concerning a new ENGINE for PLOUGHING, &c. 1669-70 ..... 621, 622

PAGE.

DEDICATION to RENATUS RAPINUS of GARDENS, 1673 ..... 623—624
Tract, NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE, 1674 ..... 625—686
Dedication :—To the King 627
LETTER to MR. AUBREY, concerning Surrey Antiquities, &c. 1675-76 ..... 687—691
ABSTRACT of a LETTER to the ROYAL SOCIETY, concerning the Damage done to his Gardens in the preceding Winter 1684 ..... 692—696
Tract, MUNDUS MULIEBRIS, or the Ladies Dressing-room Unlocked, 1690 . 697—713
Illustrative Note 698
Preface ..... 699—702
The Fop Dictionary ..... 710—713
ADVERTISEMENT to the TRANSLATION of the COMPLEAT GARDENER, by M. de la Quintenye, 1693 ..... 714—717
Ditto, to M. de la Quintenye's *Directions concerning Melons* 718
Ditto, to M. de la Quintenye's *Directions concerning Orange Trees* ..... 718—720
Tract, ACETARIA : A DISCOURSE OF SALLETS, 1699 ..... 721—812
Illustrative Note concerning it 722
To the Right Honourable Lord John Somers, of Evesham, &c. &c. ... 723—727
The Preface ..... 728—730
The Plan of a Royal Garden ..... 730—732
Appendix ..... 800—812
INDEX 813

LIST OF PLATES.

To face the Title-page :—FAC-SIMILE of a LETTER by John Evelyn, addressed to Dr. Thomas Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury.—The subject of this letter will be found particularly alluded to in Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, first edition, vol. I, page 495.

P. 243. FAC-SIMILE Frontispiece to the Sculptura, after a Design by J. Evelyn. On the same Plate is an Engraving illustrative of the manner of forming lines and shadows on round substances, particularly described and referred to on page 321.

P. 333. MEZZOTINTO HEAD of an Executioner, after Spagnoletto, originally engraved and presented by Prince Rupert to Evelyn for his Sculptura, as a specimen of his newly invented art. Copied from an original impression by Say.

P. 425. FRONTISPIECE to the Kalendarium Hortense, after the original engravings by Hertocks.

OF LIBERTY AND SERVITUDE.

TRANSLATED OUT OF

THE FRENCH (OF THE SIEUR DE LA MOTHE LE VAYER)

INTO THE ENGLISH TONGUE,

BY JOHN EVELYN,

AND

DEDICATED TO GEORGE EVELYN, Esquire.

Melib. Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?
Tit. Libertas: quæ, sera tamen, respexit inertem.
Virg. Ecl. 1.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR M. MEIGHEN, AND G. BEDELL, AND ARE TO BE SOLD
AT THEIR SHOP AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE GATE.
1649.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE EDITOR.

THE following Tract is merely a translation from the French of M. de la Mothe le Vayer*, yet it becomes interesting as Evelyn's first literary undertaking, and is re-printed verbatim from the copy found in his own possession containing his MSS. notes. In 1781 it was purchased by Mr. Bindley, probably from Mr. J. Robson, the late well-known bookseller of Bond-street, who bought a large portion of the Evelyn library from that family about the year 1767. At the disposal of Mr. Bindley's collection in December 1818, it came into the possession of George Watson Taylor, Esq. on the sale of whose books it was purchased by the Editor, March 26, 1823.

A descriptive note on the fly-leaf of the volume contains the following character in the autograph of Mr. Bindley:

"This little book was the first of Evelyn's productions, and is seldom to be met with; and this very copy belonged to himself, as appears by his own hand-writing above†: in the title-page is a curious memorandum concerning the book, ascertaining also the precise time of its publication. J. B. 1781."

The note alluded to is written in pencil, as well as the acknowledgment, by the insertion of his own name, that he was the translator of the tract:

"I was like to be call'd in question by the Rebells for this booke, being published a few days before his Majesty's decollation."

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* Francis De la Mothe le Vayer was a sceptical but celebrated French writer of the seventeenth century, who was born at Paris in 1588, and died in 1672. His works are extensive, and embrace a very great variety of subjects, both ancient and modern; the principal of which are, "De la Vertu des Payens, Paris, 1642," 4to; "Des Anciens et Principaux Historiens Grecs et Latins, Par. 1645," 12mo; "Sur la Façon de Parler n'avoir pas le sens commun, Par. 1646," 12mo; "Petits Traités en Forme des Lettres, Par. 1648," 4to; the volume printed in the text; the royal privilege for the printing of which is dated January 20th 1643; and "The Prerogative of a Private Life, Lond. 1678," 8vo.—As the sale of the first of the books in the foregoing list was very indifferent, the Author procured a Government order for its suppression, when the whole edition was rapidly sold. His collected works were printed at Paris in 1662 in three volumes folio, and several times since in 12mo and 8vo.

† *viz.* his signature, date 1649, and usual motto; "Omnia explorate, melicra retinete."

The Author's Epistle.

To my Lord, the Most Eminent Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord,

Although I know sufficiently that your goodnesse moves you to accept favourably, even the least productions of wit, which are presented unto you; yet am I so justly diffident of mine own, that it hath suffered an extraordinary reluctancy before it could resolve to offer unto you this little Treatise, without the consideration of it's subject, and (as I must say) without the necessity of dedicating the same unto you: for if one cannot but with sacrilege make use elsewhere of that which an holy place did receive from our offerings, nothing but your sacred Purple ought to gather that, which another, who is no more, had deigned to receive into his protection. Perhaps, your Eminencie may call to mind to have seen what I now dedicate unto you in the hands of the great Cardinal de Richelieu: I resign it now into yours, the most worthy (that I know) to handle all which those have touched; and if it hath need of any other recommendation to render it acceptable unto you, it is Philosophy, that, so much in your esteeme, which hath dictated it unto me. I am confident, my Lord, that you will not disavow an affection which retaines nothing in it but what is altogether worthy of you. Philosophy is one of the most rich presents that ever man received from Heaven: it is that which elevates us unto the contemplation of eternall things, and the science which of all others affords to princes, as well as to private men, the most agreeable divertisement. Your Eminencie therefore, if it please, accept favorablie that which is derived from so noble a plan, and which an heart repleate with zeale to your service (as mine is) offers with so much obligation: this grace I promise to myself out of your ordinarie goodnesse, and shall eternally remaine, My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

De la Mothe le Vayer.

The TRANSLATOR'S EPISTLE, to GEORGE EVELYN, of Wotton, in the County of Surrey, Esq.

SIR,

I MAKE bold to present you here with a little *Enchiridion*, or *Treatise* of *Liberty* and *Servitude;* which (in pursuite of other bookes, to entertaine the time withall) it was my chance to encounter amongst the Stationers at Paris. And, because it handleth a subject which this age (I know not by what destiny waited upon) doth every where seeme to pretend unto, I thought most proper to *nuncupate* it unto you, whose reall merits, and known integrity so justly challenge a part in the management of those important affaires of this kingdome. Sir, here is not any thing that I dare call mine owne, save only the Translation, which importeth nothing but the hazard of every mans censure who understandeth French, and my good inclinations towards you. The matter is anothers, and entertained by persons of that eminency, that I dare presume no man will appeare so hardy, as rashly either to condemne or prejudice it. This is the first time (as you well know) of mine appearing upon the theater, which I shall prove to frequent but as gentlemen who sometimes write plaies, not often: but lest our little city runne out at the gates, I will here shut up this epistle, desiring only the liberty to remain, as I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate friend and inviolable servitor,

PHILELEUTHEROS.

Paris, March 25, 1647.

TO HIM THAT READES.

This free subject, coming abroad in these licentious times, may happily cause the world to mistake both the Author and the Translator, neither of whom by LIBERTY do understand that impious *impostoria pila*, so frequently of late exhibited and held forth to the people, whilst (in the meane time) indeed, it is thrown into the hands of a few private persons. By FREEDOME is here intended that which the Philosopher teacheth us: *Nulli rei servire, nulli necessitati, nullis casibus, fortunam in æquum deducere*, &c. not that Platonique chimæra of a state, no where existant save in UTOPIA.

Verily, there is no such thing in *rerum natura* as we pretend unto : seeing, that whilst we beare about us these spoiles of mortality, and are subject to our passions, there can be no absolute perfection acquired in this life : and of this truth we have now had the experience of more than five thousand yeeres, during all which tract to this present epoch of time, never was there either heard or read of a more equal and excellent form of government than that under wch we ourselves have lived, during the reign of our most gratious Soveraignes Halcion daies ; the sole contemplation of which makes me sometimes with the sweet Italian to sing,

—— *Memoria sola tu*
Con rammentarm' il fù
Spesso, spesso vien à rapirmi,
E qualch' istant ancor, ringiouanirmi.

Of which the memory
No sooner strikes my braine,
But ah ! transported, I
Methinkes wax young againe.

If therefore we were once the most happy of subjects, why do we thus attempt to render our selves the most miserable of slaves ? God is one, and better it is to obey one then many*. *Neque enim Libertas tutior ulla est, quam* DOMINO *servire bono* †, that is, C(harles).

In Nobilissimi, Doctissimiq. D. Translationem ALEXANDRI ROSÆI hexastichon.

Quid sit Libertas, quid sit servire Tyrannis
Instruis Angligenas hic, Evelyne, tuos.
Quas pridem Authori debebat Gallia grates,
Has debet linguæ terra Britanna tuæ.
Ipse Author debet, quem vestibus induis Anglis,
Ornatéq: doces Anglica verba loqui.

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* Mat. vi. 24. † Claudian.

THE TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS.

The Proem.

CHAP. I. Of Liberty and Servitude in generall.

CHAP. II. In what our Liberty and Servitude consists.

CHAP. III. That no man can truly affirme himselfe to be free.

CHAP. IV. Of the Liberty Philosophique.

CHAP. V. Of the Servitude of the Court.

The Conclusion.

Lemmata si quæris cur sint adscripta? docebo,
Ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas. MARTIAL.

Enquire you why this table 's put before?
I 'll tell; if you disgust it, read no more.

THE PROEM.

YOU did wonder, Melpoclitus, to heare me say, that there were but very few men free; and that those who were so esteemed to be, lived for the most part in servitude: that albeit the whole world apparently breathed after liberty, yet was she known but to very few people: and, that many men contended for her, without ever obtaining the least possession thereof: as did the Trojans for the beautiful Hellen, when she was in Ægypt. This is that obliges me to make * you participate of some meditations, which I have heretofore framed upon this subject, discovering to you the greatest secret of my soule, and communicating unto you all, which the morall that I exercise doth furnish me with, together of most delectable, and most free thereupon. Let us therefore begin by some Considerations generall of Liberty and Servitude.

CHAP. I.

OF LIBERTY AND SERVITUDE IN GENERALL.

LIBERTY seemes to be a present of nature, wherewith she doth even gratifie all sorts of living creatures: and therefore we see very few who conserve it not as carefully as they doe their own lives: yea many, who often expose themselves, even unto death it selfe, to the end they may not lose the possession of so great a good. Philostratus, who writes

* Dion. Chrysor. ult.

on this subject * relates that Apollonius refused to goe a hunting with the King of Persia, because he would not be a spectator of the captivity of beasts, which they tooke contrary to the right of nature. And in another place he tells us, that although the Elephant be of all other creatures the most docile and obedient to mankind, yet he cannot forbear, in the night time, to deplore his servitude. Sundrie Philosophers, and principally those of the sect of Pythagoras, are pleased to give them their liberty: and many good Anchorites have in that imitated them. Yea, there are yet some Chineses † who purchase birds and fishes out of mere devotion, to exercise upon them the same act of charity.

No man can denie but we have oftentimes beheld living creatures perish out of anguish and despair, after the losse of this precious Liberty. And certainly it is no wonder, that they should all be so passionate to retain it, seeing the very elements themselves, whereof they are composed, cannot, but with great difficultie, suffer the least constraint. In vaine doth any man oppose himselfe to their inclinations; for as aire and fire cannot be hindered from aspiring, the earth always searches the center, and the course of the waters will be so free, that there is no resistance, which to obtain, it doth not surmount. By this it is evident how essentiale a thing Libertie is to our animal part. Now if we consider the superior that informes us, and by which we terme ourselves reasonable, we shall then no longer wonder at this common aversion of all men living against servitude. For without so much as touching the prerogatives of our free-will, and of that which is one of the most frequent conceptions of our humanity, to wit, that the spirit cannot be compelled farther than (as after a sort) it doth consent unto: we know by the example of the Angels, that the immateriall substances are those which do most of all research the Independency. Was it not that which moved the most haughty of them all to covet an elevation even above the clouds, that he might thereby render himselfe like to the Almighty? in effect, as saith Aquinas ‡, there was no appearance to believe that Lucifer, and those of his party had ever any

* L. 1. c. 23, and L. 2, c. 5. † Mendes, Pint. c. 98. ‡ Sum. par. 1, qu. 63, ar. 3.

intention to render themselves entirely like unto God: the most inferiour of men, informed with common sense, would never imagine a thought so extravagant: how then should we attribute it unto Intelligencies so pure, so illuminated as those were (of whom we spake) before their disgrace? Doubtlesse it proceeded from having affected to possesse from their owne selves, and independently, the beatitude which they onely enjoyed from the hands of God. And hence it is that the Devil is named in holy-writ Belial *, as we should say, one that desired to shake off the yoake, and depend no more upon any. Now since we thus naturally seeke to be free, and so by consequence fly servitude, not onely like the rest of animalls, but much more in respect of that whereby we are distinguished from them; and for that which we communicate with the superior Intelligencies, it implies that men ought to be most free of all sublunary creatures. And yet, notwithstanding all this, it is possible that there is generally, and in all respects, no greater slave than man himselfe. But of this we shall better inform our selves, if in the first place we a little consider in what Liberty doth consist.

CHAP. II.

IN WHAT OUR LIBERTY AND OUR SERVITUDE DOTH CONSIST.

THERE is a double Liberty, to wit, that of the bodie, and that of the *mind;* whereof there is a third compound which is mixed of these two: the doctrine of contraries would have us constitute so many different species of Servitude. As touching the corporall liberty, it is lost by the law of nations at what time any have been superiour in warre, and who, instead of putting all their enemies to the sword, reserved some unto whom life hath been given. This reservation made the first servants, or captives, if we credit the Latine Grammar; and the Greeks have affirmed † that Jupiter took from them one halfe of their spirit, at the

* D. Hier. s. c. 4. ad Eph. † Plato, l. 6, de leg.

very same instant that he condemned them to so miserable a servitude. Notwithstanding, whether it were so or not, their condition is contrary to that antient privilege of nature, whereof we have newly spoken: and it is very likely it was this which obliged the first Indian Philosophers, of whom Diodorus speaks*, to prohibit, by a law expresse, the use of servants. I know very well, that St. Augustine maketh sinne to be the authour of this kind of servitude †: observing that there was no such thing in the world before the crime of Cham, what time he derided his father ‡, who threw so great a malediction upon all his Posterity. But since warres and discords have no other source than only sin it selfe, there is nothing in the Latine Originall (of which we speak) which doth not very well accommodate with the text in Genesis; we are onely to observe, that Christianity hath extirpated it out of most places, where the corporall servitude hath been well knowne, retaining very few slaves within all her extent, besides those, whom the enormity of their crimes have rendered such. Thus hath corporall liberty been re-established, which consists in being absolute master of ones proper person, as seeing that the most miserable amongst us may in some sort attribute unto himself, if their misfortunes have not engaged them into the hands of Infidels.

The liberty of the mind consists in the understanding, or in the will: if these two faculties do not jointly possesse it, according as the most part of Scholastiques affirme. Tis by her, that the demi-gods of antiquity have vaunted themselves of being free, even in the midst of irons and chaines; fortune having no dominion over the operations of our soules; and all the puissances of the earth find themselves too impotent to make it suffer the least violence. For although it appeares that this liberty consisteth in being or not being able to apply these two parts of the spirit indifferently upon all things; yet that is not absolutely true: for certaine it is, that our understanding cannot always impedite itselfe, that it should not acquiesce at the conclusion of a demonstrative syllogisme, having before comprehended the first and second propositions. Our volunty cannot (after some sort) embrace the evill, consi-

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* 2 Hist. † 19 de Civit. Dei. c. 15. ‡ Gen. c. 9.

dering it as evill, but doth it alwayes when it happens to be masked under some appearance of good. And yet for all this, reason obligeth us to maintaine that our spirit doth no way hinder us, but that we may possesse a compleat and intire freedom; because, should these instances import in them any exception, this impious absurdity would ensue, that God himselfe should not be perfectly free, who knowes and loves himselfe, necessarily, and by the universal consent of all divines. Furthermore, this is a maxime stated in philosophy, that the naturall powers never exceed the limits of their formall object, always cohibiting themselves within those bounds which God hath prescribed unto them. Now we must know that our intellect hath no other object certaine, nor formall, than the conception of that which is true. From whence it comes to passe, that they named verity the sweet food and refection of our soule: nor hath our will any other certaine and fixed butt, than to unite itselfe with that which is good, naturally abandoning whatsoever is repugnant unto it. It follows then (without reversing the order of nature) that our spirit cannot otherwise act than as we have already spoken; and which indeed doth no way ruine its liberty, as by a morall reason we shall suddenly explicate, according to which we shall find, that to serve God is to reigne, and to obey the just laws of nature, passes for a species and kind of liberty. Certainly, we doe not imagine, that a bird should be lesse free to fly where he listeth, for not having power to doe it under the waters; nor that a terrestriall animall should be lesse free (in order to his walking up and down, according to his fancy,) because he cannot mount up into the Heavens, supposing him capable of a desire so irregular. The same reason ought we to frame touching our spirituall freedome, wch is wholly uninterested, seeing the will cannot be joyned to evill, nor the intellect be satisfied with that which is false, if neither of these two parts be deluded by the appearance of good and true, for as much as it is wholly repugnant to their nature.

These exceptions decided, it is very evident, that humane liberty cannot consist in any other thing than the independency of our actions, as well those of the body as those of the mind; since we ought not to render an accompt to any but unto God and our owne selves, that is to say, to this eternall reason, from which we all derive a beam of

illumination at the very instant of our production into this world; it was therefore very necessary to know (that so we might the better be able to examine that which followes) whether there can be any one who can vaunt himselfe of being truly free.

CHAP. III.

THAT THERE IS NONE CAN TRULY AFFIRME HIMSELFE TO BE FREE.

We cannot deny but that liberty is one of the most precious and agreeable things of life, and therefore it is that they have affirmed that all the riches of the earth are not equivalent to its true estimate, should it be exposed to sale; and that the Pythagoreans detested servitude, [*non bene pro toto libertas venditior auro*] by this mysterious precept (to wit) that none should weare a ring, lest perhaps, it might presse, or seeme to constraine the finger; passing it for a rule indubitable, that no man should submit himselfe unto any other so longe as he had [*alterius non sit qui suus esse potest*] opportunity to depend solely of himselfe. The Philosophers ground themselves likewise upon the value and sweetnesse of this liberty, when they affirme that the soule of a lover is better pleased, and is in effect more in the object where she loves, then where she informes and animates; for that there is nothing besides meere necessity which retains her in this last habitation, being altogether inveighed by inclination, and a certain voluntary movement, towards the person where she hath placed her affections. But if Liberty deserve that we thus esteeme of her, is it not a thing most strange, that we find so few men who are free? or (to say better) that the whole universe should be so desperately plunged in Servitude, that (to take it well) there is no difference between us who beleeve ourselves exempted from it, and the very slaves themselves, than according to the proportion of more and lesse? For let us now be but as attentive here as indeed the subject doth justly merit, and diligently weigh his morall point but as equitably as philosophy

requireth we should doe, in all that which concernes her. Where shall we find any kind of life, which doth not assubject* those that are addicted unto it? what profession shall we find, which hath not her chains and tyes whereby she doth even captivate those whom she imploys? One would think that the most vile estate of life were the most exposed to the miseries of servitude; because there she appeares as it were all naked and with a very little qualification: should we yet farther examine other qualities of life, and but a little lift up the deceiptfull maske which disguises them, we shall then easily discerne, that there were indeed no condition of life whatsoever which did not oblige us to so much the greater subjection by how much the more it is elevated above others, and which hath not its fetters in this, more rude and full of affliction, by how much the more precious they appear. The manacles of Astyages were not therefore the lesse weighty, and paynable, for being composed of gold or silver: *Reniego de grillos aunque scan de oro,* sayes the Spanish proverb: and in effect, there is no kind of constraint more insupportable then that which attends upon great authorities, and which is found mixed as it were with the most absolute power, by reason of the opposition of contraries, which renders their qualities the more active. Thence it is, that they very properly call dignities charges, their weight augmenting with the prize of their exaltation; and may be said to be (admit them more estimable then indeed they are, to examine them rightly,) but honorable captivities. Let Monarchs attribute to themselves, whilst they please, the power of disposing, according to their owne fantasie, the lives and goods of their subjects: the crowne is a fillet which presses the temples so hard, that an antient did not believe any man ought to take it up from the ground, if he rightly understand it: And the reciprocall obligation of Kings to their people is so straite, that in good philosophy, if the Republique appertains to Cæsar, Cæsar belongs much more to the Republique. [*cave hic ne male capias.*] Let

* An old English verb, derived of the French *assoubjectir,* and preserved in Cotgrave's Eng. Dict. which might suggest to Shakspeare the kindred word *assubjugate* given by Dr. Johnson; it signifies to bring under, or to subdue: its use is of extreme rarity.

us therefore consider a little how many there are who precipitate themselves, without any obligation thereunto, into a voluntary servitude. Infinite is the number of those who sell their liberty to acquire oftentimes so inconsiderable a matter, that they would not afterwards have purchased it with their very counters. The thirst after a slight reward, or some other triviall favour, and for which we should be sorry that we had given the least parts of our goods, causes us absolutely to renounce all our own wills to follow that of others. Nay, we are so stupid, says Seneca *, that it should seeme we doe not perceive how, in so doing, there remains nothing more sordid and vile than ourselves, even by our own confession; seeing we value ourselves of lesse esteeme than our monyes, and the rest of that which we possesse.

But beyond all these servitudes which perpetually hold us under subjection from without, there are likewise servitudes interiour, from which happily there is no man living can affirme himselfe to be truly exempt.

Who is he that is not a slave to his passions? and where is the man that doth not at some time or other, experience the tyranny of those rude masters of whom Diogenes reproached Alexander? One serves loosely to his Ambition, another is importuned with Avarice; this man dresses altars to Fortune, that permits Gluttony to domineer over him; and there is who suffers himselfe to be transported by the rage and violence of Love. Certainly there is no servitude so difficult as that which we are constrained to endure under such merciless tyrants; nor is there any man who can boast of being free whilst he shall be compelled to live under their domination. What if we should here introduce the arguments of the Stoicks, who prove that vice is such an enemy to freedom, that they are two things altogether incompatible: it will then be easy to discover how far we are deviated from this liberty, seeing the most perfect amongst us is so deeply engaged into it. There is not a man (say they †) who deserves to be reputed free but he only that lives according to his own pleasure. Now it is very certain that no man would live in vice, or that, at the least, desires that the world should take notice of him for a vicious person, it being a thing the most unfor-

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* Epist. 42. † Arr. l. 2, c. 1, & 26, and l. 4, c. 1.

tunate and shameful in the world. It followes then, that in good reason we ought not to call any man free, but such only as have utterly abandoned vice, and then we shall easily perceive whether there be any who of right may attribute to themselves the quality of free men. Epictetus very pleasantly derided the Nicopolitans, who used to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, that they were in full possession of their liberty; seeing the very naked tearme of their oath did evidently demonstrate that they acknowledged the absolute power of the Emperor. But there is a great deal more reason to laugh at those who would passe for the most free of the world, because they do indifferently prosecute and obey their depraved appetites, and for that they deny nothing, even not to one of their affections; it being from thence whence one may most evidently derive an absolute argument of their miserable slavery: there being no servitude more base and dangerous than that wherein vice doth ingage us. Therefore be it that we discourse of the liberty of the body, perhaps those who are in chaines are not yet the most abject: or regard we the freedom of the mind, there is no person which doth not experience some species and kind of constraint. Is there any man that can deny but that all such as are found living in an erroneous beleefe, and without the light of our true religion, be not as so many captivated soules, that are daily forced to admit of false principles, or beleeve a thousand absurdities? But if the humane liberty be a composition of those of the body and of the mind together, there will not be found a man who ought to esteem himselfe free, which doth not equally possesse both the one and the other. Thus it is they justifie by so many considerations, that there is likely no man who can truly affirme himselfe to be free. And because if this proposition received the least exception, it cannot otherwise proceed than from those who professe to live within a Liberty Philosophique. Let us therefore endeavour to know what it is.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE LIBERTY PHILOSOPHIQUE.

ALTHOUGH it appears by our precedent discourse, that one might well affirme of all men, as heretofore of the Romans, to wit, that they are as so many animals borne to servitude; some Philosophers themselves having taken their infant swathe-bonds for certaine presages of the captivity wherein we are to live the rest of our dayes; yet there were some amongst them who attributed unto themselves a prerogative, like so many Spartans, solely to possesse an entire and absolute liberty. It is in order to this opinion, that Philo the Jew hath composed a treatise expressly to shew that every honest and vertuous man is undoubtedly free. And this it was which caused the Stoicks to affirme, that besides the Sage there was none who was truely a King; as indeed, according to their mode, he was the onely man that might, with reason, be called rich, faire, happy, loyall, and magnanimous: the rest of men not retaining for their share, other than shadows and deceivable appearances of all these attributes; this wise man living in all so far above other men, that he might justly glory in being equall to the greatest of the Gods. In that Dion was nothing inferiour to him, according to the paradox of Chrysippus *. Nay, and when it so pleased these proud Philosophers, they have even had the boldnesse to assert, that their wise man was more considerable here than Joye himselfe, because Jupiter was neither free nor happy, but by the excellence and priviledge of his nature; whereas their Sage (such as they imagined him to be) enjoyed his liberty, as well as his felicity, by the vertue of his mind, and might have yet bin otherwise than he was, had he not elevated himselfe to a degree so eminent. Seneca, as a Stoicke, hath in many places repeated this maxime; adding that Jupiter himselfe never exceeded his wise man, but in this sole poynt, to wit, that the first was free and happy by a longer duration of time than the other; which thing, says he, renders

* Plutar. des com. conc. contre les Stoiq.

it not a whit the more perfection, seeing, on the contrary, it is always to be esteemed a great artifice, to comprehend much in a narrow compasse. Now to the end it should not be imagined that it was only the Stoickes which had declared themselves with so much presumption touching the Philosophers liberty, you may perceive in Iamblicus * who has written the life of Pythagoras, how he and his disciples persuaded themselves that they were as so many Gods upon earth, where they had right to exercise an absolute empire over the rest of mankind; and therefore it is well known they have affected the soveraigne command in all places, where they have been able to establish themselves. And that they might execute this power with the more feedome, they held by tradition, and by a cabal confirmed amongst them, that all such as were not admitted, or, according as they then used to speak, initiated into their mysteries, ought to be respected and used as meer beasts; to which purpose they had so frequently in their mouths that verse of Homer, where Agamemnon is called Pastor of the people; to intimate (according to their words) that they ought to treate them like the rest of animals; and that he which commanded them, might dispose of them as best him seemed good. In fine, we gather both from the Greek and Roman histories, that to speake of Philosophers in general, they would live so freely, and so farr extend the liberty of their profession, that Athens, the most free city of all Greece, could not endure them; and that the Republique of Rome was oftentimes constrained to banish them out of her territories. For I will say nothing of the Lacedemonians, nor of K. Antiochus and Lisimachus, who entertained them not a whit more favourably; because one may perhaps presuppose, that the martial humour of the first, and the small inclination which these princes had to the sciences, imported them (without any other consideration) to despise and neglect men of a life purely contemplative. The history of those who retired themselves into Persia, under the reign of Cosroes, is very remarkable to this purpose: behold what I recollect from thence.

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* C. 35, de vitâ Pyth.

In the time of Justinian, the greatest Philosophers within all the extent of his dominions, highly disgusted the corrupt manners of their age; but especially, as Agathias observes *, the opinions at that time received in the Roman empire touching the divinity. To the end they might be more at liberty, and have nothing which might importune them in their fashion of living, and especially in point of their religion, they tooke their refuge into Persia. A very short time after made them acknowledge how much they had mistaken themselves; finding there neither that innocence of life, nor that repose which they so fully expected to meet withal. And although Cosroes received them with all possible humanity and courtesie, endeavouring by all means to retain them, yet they esteemed it far the greatest favour he could doe them, that he would grant them licence to returne back again to the place from whence they were fled. Neverthelesse (according as this historian observes), their journey was not altogether inutill; for Cosroes calling them to mind a little after their departure, in a treaty of peace which he contracted with the Romans, stipulated by expresse article (of which he had very great care) that none of those Philosophers should in the least manner be violated nor constrained to abjure the opinions unto which they adhered and embraced as the best. This story puts me in mind of the insolent demand which once a most impious Portuguese made at Lyons unto Henry the Third: to wit, that it might be permitted him not to adore any other divinitie in his dominions, save that only of the Sun; for without doubt there may be both an excesse, and a sin too, in desiring a liberty so extreamly unconcern'd, as that should neither submit itselfe to the lawes of Heaven, nor to those of Reason. The transcendent indulgence of so great a freedome (to use Plato's owne expression †), is the source and fountaine of an extreame servitude; because it renders us slaves unto our owne selves and proper passions; and the greatest libertine of all the Philosophers, Epicurus himself, hath acknowledged, that to return truely to oneself, and be perfectly free, a man should submit to the ordinances of Philosophy. And in truth, we learn out of a much better passage ‡, that wheresoever

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* Lib. 2 Hist. † 8 de Rep. & ibi. Fic. ‡ Paulus 2, ad Cor. c. 3. v. 17.

the spirit of God is found, there it is where we enjoy an absolute freedome indeed. But that's to be understood of a filiall liberty, which alwayes goeth accompanyed with an extreame reverence and respect, and such as is known by its opposition unto that servile fear, which never quits nor forsakes the ungodly. For we know in another place, from a text which was dictated by the selfe same spirit of God *, that there remaines onely man alone, whom vanity hath so farr deprived of judgment, that he glories of being borne so free, as that he imagines he hath a right to live according to his owne fancy; and who beleeves that it were an offer of violence towards his person to prescribe him Lawes or make him submit unto any soveraigne whatsoever. Thereupon he is compared to those young foales which endeavour to shake off their yoake, not having as yet been accustomed unto it: and his brutality is admirably well represented to us by that of the wild Asse, whom we behold running through the desarts without bit or bridle. And albeit we receive from Seneca all these lofty sayings of the Stoiques which we have already produced; yet hath he in a thousand places confessed that there was no true Liberty which did not acknowledge the empire of Reason. If thou wouldest submit all things unto thy selfe, saithe he in one of his Epistles †, make it thy profession to obey this Daughter of Heaven: thou shalt command all the rest, if thou render thy selfe plyable to her injunctions. And in another place he adds ‡, that the most difficult of all other servitudes is that which subjects us to our owne selves, and makes us to render obedience to all our depraved appetites: for that (as so many mercilesse tyrants) they persécute us night and day, without permitting us the fruition of the least repose; so that there is no man can pretend to liberty, unlesse he do first absent himselfe from a subjection so cruell and insupportable. And in his Treatise of an Happy Life, wherein he adviseth us that we should never take any thing in ill part, nor with the least alteration of spirit, of all that which it pleases God or Nature to ordayne; he enters into this goodly consideration, that we are all of us in this world as in an estate monarchicall, where we ought to make it our glory to obey our Sove-

* Job, c. xi. v. 12. † Ep. 57. ‡ Præf. ad l. Nat. Qu.

reign's commands; and beleeve, that the most essential part of all our freedome consists, in willing that which is the good pleasure of his divine Majesty. And seeing the liberty which the same Philosopher uses, to passe sometimes out of one extreme into another, makes him affirme elsewhere, that Philosophy is so free, she neither feares the Gods nor Men.*, let us expound a little those bold words, as we have already done those of the Apostle, and assure ourselves that Seneca hath not condemned but the base and criminall feare which is ever inseparable from vice, and so, by consequent, mortall enemy to those who make it their profession to love wisdome, and follow vertue.

Having thus regulated what appertains to the Philosophique Liberty, taking it for resolved that she never ought to extend her selfe to those things which are any way repugnant to religion, policy, and good manners; it remaines that we consider whether it be very likely there should any men be, who in all the rest doe enjoy a true Philosophique Liberty, and who (not having more disregular passions) despise honours, pleasures, riches, and whatsoever other goods are not acquired or conserved but by the losse of our liberty. For if the saying of one of the Antonines be true †, that neither philosophy nor the empire could ever have the power to take away our affections, we ought not then adhere to the affirmative opinion, which imports nothing more in this argument, than specious and lofty swelling words, more proper to puffe and swell us up unto vanity (on the subject whereon we treate) than afford us the least veritable and solid satisfaction of mind. I know very well that the philosophique contemplations imprint a certaine audacity and confidence in the soule; which hinders us from being afraid of any thing, making us despise and undervalue the greatest part of those things that are most esteemed in the world. Aristippus did hereupon vaunt himselfe that he had gathered this excellent fruit from philosophy, to be able to speake with resolution and confidence, without apprehension of any person whatsoever. Aristotle pronounced before Alexander, that it was not lesse lawfull to men, who comprehended thoughts worthy and veritable, such as we might have of things divine, to possesse an heart elevated and a courage

* Ep. 17. & 29. † Jul. Capitol. in Ant. Pio.

invincible, than to those who swayed the government of the whole universe, and commanded the most absolutely here on earth. Diogenes is represented to us (in the conference which he had with this great monarch) discoursing with him as with his inferiour. Being once a slave, he requested his master who was to sell him (unto him that offered most) to demand, whether in stead of a servant any body had need of a master; boasting himselfe to be no more a captive at that time than an enchained lion, who alwayes makes his keepers more afraid of him than he apprehendeth his keepers. For all this it is possible that we may on the one side be free, and yet in slavery on the other. Thus one thinkes himselfe free from ambition who is basely enthrall'd to the passion of Love or Avarice; and the importance is, to find out whether our humanity be capable to enjoy, by the virtue of philosophy, a liberty so free and independent as they are used ordinarily to decipher us out in the Schooles. But to speake soberly concerning this matter; it appeares this free man, which shee represents us under the name of Sage, to be rather an idea of that which may be the scope of our desires than any thing in good earnest; our imagination for the most part formes unto her selfe a subject which she takes pleasure to embellish with such an equipage of rare qualities, to render it accomplished, that its beyond the ordinary power of Nature to render it a true existence. And there is much reason to beleeve, that this wise man, or this free person (of whom the Philosophers speake), is not lesse difficult to find out than the orator of Cicero, the architect of Vitruvius, the Pyramis of the Ægyptians, and the Καλὸς ἢ ἀγαθος* of the Grecians. Notwithstanding all this, I beleeve verily, that there are some men to be found in all ages who extremely approach this merite; and I am perswaded that we have knowne some, even in these our times, although they make it for the most part their cheifest care to keep themselves hidden, and incognito; yea, methinkes there have bin some beames, which have even darted forth to us, of certaine vertues so transcendent, that in mine opinion they might well passe for perfect copyes finished from those originals which the ages

* Herod. l. 2.

past would have presented unto us. But these are productions of Nature so rare, that we may well number them amongst the most prodigious and stupendious miracles; or (to say better) these are effects so particular of the Divine munificence (whensoever it pleaseth him to communicate himselfe here beneath), that there is farre more reason to adore the bounty of God, than to imagine it the least merite of the Creature. In effect, what is more strange than these great geniuses, who, being perfectly acquainted with the necessitudes of our life (which we may haply reduce to a very few), equally despise goods, honours, and whatsoever elevates the Empire of Fortune? The rest of men are her slaves, and consecrate altars unto her as unto some great Divinity. These are they who make it their glory to provoke her, and oppose their courage against her puissances. Doubtlesse, behold the most strange and most considerable spectacle that may possibly be: to see the powers, the independency, the assurance of a God (as the Heathen speaks)*, united to the imbecility and frailty of our humane nature. So it is, that if there be found any entire and absolute liberty amongst us, doubtlesse it is residing in these heroique soules, of whom I will render you here two or three of antiquity for examples, expressly abstaining to speake of so many holy personages wherewith Christianity doth dayly furnish us, because in this Chapter we pretend to consider this philosophique only which appeared in the world a great while before it could be irradiated by the beams of the Gospell. The Christian Schoole retaynes its reasons and its discourse apart. There we learn, that the greatest glory of our intellect is not to know, but to beleeve, as the glory of our will is not to command, but to obey. As touching Philosophy, she is not always so austere; for oftentimes she descends to the satisfaction of an Infidel, as well as of a true beleever.

Epictetus shall be the first whom I will produce, to show that many of those whom we treat, have pretended to be free men, even amidst chaynes: and to possess this independency of spirit, which truely no fetters are able to captivate; but withall, making only a part of this humane liberty, according to our precedent considerations. This great

* Ecce res magna habere imbecilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei. Sen. Epist. 54.

man was a Stoicke, as you may perceive by his Enchiridion or Manuell, compiled by Arrian his disciple, being a summary of the morality which those of their sect made profession of. His most memorable discourses have been communicated unto us by the same Arrian, who hath composed foure bookes of them, and so couched them in writing, as an excellent Painter uses to draw his lineaments, to represent us the figure of a Soule, by so much the more free and heightened as his adverse fortune endeavoured (it should seeme) to suppresse it. This was a ball which rebounded towards Heaven, proportionably to the force whereby it was cast against the earth. In effect, although he saw himselfe reduced to the hard condition of servitude, and to be one of the slaves of Epaphroditus, Captaine of Nero's guards, yet he alwayes appeared incomparably more free than his master. One day that Epaphroditus gave him a certaine rude blow on the leg, Epictetus told him, dryly, that he should have a care he did not breake it; this unmercifull hangman having at that instant redoubled the stroake with such violence as he brake the bone, Epictetus added (with a smile worthy of all ages to be admired), Did not I tell you, that you'ld foole and breake my leg? I know well that Origen has censured the impiety of Celsus * for daring to prefer the above named Epictetus unto Jesus Christ; but this does not hinder that the vertue of the first should not deserve to be very much esteemed, although, truly, there be no proportion of God to us, and of the Creature to the Creator. Let us also observe that St Augustine was not restrained by this consideration, to hope, or (at the least) ardently to desire that God had mercy upon Epictetus soul, being not able to leave off admiring the extraordinary mortification of his senses: and I have seene in the worke of a Doctor of the Ambrosian Colledg of Milan, that Saint Carlo Borhomeo heard no lecture which more pleased him than those which discoursed of this philosopher collected by Arrian. It is very certain, that the generosity and liberty of the soule, which Epictetus made alwayes to appeare, notwithstanding his corporall servitude, and of which he hath left us so many important precepts in writing, acquired

* L. 7. contra Celsum.

him such a repute, that the very lamp of earth wherewithall he used to illuminate his lucubrations, was sold for three thousand drachmas after his decease; at so high a value was all which appertained to him esteemed; and truely, it may well be said, that for the constancy, liberty, and freedome of the superior part, there was never any person which exceeded him.

A very little time before Epictetus, Rome had seene another excellent Philosopher, called Demetrius: this is he of whom Seneca speakes these goodly words; that in his opinion, Nature had produced him to shew the age wherein he lived, that a greater genius might protect himselfe from being perverted by the multitude: although he were not able to redresse it*: so incorrigible alwayes it is. And because he had acquired a very high reputation by that open profession which he made of Philosophique liberty, the Emperour Calligula would have alwayes had him about his person, supposing it a thing verie easie to have gained him by a present of moneys. Demetrius, laughing at the thoughts of this Prince, and rejecting with disdaine that which was proffered him: if the Emperour (says he) would tempt me; if he haue any designe to corrupt me, he needs not trouble himself twice, let him at once send me his diadem†, and then see if the price of an Empire were capable to shake my liberty. Certainly, bold termes wch well deserve to be collected by Seneca, and consecrated by him even unto Eternity itselfe, with all the recommendation which he hath bestowed upon them. For my part, I doe not beleeve that it's possible to produce an example more expresse to make us comprehend with what generosity a Philosophique soule doth undervalue treasures, honours, and generally whatsoever others have in esteeme, to preserve themselves the inestimable good of liberty.

One action of Socrates is so patt for this purpose, that I should esteeme it criminall not to allege it, albeit hee were not the common father of Philosophers, and he, out of whose braine (as out of some high mountaine) all their different sects are derived, like so many

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* L. 7, de benef. c. 8. et 11.

† Toto illi fui experiendus Imperio.

seperated rivulets. This man, of a life irreproachable (to speake * morally, whom Justine Martyr affirms to have bin a Christian long before Christianity it selfe: and whom many of our Doctors have not as yet dared absolutely to exclude Paradise) was desired by the King of Macedon, Archelaüs, that he would come unto him : he dwelt not long on the resolution which he was to take hereupon, and his answer was, that he was not so inconsiderate as to apply himself to a man whose benefits he knew not how to recompense. However Seneca †, who beleeved he could penetrate even into the very interiour of Socrates, assures us, that the feare of prejudicing his liberty, and delivering himself over unto an inevitable servitude, was the only ground of his refusall. Whosoever will be free, ought to imitate Socrates in that. He that cannot despise the Court of Princes, and all that which the Court can promise of goods, pleasures, and dignities, can never enjoy a pure and Philosophique liberty : and he it is onely who (Philosopher like) values liberty according to her due estimate, that voluntarily abandons all things to the end he may enjoy her. This is that Diogenes had very well learned, when of all the favours which Alexander offered him, he accepted none but that of rendering him the beames of the Sun, which the person of this monarch hindered him from enjoying, by interposing of himselfe. And when he replyed to those who called the Philosopher Callisthenes happy, because of the many favours which the same Prince conferred upon him at the beginning, that for his part, he esteemed him most unfortunate, in that he could not dine nor supp, but at the pleasure of Alexander.

I could yet let you see by sundry other examples, that which these already prove touching the Philosophique liberty. Anaxagoras, to the intent he might procure this freedome, absolutely quitted his patrimony to him that would accept thereof. Liberty caused Heraclitus, as likewise Prometheus, to resigne their scepters into the hands of their brothers. And Empedocles renounced the government of a monarchy, which was presented him, for the love he bare unto her. I might add, that Pythagoras made almost the same reply to Hiero ;

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* Apo. 1. & 2. † L. 5. de benef. c. 6.

Diogenes to Antipater; Zeno to Antigonus; Stilpo to Ptolemy; Xenocrates, Ephorus, and Menedemus, to Alexander, which Socrates did unto Archelaus: but I suppose to have sufficiently cleared two things: the one, that this liberty is not absolutely intire, because she is oftentimes only intellectual: the other, that she is so rare, because of her solutive faculty from whatsoever most strictly obligeth, and restrains our affections; so as we may very well indulge those who doubt of her reall existency. For if the least imaginable constraint, or triviall engagement, be capable to dispossesse us the fruition of so great a good; and if this Spanish sentence, *Quien me ata, me mata;* "he which binds me kills me," be, as I take it to be, the most proper devise that a man may assume who pretends to be in the Philosophique liberty: who is it, I pray, following our precedent conjecture, that hath the face to attribute it unto himselfe? Truely, I doe very much doubt whether there be any man can do it with conscience, wch being so, we shall not make it any difficulty to repeate in this place: That perhaps there is none at all who can truly affirme himselfe to be free. The examples of Demetrius and Socrates advertise me, in that which remaines, to reflect upon the servitude of the Court, as it stands in opposition to the greatest liberty, which is the Philosophique, by the greatest servitude, which we presume to be that of the Court.

CHAP. V.

OF THE SERVITUDE OF THE COURT.

SEEING the end (as the first in our intention) is that which regulates all our actions: it is no wonder at all that when the greatest recompences are proposed, there should also be found the most laborious, and difficult travailes, and that the pretentions of the Court being so eminent, and, as it were, almost infinite, obligeth those that attaine them unto extreame servitude. There is nothing to which a Courtier doth not submit himselfe that he may comply with this sweet hope,

which never lets him be at rest, and which the Italians have very aptly tearmed, *the bread of the miserable.* The flies cannot be hindered from following the honey, although one ant travailes more way in a few houres (according to the proportion of his body) in searching some grains of corne, then doth the sun in all his quotidian revolutions. It is the prey which makes the most solitary and cruell of wild beasts to quit the forest; and a fairer bait obliges the poore fish to precipitat himselfe into the net, or at least to swallow the hooke: but the passion which all these silly creatures have for that which they most affect, is not comparable to the desires of Courtiers, who bequeath the fairest dayes of their life, and voluntarily renounce their liberty upon the empty beliefe which they have to bee one day able to satisfie the uttermost of their desires: for albeit experience hath taught the world, that the service of great men is like unto long voyages, from whence indeed some there be which returne rich: but where the most part also miserably perish; and although it be easie to observe that few of those who plunge themselves into this vast ocean of the Court ever arrive at their desires, and can boast themselves of having transported pearles from thence: yet will no body, for all this take warning, and gaine by the sad example of others. Every one promises unto himselfe fortune more propitious than any of his companions found her; and as one vessell happily arrived from the Indies is the cause why an hundred others undertake the voyage, (without considering that a thousand others have been shipwracked,) so the good fortune of one sole Courtier is the cause that there be innumerable who imbarke themselves to steere the same course which the other hath gone before, notwithstanding all the hazards of a sea so full of Pyrats, as is the Court, and so obnoxious to all sorts of weather. But to leave allegories, and as it were with the finger point out that which we have already spoken touching servitude, and which it is almost impossible to evade; we shall consider it in the one and the other part of the body and of the mind, according to our divisions already established; and shall make it cleare, that if there be no slaves more miserable than those who are daily in

chains, Courtiers may in that sense passe for the most unhappy amongst men.

I should be very sorry that any man should take this which I am about to deliver for a satyre, and that which I have read in books for a description of those things which I might have observed in the Court of Princes: in effect, I reflect on nothing here save the antient Courts, those of barbarians and tyrants, from whence I gather all the proofes of my discourse. The liberty which I assume to alledge, what the philosophers of that time have declared against them, is a sure testimony of the esteeme which I make of the courts of Christians, and above all that of ours, which would never permit me to speake in this manner were it guilty of the same defects: besides, it would be both impertinent and unjust, that I should be blamed for that which so many others have done before me; and since a Pope (such a one as was Pius the Second) durst before his Pontificat, and during the time he was yet called * Æneas Sylvius, describe all the miseries of Courtiers, protesting that hee did it without designe to offend either the Emperour Frederick, his Prince, or his Court: why should any man take in ill part these philosophique reflections which I propose upon the same subject: and that which hath nothing of the asperity which this author, and infinite others, have mixed in their writings treating upon this matter? And if I have bin (as it were) compelled to observe certain vices in generall of the Court, occasion may offer itselfe, another time, to proclaime the vertue thereof, and to speake particularly of its merit.

For my part, I doe not beleeve that any (except such as have never seene the Court, or so much as heard speake of the aire, and fashion of living there,) can be ignorant of the extreme personall subjection which he is obliged to render day and night unto those men whose favour he desires to obtaine. There is no body in that country but ought to be even ready to mutilate and dismember himself like Zophyrus, that by so doing he might insinuate, and serve to the advance of what he there searcheth: not, that where the service of

* L. de miser. Curialium.

ones Prince is concern'd, a man should not be obliged even to expose both his life and fortune for a subject so worthy; all nations have unanimously consented to this politique principle, (to wit,) that there is no death more glorious, more meritorious, than that which is received for the affection to his Souveraign and love of his Country: notwithstanding, there is a great deale of difference betwixt the actions which have so noble an object, albeit they cannot otherwise than testifie a necessary servitude, and such, whereof we shall here produce examples, which have for their foundation nothing but an infamous flattery, and a servile baseness of spirit. Philip of Macedon having been constrained to weare a fillet, by reason of a wound which he had received on the head; the greater part of those of his Court come abroad with the like, as if they had all of them had the same occasion. His son Alexander contracted this ill habitude to carry his head awry, which was the cause that there appeared not a man in all his equipage, but such as inclined their necks likewise to the same side. The young Dionysius was naturally pur-blind, and the wine which he loved excessively did much shorten his sight; by and by, all his followers feigned themselves blind, every man jossling his fellow, and stumbling at every foote; and Atheneus * observeth, that being at the table, they counterfeited, and made semblance not to find the dishes, affecting also to sit in the place where the King used to spit upon them, with other the like sordidityes, which it were a shame to report. This kind of voluntary blindnesse puts me in mind of that which one writ of the Emperour Hadrian: the extraordinary love which he had for Antinous (whether because of his exquisite beauty; or for that he offered himselfe a victime at the sacrifice which was celebrated for the prolongation of the Emperour's life) gave him a passionate desire to have this young boy placed amongst the number of the gods. Hadrian had no sooner declared himselfe thereupon, but immediately those of his Court protested (contending who should first bring the tydings) that they had seene the soule of the fayre Antinous ascend on high, and take his place as a new star, in that part of the heavens where we do at this day observe the constellation which beareth his

* L. 5. & 10.

name. And indeed one ought never approach greater powers (according to the saying of Xenophanes, ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα, ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα,) unlesse we be resolved to practise all kind of complaisance. The agreablenesse of dissimulation doth almost every day surmount the homely simplicitie of truth; nay, and some would have it passe for a rule of Court* to confesse that he perceived the stars, if another would maintaine it to be night at high noone: or, being become a little better versed in the Court, to excuse our selves, for that we have mistaken the moone for the sun. So it is, that besides this shamefull captivity of all the senses, are we basely obliged to submit unto those of other mens. The person of a Courtier is so little in his owne power, that (to take it rightly) he enjoyeth it not but as a thing meerly borrowed, and as having engaged the propriety which he possessed there. For (without speaking at all of ordinary dutyes which consume even almost all the precious movements and actions of this life: and without touching an infinity of perills wherein it's necessary he should expose himselfe almost every moment) the sole complaisance doth sometimes cause him as it were out of frailty to deprive himselfe even of a part of his body. Lucian tells us that the eunuch Combabus, favourite of Seleucus and passionately beloved by the Queen Stratonica his wife, had no sooner declared to the Assyrian Court, (to the end he might thereby avoyde all calumny and suspition) that he had dismembered himselfe of the parts which he wanted; but suddenly those whose hopes depended upon his favours did the same, and voluntarily deprived themselves of that which only rendered them men, to the end they might not lose their expectations, and continue themselves in the good graces of Combabus. This shall suffice to demonstrate how great the servitude of the body is.

It will be needlesse to insist much upon that of the mind, seeing this is the most common of all other maximes of the Court: never to have other will than that of great mens; nor to judge of any thing whatsoever (if there be any meanes to avoyde it) untill they have

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* Gul. st.

first passed their opinion; that so nothing may be spoken which may be obnoxious to the least exception. There is perhaps no religious *vow* whatsoever that exacts of us any so entire a renuntiation of all the actions of our proper will, as doth the interest of the Court, and the designe of making a fortune there. From thence is it results this great conformity of the inclinations of Princes, and that if Francis the First testified his affection to letters, all the world will be learned; not esteeming him a good Courtier who bred not his children Scholars. On the contrary, doth any Prince despise the sciences? every one affects barbarisme: *Lux* and superfluity was established through the dissoluteness of Henry the Third, as was piety, when he assumed the weed of a penetentiary. In fine, this is a thing universally acknowledged of the world, that the Court is a place of perpetuall dissimulation, where one alwayes walkes with the visage in Mascarado, where one feignes to desire that which he most abhoreth, and where there is no one act produced of freewill, unlesse it be that by which we embrace a voluntary servitude.

But as touching the operations of the intellect, they are in Court so much the more subject, as the prostitution of this part is effected without much violence, in those who make all other considerations whatsoever to give place to those of profit: such is the most frequent custome of the Court, after that a man is never so little engaged in the enchantments of this Circes: and verily, I lesse wonder at some men, who indulge themselves this liberty, to represent the terrestrial Gods rather such as they ought to be, then such as they really are. These, I say, are not the most culpable, although sufficiently blameworthy, who content themselves in styling their vices imperfect virtues, and discover every day goodly names which serve for coverture unto all their defaults. But this is a thing altogether deplorable, having respect to the liberty whereof we speake, when we submit even unto the basenesses of the mind, and to flatterings so enormous and ridiculous, that one ever appeares to have made bankrupt all manner of judgment. Alexander the Great was constrained to heare one of those infamous cajolleries, when one of

his Court (whom Atheneus nameth Nicesius*) protested to him that the very flyes which sucked his blood became more valiant, and gave stings more courageously than other flyes did. The Philosopher Anaxander, notwithstanding his profession, treated this monarch after the same manner, when upon a clap of thunder, which was very terrible, he desired that he would say whether it was not hee, who (as son of Jove) did but even now thunder so loud. Constantine was compelled to stop the mouth of a Priest† who told him that his vertues merited not onely to command (as hee did) during this life; but likewise to reigne in the other also, with the sonne of God. Procopius (or to say better, he that hath made the Anecdotes under his name) representeth the great Civillian Tribonius, not ashamed to use these tearmes to Justinian ‡: "I sweare to your Imperiall Majestie, that this great pietie which you alwayes exercise, giveth me extraordinary apprehensions, that I shall behold you suddenly assumed into heaven, when we least expect it." To this likewise are conformable those words of Hesychius, touching the impiety of Tribonius in his life: And we know also, that at an entry of Demetrius into Athens, one told him, there was none other God save himselfe: or that, if any, they were busie in sleeping, and taking their repose, during the time hee acted. After this sort it is, that crimes so easily immingle themselves, and that in an extreame impiety we may observe a wonderfull strange dissolutenesse of mind, which is for the most part attended with a feare which never abandons even the very slaves themselves. Harpagus, being asked by Astyages if he had well relished the flesh of his sonne, of which he now but newly had eaten with a prodigious inhumanity, answered, that at the table of his Soveraigne, there was nothing ill, and that whatsoever was don by his command was to him most agreeable. Herodotus, who relateth this story§, doth yet furnish us with another upon the same subject: Cambyses having placed for his butt or marke the heart of a young boy which he transfixed with a dart in the presence of his father, demanded of him, what his opinion was of the shot: to whom the father

* Lib. 6. † Euseb. l. 4. de vitâ Const. c. 4 ‡ P. 61. § Lib. 1. and 3.

answered, that he did not beleeve even Apollo himselfe could have levelled more exactly. Truly I am of Seneca's judgment, that although the cruelty of the Tyrant was very notorious, yet was the reply of the Father farre more impious. *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quàm emissum* *. At the least no man can deny, that these are not examples sufficiently pregnant to show what may be expected from the liberty of the judgments of the Court; where we ought to resist even the most just and sensible movements of nature, to the end we may say nothing which may displease such as are feared and adored there. If Alexander will be taken for one of the Gods, the Priests of Jove are the first who attribute unto him the rayes of the deity, and acknowledge him for the reall sonne of Hammon.

But happly these mentall captivities would appeare lesse strange to us, suffered we them only to comply with those unto whom otherwise we cannot render too many respects. It would be no wonder to see that Favorinus betrayed the honour of his knowledge and reason in favour of an Emperour who commanded thirty legions. And in effect, when the Ecclesiastique † hath delivered us the precept never to make shew of over great abilities before one's Soveraign; it seemes that he would incite us to this flexibility of mind, which we ought ever to have in presence of him, and those principall ministers who do represent the person of the King; and to whom he communicateth a beam of his lustre and authority. But the mischiefe is, that we must oftentimes exercise this our obedience towards persons who doe least merit it of their Soveraign. We beare more respect to a favourite of Pompey's, than unto Cato of Utica. And the whole world hath observed the insolent authority of the Eunuchs in most of the Levantine Courts, of Libertines in that of the ancient Italy, and of a number of the same stuffe who have (in sundry places) abused the favour of their masters. For Princes sometimes please themselves in imitating those great architects who remove huge machines with very small engines. They extreamely delight to have power to act as *causes universall* in changing (according as they seeme good) the

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* L. 3. de irâ, c. 14. † c. 7.

destinies of their subjects. And to represent him the better whose lively image they are here on earth, exalt some one from the dunghill, even to the sublimest dignityes and most important charges of their palace. Men are their counters, which signifie in value more or lesse, according to the position which they are pleased to assigne them. And after the same manner as every man may, when he writes, make such or such a letter of the alphabet precede, which best him pleaseth, Kings are in possession to bestow the principall places of honour and authority within their states unto those whom some particular inclination causeth them to preferre before others. In the meane time, whatsoever may be (for history makes it evident that the election is not always equall) we ought not lesse to submit our discourse and reason to all their pleasures, than to the will of the Soveraigne himselfe, for that many times the Prince is not accessible, but through their mediation. The most inferiour of his petty officers who hath the honour to approach his sacred person at the houres of his retyrement, and private divertisments, may easily enough make or marre, advance or retarde the most important affaires. And therefore it is we see in the Acts of the Apostles *, that those of Tyre and Sidon, desirous to be re-ingratiated with King Herod (who was offended at them), addressed themselves unto Blastus, prime groome of the Privy Chamber, by his meanes to make their peace. And I well remember upon that, of a Persian tale, which perhaps is no jot inferiour in subtilty to any one of those which the antients have attributed unto Æsop. A King (says the fable) haveing made proclamation that they should assemble all the beasts of burthen which could possibly be found, to serve in the warr that he undertooke; the Fox was no sooner advertised thereof, but immediately he flyes, that he might avoide the perill of so unprofitable an employment: by and by, he meetes the wolfe, who (instead of imitation) derides him, that he did not conceive that the ordinance onely respected those beasts who were proper for burthen, from which they were altogether exempt. "Do not you rely upon that," replyes the Fox, "for I tell thee, that if those

* Chap. 12.

which be about the King once take the caprice that we may serve as well as the rest, we shall likewise be compelled to goe, or, at least, infinitely suffer, before his Majestie can be rightly informed of our reasons to the contrary." It is no difficult matter to extract the sense of this ingenious story, and so judge of what importance the favour and authority of those wee speake of, doth concerne us. This is it which doth infinitely multiply the servitude of the Court, which renders the subjection much more insupportable, and that which makes it to be numbred (as I conceive) amongst those felicities which the Ecclesiastique * reckons up; even the happinesse not to have our liberty engaged unto those persons who deserve not the least subjection unto them.

The goodnesse of that Government under which we live, giveth me the hardinesse to explain myselfe with a liberty worthy the reign of Lewis the Just: as he is one of the greatest monarchs on earth, and the most worthy to be admired; he is likewise the best of all, and such a prince, that there is no imagining liberty which can possibly be so sweet and advantageous unto us, as the obedience which we render him. After his example, the greatest of his Court exercise an authority so well moderated, that I do verily believe to be able, without danger as well as without fear, to report the defects of others, and say, in generall, that which was almost continually blamed in the palaces of other princes. The theame which hath hitherto adduced me, hath too far absented me from flattery to adde any thing which doth so much as approach it. And I know the genius of his Majesty, and of those who have the most power about him, to be so averse from those adulterate and false praises (of which we have but newly spoken) as by that only, I should feare to become odious and blame worthy, were I but so inconsiderate as to make use of them. Truly there is nothing which the most glorious potentates ought so much to detest as a flatterer, which ascribeth to them such extravagant, borrowed encomiums, whenas they merit nothing but such as are proper and veritable. And therefore it was that Lysippus boldly affirmed, he had more honoured Alexander,

* Chap. 25.

representing him holding a speare in his hand, than Apelles, who had painted him brandishing and fulminating the lightning, like Jove himselfe. Indeed we read in the history of this great conqueror, that he laughed at a certain artist who had the vanity to undertake, of the mountain Athos to carve out the figure of Alexander, if hee would but have given him commission: as also, how on a time he cast the booke of Aristotle into the river which he passed, as unworthy, because of some ridiculous and incredible exploits which he writ *, that Alexander had performed in a duell against King Porus, wherein he was never yet engaged. Attila was touched with the like resentment, when he condemned to the fire, in Pavia, the verses of a certaine poet; for that to render the pedigree of this scourge of God the more illustrious, he had derived it from so farr, till he extracted his descent even from the immortall essences themselves. And verily they had (in my opinion) good reason so to treate them. For my part, I esteeme modesty to be one of the most essentiall parts of praise; nor should I believe I had yet rendered all the honour and respect which I owe unto those heroes and to our great Lewis, were it not that the silence wherewithall I reverence them, and which I doe voluntarily impose on my selfe, composed the better part of their praises.

THE CONCLUSION.

Behold here, Melpoclitus, what hath so often traversed my thoughts, and of which I verily persuade my selfe, the meditation will not be altogether fruitlesse, in the necessity which sometimes engageth us to accommodate with the inevitable subjections of life. For, if it be true, that to affirme ones selfe free, we ought to be exempt from all kind of corporall and mental servitude; if there be no man who may challenge a right of attributing that liberty solely to himselfe; since even Kings themselves be not enfranchised from certain duties which doe most strictly oblige them to their people. If those philosophers who

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* Lucian de Scrib. Hist.

would be esteemed in this respect, paramount to all crowns and diadems, have rendred themselves slaves to vanity, as other men are of their passions; if, I say, the servitude of the Court, diametrically opposite to the philosophique liberty, captivate such a world of people (accordingly as we are compelled to demonstrate), may we not then well conclude that there is not any person who is absolutely free? Which thing being so, every one ought to satisfie himselfe in that condition of life to which he findeth himselfe engaged; or (it may be) attached unto; although, happily, he therein find likewise some species of subjection, since (that in fine) we are all obliged quietly to acquiesce, upon that which the Divine Providence hath determined upon this poynt of our LIBERTY.

THE

STATE OF FRANCE,

AS IT STOOD IN THE

IXTH YEER OF THIS PRESENT MONARCH

LEWIS XIIII.

WRITTEN TO A FRIEND,

BY

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. M. FOR M. M. G. BEDELL, AND T. COLLINS, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE GATE, FLEET STREET.

1652.

THE

STATE OF FRANCE,

AS IT STOOD IN THE NINTH YEER OF THIS PRESENT MONARCH

LEWIS THE XIIII.

WRITTEN TO A FRIEND.

SINCE I had first the honour to bee one of those whose conversation you have cherished with so many signall obligations, and, as it were currents of civility; I can hardly think, that (when by so many literal expresses and personal commands, you enjoin me to deliver something in writing, touching the late subject of our discourse) you have either cause to delight in my triviall conceptions, or designe my discredit: For however your instances have at last prevailed, yet your honor is no lesse concerned to be tender how you publish my defects, whilest in them onely (though the faults be mine) men will so peremptorily conclude your want of judgment, and condemn your election. But you have promised to be discreet, and I shall then make a saving adventure of my reputation with you, who have candor and charity not from the multitude, but the stock of your own worth and ingenuous education; of which this Essay will be rather an History, then any thing otherwise capable to informe you, who know already so much more, and better, then I can possibly either write or relate.

But to begin once, since it is my fate to obey you; I shall nothing alter the Scene which was then presented to you, when you were pleased (as it since appears) to take notice of those casuall Discourses of mine, wherein I posted over the best remarks and most materiall observations which my weak judgment had been able to recollect, during my so many *pererrations* and unprofitable sojourn abroad, and especially in this kingdome of France.

Nor will I vex your patience with any Topographicall Descriptions, as being the daily subject of your contemplations, when at any time you please to refresh your self amongst those exquisite Cards of the latest and most accurate editions: but represent, in as succinct a method as I am able, what in order to affairs (as in the government of this most active and illustrious monarchie they now stand) I conceive to be chiefly proper and requisite for a gentleman of our nation (under the notion of a traveller) to be able to render an accompt of at his return: and therefore, before I proceed further, I will complie with your desire, and speak a word or two (by way of Introduction, or digression rather,) of my sentiment and opinion touching forraign travel in general, wherein I shall also deal very impartially with all the world concerning mine own particular, as being (I hope) taking my long farewell thereof.

That which first rendred me of this apodemick humour, (I shall not discourse here of mercuriall complexions, whom Physiognomists affirme to be *Individua vaga's*, like my self,) proceeded from a certain vaine emulation which I had, to see the best of education, which every body so decrying at home, made me conceive was a commodity onely to be brought from a far countrie; and I cannot say, without a little ambition too of knowing, or at least of having the priviledg to talk something more then others could reasonably pretend to, that had never bin out of sight of their owne chimnies smoke: all which was a ridiculous affectation, contracted first from the ordinary *radomontadas* of such as have seen strange places, and great want of discretion, and so fondly transported with pleasure onely, and temptation of novelties, the very instrumental causes of this unsettled extravagancy.

True it is, *non omnis fert omnia Tellus:* for the great and good God hath discreetly, and very wisely disposed, in the furnishing and adorning (as I may say) of this Terrestriall Cabinet, having left no one part or corner thereof without some thing specially different, and admirably remarkable, either in the composition, quality or use; all of them according to their position, situation, and effects, admirably commodious and dependant; of which divine œconomy there may be infinitely more spoken then will be suitable to this design, after I

have inferred that for these respects only, a traveller has some excuse, as well as encouragement, to go abroad and see the world.

Now then, for as much as the end of all our appetites, wisely inquired into, ought to be the principal *mira*, and terme to all our actions, he that would travell rationally, and like a Philosopher, must industriously apply himself to the pursuit of such things as (throughout all his peregrinations) may result most to the profit and emolument of his own country at his return; whether in the accomplishing of his person or affairs, there being nothing more veritable, then that saying of Homer,

Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δηρόν τε μένειν, κενεόν τε νεέσθαι.
Turpe quidem mansisse diu, vacuumque redire.

And therefore *Peregrinatio animi imperio, & corporis ministerio debet perfici:* for so it was that Ptolomies young noblemen, of whose rich fraight and return wee read of, travelled, and brought home with them wares of more value then if they had transported gold and pearles. For the same cause Pythagoras took leave of his friends and native country, to which hee afterwards returned with the learning of the Ægyptians, as Strabo in his seventh book and fourteenth chapter, Παρ' Αἰγυπτίων πλανηθέντα φιλομαθίας χάριν.

And not as Plinie affirmeth, *Exiliis verius quàm peregrinationibus susceptis.* Nay, his passion and thirst after this excellent commerce was so admirable, that the same authour in Syren. tells us, he made nothing of circumcising himself, that so hee might with the more freedom and lesse suspicion pry into their profoundest mysteries: for therefore were the Egyptian priests called ἀκοινώνητοι, *incommunicable*, and δυσμετάδοτοι, *imparticipable**.

Such a designe led Thales, Eudoxus, Apollonius, nay Plato himself, and divers other renowned personages, Εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ συνγενόμενοι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

To comprehend (saith Plutarch) the mysteries of Philosophy and Divinitie: as it seems, esteeming the Ægyptians to be the most ancient and noble people of the whole world, both for the wisdom of their constitutions, and exceeding reverence which they bare to learning; these being indeed the fruits and most noble acquisitions,

* Clem. Alexandrinus.

which a gentleman (who is a qualified traveller) should study and endeavour to furnish himselfe with whilst he is abroad.

But these, some may object, are Heathen examples: Christians are content to be lesse curious, and stay at home. Saint Hierom shall be mine instance on this occasion: and truely, it is worth the reading what he hath delivered in one of his *Epist. ad Paulinum:* you shall find it prefixed (amongst severall other) to Sixtus his Edition of the Bible, when (after those words, *Legimus in veteribus historiis quosdam lustrasse Provincias, novos adisse Populos, Maria transisse: ut eos, quos ex libris noverant, coram quoque viderent, &c.)* making a very ample repetition of what I have before spoken in the persons of other men, and especially of the incomparable Pythagoras, and those noble youths who went out of France and Spaine, only to hear the eloquence of Livie, when *quos ad contemplationem sui ipsa Roma non traxerat, unius hominis fama perduxit,* referring us to the eight volumes which Philostratus hath purposely written on this subject; thus he expostulates, *Quid loquar de sæculi hominibus, &c.* "What do I troubling you with old stories?" When the Apostle Paul himselfe, that vessell of Election, and Doctour of the Gentiles, dispersed the Christian Religion through so great a part of the world, by his almost perpetuall peregrination, after his miraculous conversion; the like may be affirmed of the rest of the Apostles, and even of our Blessed Saviour himself: but I recommend you to the Authour. On the other side, as we have justly censured those who meerly run abroad out of that vanity of spirit, and such trivial considerations as I have already reproached in my self, so are we likewise to disband another sort of travellers, whose cynical reservednesse declares to the world that they have only minded the sensuality and satisfaction of a private *gusto:* communicating usually at their return but what may justly merit that repriment which Socrates once gave to a young man who would render him no accompt of all his long absence, *quod secum peregrinatus fuerit:* in the mean time, as much to be abhorred is all manner of strangness, disdain, affectation, and loquacity, by which so many travellers now a days (for the most part) distinguish themselves from the vulgar, to that over acted degree of mimicall folly, as one

would easily imagine they had all this while lived in pension rather amongst apes and parrots, than ever either seen or conversed with persons of ingenuity or honour.

To proceed, therefore: presuppose travell *ut suscipiatur propter unum aliquem finem*, as we have already constituted it: we are yet to give our young subject leave to be so far practical, as that he do not slip any opportunity by which he may inform himself as well in things even mechanically curious and usefull, as altogether in the mysteries of Government and polity, which indeed are more appositely termed philosophicall. Those who have imposed on themselves, and others, so many different species of travell, as it may be said to contain theoreticall parts in it, that is to say, the metaphysicall, physicall, and mathematicall, are, in my apprehension, more exact and tedious in their analysing, then perhaps they needed to have been; of them, therefore, I say no more: it shall be sufficient for him whom I send abroad, that he conform himself to such precepts as are onely necessary, not cumbersome; which rule he shall likewise do well to observe even in his very necessary accoutrements and port-manteau.

First then, supposing him to be a young gentleman apt for all impressions, but from his primary education inclined to the most worthy: having set his foot upon the Continent, his first study shall be to master the tongue of the country wherein he resolves to reside; which ought to be understood perfectly, written congruously, and spoken intelligently: after which, he may do well to accomplish himself in such exercises as are most commendable at home, and best attayned abroad; which will be a means of rendring him very fit and apt for the generall society of that nation amongst whom hee converses, and consequently the better qualifie him to frequent, without blush, such particular places and persons by whom he may best profit himselfe in the mysteries of their polity, or what other perfection they are renowned for, according as his particular genius and inclinations import him. But this hee shall never attain unto, till he begin to be somwhat ripened and seasoned in a place; for it is not every man that crosses the seas, hath been of an academy,

learned a *corranto*, and speaks the language, whom I esteem a traveller (of which piece most of our English are in these countryes at present), but he that (instead of making the tour, as they call it,) or, as a late Embassador of ours facetiously but sharply reproached, (like a goose swimms down the river) having mastered the tongue, frequented the Court, looked into their customes, been present at their pleadings, observed their military discipline, contracted acquaintance with their learned men, studied their arts, and is familiar with their dispositions, makes this accompt of his time. The principal advantages which a gentleman, thus made, may observe and apply are, truth, taciturnitie, facetiousnesse without morosity, courage, modesty, hardinesse, patience, frugality, and an excellent temper in the regiment of his health and affections, especially in point of drink and tobacco, which is our northerne, nationall, and most sordid of vices. It is (I confesse) a thing extreamly difficult to be at all times and in all places thus reserved, and, as it were, obliged to a temper so statick and exact among all conversations; nor for mine own part do I esteem it in all cases necessary, provided a man be furnished with such a stock of prudence as he know how and when to make use even of his companions extravagancies (as then frequently betraying more freely their inclinations, then at times of their more serious recollection and first addresses). Seeing I find it generally impossible for a traveller to evade some occasions and encounters, which (if he be at all practical) he will, *nolens volens*, perceive himself ingaged into at some one time or other. But to recover this deviation, and return to our purpose: the vertues which our traveller is to bring home when he doth *repatriare* (as Solinus terms it) are either publick, such namely as concern the service of his country; or private, and altogether personall, in order to his particular advantage and satisfaction: and, beleeve it, Sir, if he reap some contentment extraordinary from what he hath observed abroad, the pains, sollicitations, watchings, perills, journeys, ill entertainment, absence from friends, and innumerable like inconveniencies, joyned to his vast expenses, do very dearly, and by a strange kind of extortion, purchase that small experience and reputation which he can vaunt to have acquired from abroad.

Those who boast of philologicall peregrinations (falsly so called), which they undertake meerly for the flourish and tongue of a place, possesse onely a parrot-virtue: it is one of the shels of travel, though I confesse, the kernel is not to be procured without it: and topical; in which I finde the Dutch ὁδοιπορικὸν generally most accurate and industrious; both of them serve well for the entertainment of women and children, who are commonly more imported with wonder and romance, then that solid and reall emolument which is (through these instruments) to be conveyed us from abroad.

It is written of Ulysses, that hee saw many cities indeed, but, with all, his remarks of mens manners and customs was ever preferred to his counting steeples, and making tours: it is this ethicall and morall part of travel, which embellisheth a gentleman, in the first place having a due respect to the religion which accomplisheth a Christian: in short, they are all severally very commendable, accommodated to persons and professions; nor should a cavalier neglect to be seen in all of them: but for that my intention is here to make an introduction onely into my own observations, I shall forbear to enter so large and ample a field, as the through handling of this argument would insensibly oblige mee to do, it having likewise been so abundantly treated of almost by every pen which hath prevaricated on this subject; though, in my slender judgment, and under favour, I must confesse, without any real and ingenuous satisfaction either to truth or curiosity.

To conclude (Sir) and contract this tedious transgression, I conjure you to beleeve, that I offer nothing to you in this discourse, out of any the least self opinion, censure of other men, vanity, or ostentation. No, I am assured you will find me far enough from that Idiopathia, and common distemper of travellers; all I shall pretend being but to communicate unto you how I have lost part of those seven yeares, and more; which, not being (as in truth they ought to have been) wholly exercised in the benefit I might have reaped from your society at home, I am obliged in honour, and for justification of my self, to render you an accompt how they have been dispensed abroad. I am very conscious to my self, how much mine owne little interest hath

suffered during mine absence, in the judgment of your stayed and more thriving geniuses, and such as might justly indeed derive characters and prognosticks from a raw and unsettled spirit, such as was mine: but considering that all those transitory accidents of fortune and the world, can no way farther extend themselves, then to a very imperfect satisfaction of our regular and honest appetites, (besides that which they ought to yeeld unto others,) neither he who stayes at home, nor he that goes abroad, is (in mine opinion) to be altogether censured and blamed; and truely he that can accommodate himself to so retired and contemplative a life, as certainly that of a pure country gentlemans is, frees himself of an innumerable host of troubles and importunities, which a traveller runs through, and is in a manner compelled to entertain. Conformable to that of the most incomparable Claudian, *De Sene Veronensi, Epig.*

Felix, qui patriis ævum transegit in agris;
Ipsa domus puerum quem videt, ipsa senem:
Qui baculo nitens, in qua reptavit arena,
Unius numeret sæcula longa casæ.

Illum non vario traxit fortuna tumultu,
Nec bibit ignotas mobilis hospes aquas.
Non freta mercator tremuit, non classica miles:
Non rauci lites pertulit ille fori.

Indocilis rerum, vicinæ nescius urbis,
Adspectu fruitur liberiore poli.
Frugibus alternis, non Consule, computat annum:
Autumnum pomis, ver sibi flore notat.

Idem condit ager Soles, idemque reducit,
Metiturque suo rusticus orbe diem.
Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum,
Æquævumque videt consenuisse nemus.
Proxima cui nigris Verona remotior Indis,
Benacumque putat litora rubra lacum.

Sed tamen indomitæ vires, firmisque lacertis
Ætas robustum tertia cernit avum.
Erret, & extremos alter scrutetur Iberos,
Plus habet hic vitæ, plus habet ille viæ.

The serious contemplation whereof, made me sometimes (being at Naples) break forth in this youthful but naturall ode against travell, which I will here pronounce for my finall *Epibaterium**.

Happie that man who lives content
With his own home and continent,
Those chiding streams his banks do curb,
Esteems the ocean to his orb;
Round which, when he a walk does take,
Thinks to perform as much as Drake,
For other tongues he takes no thought,
Then what his nurse or mother taught.
He's not disturbed with the rude cryes
Of the † Procaccias [up and rise].
But, charm'd in down, sleeps by the side
Of his chaste love, or loyall bride,
In whose smooth arms no sooner hurl'd,
But he enjoys another world:

* * * * * *
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
* * * * * *

If then at home such joyes be had,
Oh how unwise are we, how mad!

This I did once write, and this I so beleeve, (as if God blesse me with a successefull returne into my native country) I shall endeavour *Vivere, non dicere huic veritati:* and though the conscience of my personall inabilities can never tempt me with the vanity to think of any publick advancement, for having spent the prime of my years and youth abroad; yet the contentment and satisfaction which I purpose and fancie to my self, if I may obtaine leave but to enjoy that private condition and fortune, which Heaven hath decided me at home, so

* Scal. lib. 3. Poet. c. 106. dict. ὅτι ἐπιβεβήκει εἰς τὸν Πατρίθα: being a speech which was made to the citizens by him that was returned home after his long travell.

† The Guide or Messenger in Italy, which in the morning calls to horse.

that I can but rubb out of this, into a better world, without the least impeachment to my Religion and Loyalty, *Sublimi feriam sydera vertice*: I shall have arrived at the summ and very top of mine innocent wishes. But if, in the mean time, it be otherwise ordained, I have learned likewise to submit my self unto the will of God, as being very apt to beleeve that excellent apophtheme of the wise man, *Quod omne solum sit forti patria.* But now to our traveller again.

The principall places of Europe, wherein a gentleman may, *uno intuitu,* behold as in a theater the chief and most signall actions which (out of his owne countrey) concerne this later age and part of the world, are the Netherlands, comprehending Flanders and the divided provinces; which is a perfect *encycle* and synopsis of whatsoever one may elsewhere see in all the other countryes of Europe; and for this end I willingly recommend them to be first visited, no otherwise then do those who direct us in the study of history to the reading first of some authentick epitome, or universall chronology, before we adventure to launch forth into that vast and profound ocean of voluminous authours. From thence I would advise him to traverse Germany, (altogether contrary to the vulgar method,) by reason of that so usefull tongue, which he will find very difficult, and with much regret and many conflicts attained unto, after the facile and more smooth languages are once throughly imbibed, not omitting (comparatively) even the French itself. From this region you naturally slide into Italy, and then embarquing for Spain, return by a direct course unto Paris; where indeed I would have the principall aboad of a Gentleman to be, not only in relation to the Court, and exercises acquired in that city, but also in respect to his expenses. This may seem a paradox to some; but for my part I never found any *wood* to a great town; and when my traveller hath cast it up, and made a true audite of all extraordinaries, he will find, what for removalls, and what for the perill of disbauched and frequent collationings, (for in all other little towns his acquaintance will be universall, the English perpetually intervisiting, with a grosse ingredient of Dutch) a very little, or inconsiderable disproportion in the total accompt.

Thus I propose France in the last place, for many other respects which here I purposely omit to enumerate, that I may avoid the tædium of so long a discourse; but especially for this, that our traveller may have the more time and resolution to conquer the language, and go through those hardy and most eminent exercises which are there to bee learned in their choicest perfection and native lustre; after which, with a competent tincture of their best conversation (for the over reservednesse of the Italian, and the severity of the Spanyard, as well as the blunt garb of the Dutch, would in an Englishman be a little palliated; for fear it become affected), he may return home, and be justly reputed a most accomplished Cavalier.

To the other part of your request, Sir, that I should give you some touches of the Low Countryes, and other places (besides the wrong I should do to those perfect relations already extant), observing them at a time when my judgment was not altogether so mature, and myself so much a Dutch traveller, (as I have before rendered you the character) I had rather make an apology for what I have already, and promise yet to say, then to proceed to depose allegations under mine owne hand of the losse of so much precious time, and betray mine ignorance.

Touching Italy, the States are so many, and their policy so different, that it would cost me more leisure then I have now to spend, to reduce and discipline my scattered papers, and such indigested collections as require a more formal method and, indeed a better pen.

Nor could your servant in truth have been possibly induced to discover thus far his egregious imperfections, did not your arguments carry in them some specious reproach, as well as your person so great an authority over me, when you please to persuade yourself the advantage I must needs (say you) have had by my extraordinary relations to persons of affaire, as well as what I might happly in this case gather lawfully out of such as have the latest written on this subject. So that however (and as indeed the very truth is) I was least of all inquisitive how others were governed, finding it so difficult a province to regulate my self; yet mine endeavor to pacifie your importunity, and render you a demonstration of mine inabilities to cõply with any future

expectation of this nature, hath in fine extorted this from me, as an intire resignation and sacrifice of my reputation to that obedience which I professedly owe you, ever more preferring the satisfaction of so noble a friend, to the very promulgation of my own shame and most visible imbecilities.

So then (to approach our purpose) seeing all those nations (before spoken of) and several Governments seem at this instant epoche of time to conspire as it were, and deferr to the present *grandezza* of the French Empire, as likewise considering in what relation we of England are concerned, I have esteemed it best meriting my reflections and your patience, to finish and dresse this peece, as judging it most worthy the consideration.

THE STATE OF FRANCE.

Machiavels saying of Frunee.

I WILL begin with a saying of Nich. Machiavel: *La Corona e li Regi di Francia sono hoggi più richi & più potenti che mai*:—"the Crown and Kings of France are at this day more opulent and mighty then ever they were:" so that Prince of Polititians, a great while since: and without controversie, had he any reason to give it out so in his time, we have much more to affirm the same in these our dayes, wherein they have emerged, as it were, the sole victorious and flourishing nation of Europe, in whose bosome nature hath even built this goodly Kingdome.

Victory and greatnesse the effect of soveraigne power and prudent councell.

That where a Soveraigne Prince is able to maintain an absolute and unarbitrary jurisdiction over his subjects, managed with an active and prudent Councell, there, and rarely elsewhere, doth victory and greatnesse blesse and favour a Nation with any permanent success, is a verity most demonstrable: whether we reflect on the present age, or

From the example of the Romans & Athenians,

those frequent examples of the Romanes and Athenians, whose desertion and abandoning of their royall superiours fomented such confusion

and distraction amongst the Noblemen and Plebeians, as could never be afterwards composed, even to the ultimate destruction and lamentable catastrophe of those most illustrious Republicks.

But in vaine do wee seek for other instances of this great truth then the present progression, and almost quotidian conquests of the now flourishing Ottoman family; which, as it is the most invincible upon earth, so must we needs acknowledg it to be the most independent and absolute which these later times have likely produced unto us. But for that this is a verity which may now a dayes cost a man his teeth (to loose nothing else in the pursuit), I shall prosecute it no further then may serve to illustrate what it is which hath of late rendred so potent, and aggrandized this present aspiring and formidable Monarchy, France, of which I shall next essay to give a brief character.

and Ottomo manians; though now a dangerous truth.

And now, as in description of bodies naturall, dissections begin ever with the supreme and more noble regions; so in anatomising the Kingdom of France, which consists of a body politick, I will commence with the head, that is the King; whom here I may call as absolute, since Lewis the Eleventh hath so long since (to use his own expression) put them *hors de page;* that is, freed them from that grand authority, which, till his time, the Parliament indeed exercised over them; so that now the same reason which moved the late Kings to depose or translate Saint Denys their ancient Patron, and to put his Kingdome formally under the protection of the Blessed Virgin, is esteemed good reason, and sufficient logick for all his present commands whatsoever; *Car tel est nostre bon plaisir:* "for such is our good will and pleasure."

The Kings of France absolute, since Lewis the 11th his saying.

S. Denys the Patron of F. deposed, to gratifie the B. Virgin.

For with these words of course the Secretary (it seems) concluded the arrest, whereby it was conferred, which gave many occasion to reproach it.

> *Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas.*
> For so we will, so we command;
> Our will does for our reason stand.

The Monarchy of France (from a democratick state) was founded anno 420, and hath continued it self under three severall races; *viz.* of Meroüese, Charlemayn son of Pepin, and lastly, Hue-capet; from whom this royall house of Bourbon derives its succession, branched from Robert Earle of Clermont, fourth son of Saint Lewis; so that

The Monarchy of Fr. when founded,

continued under three races;

the King at present reigning is the sixty-fifth Monarch of France, without that any of the feminine sex hath ordinarily intervened; as they affirm at least, from a very inveterate law, which they intitle the *Salique*, being intended but a meer romance of their own feigning, a piece of *legier de main*, by which they have so long pretended with the great shadow of justice to elude and invalidate the title of our former and ancient Kings of England, as to succession in the right of their mothers and wives.

no woman intervening,

from the Salick-law, being a meer pretence to invalidate the title of England:

as well as their Sainte Ampoule.

Touching that other legend of their Sainte Ampoule, which in the time of Clovis first Christian King of France was (as they give out) brought by an Angel from Heaven, and reserved at Rhemes for the Royal Chrisme, we will give it leave to passe as a vulgar (yet not impolitick) errour, or impertinent tradition; however, by the device aforesaid, the daughters succeed not to the Crowne, some of them having oftentimes married themselves unto private men, but still reserved their titles, together with the surname of France, which it seems is an honour permitted them during life, to shew from what stock they originally derived. Notwithstanding this, the Queens of France are usually admitted to the Regency during the minority of the King, which is at the age of fourteen years, *inchoative;* untill which term, they with their counsell administer the public affairs of State, without equall or controule.

The daughters of Fr: sometimes married to private persons, yet reserve their titles and surnames.

And the Queens admitted to the Regency during the minority of the Kings.

The title of the F. Kings;

Concerning the title or adjunct of the Kings of France, which is most Christian, and eldest son of the Church, they make no smal boasts; for not having been a complement (as they name it) sent them from Rome, as were those of other Kings; but descended, time out of mind, from their own virtue, merits, and piety.

of his eldest son.

The eldest son of France is, during the life of his father, called the Dauphin, from the stipulation (as it seems) made with Umbert: who bequeathed that province conditionally to Philip de Valois.

Birth and character of the present King.

To speak something particularly of this little-great Monarch, Lewis the Fourteenth, born Sept. 5 1638, after the Queen his mother had been above twenty yeers without issue, as his production was almost miraculous (not to repeate here any bold disquisitions, with those who give themselves a liberty in these days, to speak evil of

dignities) so is his person a character doubtless of no lesse majesty, and fair hopes: and certainly, if his education be fitted to the prognosticks of his nature, he cannot but emerge a Prince of singular qualities and egregious perfections: this I am willing to adde from that mechanick and artificial breeding, which men conceive some of his progenitors and neerest relations received; that so not being altogether so dexterous and knowing in king-craft as their high calling required, they might with less suspicion and more ease suffer themselves to be governed by the counsels and inclinations of such whose mystery and ambition it hath ever been to continue by this means their greatnesse, and reinforce their authority.

Artifice of the French Queen and publick Ministers in the late Kings education.

This present King hath one onely brother, who is called the Duke of Anjou: but more frequently distinguished by the name of Monsieur; a child of an extradionary prompt and ready spirit.

Duke of Anjou his character.

The other principall branches of this Royall Family are, in the first place, Gaston Jean Baptist, the Kings Uncle, and Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant General of the K. and Governor of Languedoc; the same who during so many years as his brother was without off-spring, had those fair hopes of a Crown; which however his merit and abilities for such a jewel be commonly disputed, to his no great advantage, certainly there is no man alive in competition with him for his exquisite skill in medailes, topical memory, and extraordinary knowledge in plants: in both which faculties the most reputed Antiquaries and greatest Botanists do (and that with reason) acknowledg him both their prince and superiour.

Duke of Orleans his character.

The eldest daughter of this Duke, is Anne Marie d'Orleans, particularly called Mademoiselle, *sans queüe per eminentiam*, as being the first in pre-eminence and (after the Queen) greatest lady in France, to give whom the epithetes of her great worth, were to spoile all her sex of their praises, and make her as much envied as she is indeed justly to be admired.

Mademoiselle her character.

The next in blood and ranke is Loüis de Bourbon the Prince of Condy, the son of Henry de Bourbon, who (to so little purpose) was yet so miraculously saved in the last bloudy and inhumane Parisian massacre. This Prince is Grand Maistre of France, Governour of

Prince of Condy his descent and character.

Bourgongne and Bery, descended by a direct line masculine of François de Bourbon, second brother of Antonee of Bourbon, Earle of Marle, afterwards Duke of Vandosme, and King of Navarre, the father of Henry the Great, and of Charlot Catherine de la Trimoüille, his second wife.

A Prince whose merit in field and successfull atchievements, high extraction, and extraordinary parts, prompt him sometimes to enterprises beyond the duty or praise of a loyal subject; for there lives not a more ambitious young man upon earth; having outlived his imprisonment, once chased his enemy the Cardinal; and not satisfied with this revenge (or whatever other assurances the State can render him) puts fair by a fresh Rebellion to speede a prosperous traytor; or perfect his infamie.

Prince of Conty his Character.

His brother is Armand de Bourbon Prince of Conty, seemingly designed for the Church, but susceptible of any other advantage; a Prince of a weak fabrick and constitution, but sound intellectuals. They have likewise a sister called Mary, wife to the Duke de Longuevill.

Daughters of F: how disposed of.

How the daughters of France have been disposed of into England, Spain, Savoy, Mantoa, &c. will be here superfluous to relate.

The naturall issue of the K: of F: how esteemed.

Touching the natural issue of the Kings of France (who are ever in this kind Country in very great reputation and place, sutable to their birth by their fathers side), I cannot learne that the late King had any; nay, it is reported he did so abhorre *paliardize* (Fornication), that he scarce thought any other act to be sin in comparison of it: contrary to the opinion of his wise Counselor and Cardinall de Richlieu, who (as I have sometime heard) did use often to say, "that a Concubine was the honest mans recreation:" a priestly aphorism, and spoken like a churchman.

The Soveraignty of the French Kingdome, how it became so absolute.

Now to say something of the soveraignety of the Kings of France, we will step a little back, and see by what meanes and degrees it became so absolute.

Whilst the nobility of France were in a manner free and independent Princes (for such was heretofore the most part of them) how are histories loud with their carriages and deportment towards their Soveraigns? what checks upon every occasion were they ready to give them? wit-

nesse those frequent impresses of a certain Duke of Gienne, Bourbon, Bretagne, and others of the same rank; nor hath these later times exempted the Crown itself from the dangerous consequences which so many fortified towns, governments, and places of importance, have so often menaced, and, in effect, notably bridling the head of Majesty; untill the defunct and great Cardinall de Richlieu found out a speedy and fortunate expedient to reduce them to obedience, and that not onely by subjugating the Posts themselves, which he performed by strength, but likewise by so dextrously interesting the Gentry and refractory Nobility, both by honours and blood, to the Court and his faction, which he did by policy: in fine, he so handled the cards, that the better sort of people became tractable out of meer respect to their relations; and the meaner by an inevitable constraint, as well as the example of their Chiefs, were compelled to a due submission; so that now the sovereignty of France is become so independent and absolute, that albeit it do still retaine a shadow of the ancient form, yet it is, duly considered, a thing heavenly wide and different: for in the Kings sole power it is to resolve of, and dissolve warrs; by him are the lawes interpreted; letters of grace, of naturality, and other acts given out; he it is imposeth taxes, from which (by a speciall decree) the Church her selfe is not exempt; nay, albeit the Pope his own Holinesse consent not; from all whose ecclesiasticall censures, fulminations, and anathemas, he feels himselfe also priviledged, and therefore nominates all spirituall persons to their preferments and dignities: notwithstanding all this, the handsomer to disguise and apparell these his volunties, and render them at the least specious proceedures of justice, he permits none of his edicts to passe as authentick until the Court of Parliament (who is absolutely at his devotion) have first verified them; a favour this likewise out of complement too, *non tam necessitatis quàm humanitatis*, as a civilian (whose glosse it is) hath warily termed it. So that as for the Parliaments of France (besides the name and formality), there is in truth now no such thing in nature; which, together with their ancient liberties, how deservedly they lost them may be easily discovered in their frequent rebellions. In a word, he who would perfectly, and without more adoe, understand by what law and rule the Kings of

C. de Richlieu, his subtility in reducing it to that independency.

The Kings absolute power, both in Church and State,

though under colour of justice & complement.

Parliament of France a name only.

France impose on their vassals, may see it summarily, yet very legibly ingraven by that fore-mentioned Cardinall, upon that excellent artillery which defend his Majesties citadell at Havre de Grace, in Normandy, where you may run and read the best of tenures, as the times are now, in this epigraph, *Ratio ultima Regum;* though for this slavery of theirs, they may in some degree thank our countrymen, whose forces being embowelled amongst them, hindred the assembling of the Three Estates (as they should have done): whereupon the King being necessitated to make his simple edicts passe for authentick laws (although this power were delivered to him during his wars only), was the reason why the people could never recover or seize on them since. A jewel this of too great value (some think) to bee intrusted to one person, upon what pretence or necessity soever. To the King and his immediate issue, in dignity and rank, are the Dukes and Peers of France.

By what means discomposed.

But first, it is to be observed, that the Princes of the Blood of this Kingdom possess their lands and revenues under the name of *appanage*, and not as absolute proprietaries; by which means all their estates return again to the Crown by the right of reversion, to the end that the domaine abide intire, and for other the like reasons: the Duke of Sully Henry Richmont, heretofore called *Bois Belle* (on which there hangs a story) only excepted.

Their estates revertable to the Crown by appanage.

We will passe over their original, which would be extreme difficult to investigate, and proceed to their authority, which was first established by Hugues Capet and his descendants, who thereupon obliged them to hold their lands of the Crown immediately; by which means he also gained many that before were disaffected to him, as the Earls of Flanders, the Archbishop of Rheims, and divers others, who had been at the first great opposers of this usurper. Now of these Peers, there were at the first twelve only ordained: to wit, six of the spiritualty, and as many of the temporalty: but at this day their number is become indefinite, depending solely on the pleasure of the King: and these are so named, not for that they pretend to any equality of dignity with their Soveraign, but their mutual parity in authority one amongst another.

Their originall authority,

and number.

The Ecclesiasticks were

Ecclesiasticall.

1. The Archbishop and Duke of Rheims.
2. The Bishop and Duke de Laon.
3. The Bishop and Duke de Langres.
4. The Bishop and Earl of Beauvais.
5. The Bishop and Earl of Noyon.
6. The Bishop and Comte de Chaalons in Champagne.

The six Temporal were

Temporall.

The Dukes of { 1. Bourgogne. 2. Normandie. 3. Guyenne.

The Compts of { 4. Thoulouse. 5. Champagne. 6. Flanders.

These twelve Peers composed likewise in times past the Parliament of France, from whence it is to this day called (as once with us) the Court of Peers.

Their immunities and priviledges.

Now, amongst sundry other immunities and priviledges which they injoy, this is none of the least, that they can neither be disposed of, nor appealed in judgment, but onely in the Court of Parliament, where they have their places as the Princes of the Blood have; for, before the institution of that high tribunal in this kingdom, the Peers were those which judged all causes that were ordinarily brought before the King; nor did he manage any thing else either in war or peace, without their speciall aid and assistance. Moreover, this dignitie to some hath been granted for life, some personal, others onely to the males descending, some for ever; yea, and even women themselves are alike capable of *paireries.*

Women capable of paireries.

Charges at the Coronation.

It would take up too much time, should I trouble you with their severall functions and charges at the Coronation, more fit for an herauld than an historian; this onely is observable, that albeit there were never so many Peers present, those onely who bare the titles of the six Spirituall and six Temporall before noted, officiate at the ceremony; for which very purpose, those who are wanting, or extinct, have yet their representatives, who upon this occasion stand for, and supply their persons.

The Crown of France, and Officers belonging to it.

We have spoken now of the King and prime Nobility; let us next survey the Crown and prime officers thereunto belonging.

The late author of the *Estat de France* hath divided them into three Ancients, three Modern, and three Domestique; which truly, is not an unequall *trichotomy;* but for that I intend to perfect what I have already established touching the Court, I will commence with the three last in this partition, and so come to those which more immediately appertaine to the State afterwards.

The Domestique Officers.

The three Domestick Officers and charges are

The *Grand Maistre* of France.
The *Grand Chambellan* of France.
The *Grand Escuyer* of France.

The office of the Grand Maistre de France.

The office of *Grand Maistre* de France is Superintendent of the Kings house, and hath absolute jurisdiction over all the domestick officers and provisions of his Majesties table; and is a place of so supreme authority, that it is seldom conferred save upon one of the Princes of the Blood; the Prince of Condy at present undeservedly inheriting his fathers charge therein.

Subordinate officers to him.

Under the *Grand Maistre* are many subordinate officers, as *maistres d'hostel,* butlers, carvers, gentlemen waiters, and a whole regiment of others, which are reduced to no certain number: one thing is to be noted, that when the King dyes, the *Grand Maistre* breaketh his staffe of office, not only as an embleme of the dismission of the rest, but likewise to shew that their charges are only dependant upon the life of the King, albeit afterward the successor for the most part re-establisheth them.

Ceremony at the death of the King.

The High Chamberlain and officers subordinate to him.

Next to the *Grand Maistre* is the High Chamberlain of France, who hath the supervisall and disposition of all officers of the King's bedchamber and wardrobe, gives or denyes accesse to his Majestie; under him there are four chief gentlemen of the chamber, called, *les quatres premiers gentils hommes de la chambre du Roy;* one of these ever lies in the Kings bedchamber, or very near to it. Under these are the Masters of the Wardrobe, very lucrative places, to whom are subordinate the Pages, &c.

Lastly, the *Grand Escuyer*, or Master of the Horse, superintendent of the *Premier Escuyer* and other officers of the stables; his charge it is to march on horseback before the King, bearing a sword and belt, when his Majesty entreth into any city; but in those towns which have a parliament he carries (in place thereof) a casque of blew velvet semeed with *fleurs de lys*, his own horse caparisoned with the like. He pretends also authority over the Masters of the Post, offices of wonderfull gain; but it is now otherwise settled. The Master of the Horse hath likewise under him four and twenty Pages, who being the sons of prime Noblemen, are educated in all such exercises as become their quality. The Grand Escuyer is at present the Prince of Harcourt.

The Grand Escuyer, his authority.

The *Premier Escuyer* (whom I have before-mentioned) hath particular care of the Kings little stable, where the coach horses are kept, as also over the Pages, who be no lesse then fifty in number, and the Kings Footmen; in effect he commands equally both the great and little stables, so that the charge of the *Premier Escuyer* is not much inferiour to that of Master of the Horse himself.

Premier Escuyer.

The King hath likewise foure Secretaries of his Chamber, and three of his Cabinet: to speak truth, the multitude of those who stile themselves Secretaries to the King, is such, that what with the greatnesse of their number, and inconsiderablenesse of most of their persons, the dignity of the charge is extremely eclipsed.

Secretaries of the Kings Chamber and Cabinet.

The Kings *Bibliothecarius*, Superintendant of the moveables of the Crown, Controlers, Treasurers, *Mareschals des Loges*, *Capitaine de la Porte*, who hath under him a guard of fifty halberds, &c. and of other inferiour officers of all sorts, under those above five hundred more, though never half of them waiting at a time, and so not constantly eating at Court, as did heretofore most of the officers of the Kings of England; the splendor, hospitality, order, and decent magnificence of whose service and attendance in this kind, I am confident no Court of Europe hath ever approach'd or parallell'd.

The Bibliothecarius, Controlers, Treasurers, Mareshals des Loges. Capitaine de la Porte, &c.

Order, splendor, and hospitality of the English Court preferred.

There are likewise of Churchmen, the Greate Almoner of France, upon whom depend all of that robe in the Court; under him is also the Premier Almoner, and subordinate to him the severall Chaplains, Clerks, Confessors.

The Great Almoner.

Chaplains, Clerks, Confessors.

Nowe before I proceed, somthing I should speak of those royall officers which superintend the Kings pleasures and ordinary recreations; such is the *Grand Veneur* and *Fauconnier*, the Chief Hunter, and Master of the Game—places not only of very great honour, but also of command; but a word of them shall suffice, as offices rather of dignity than policy.

Pertaining to the Kings pleasure, as Veneur, Fauconnier, &c.

Touching the officers belonging in particular to the Queens household, I shall herein likewise much contract my self, having so amply discoursed of those which appertain unto the King; and the rather, in regard that in most of the subalternate, they so much resemble the one the other. Yet she hath differently one *Dame d' Honneur*; of extraordinaries many more; six Maids of Honour, twelve Chamber-maids called *Filles de la Reyne:* a Knight of Honor, divers Masters, Cup-bearers, and Carvers; a Chief Groom, under whom are a great many Pages and Footmen; also Secretaries, Treasurers, &c. She hath likewise her *Grand Aumosnier*, and a *Premier Aumosnier*, Ecclesiasticks, and the like, as before was said of the King.

Officers belonging to the Queens in particular, much like those of the Kings, except Maids of Honour, Knights, &c.

And now having surveied the principal Officers of the Court, I know you are ready to enquire of me where the guard of this great Monarch is all this while? I will but only mention the *Grand Prevost*, at present the Mareschal d' Hoquencourt, whom I may not omit, and then I will draw them forth in their several orders.

The Grand Prevost, his command.

Not only the *Grand Prevost* is an office which extends it selfe over all the officers (already mentioned) which belong to his Majesties houshold, but it hath likewise command absolute for six leagues round about Paris, and the Court, every way, which is in truth a very great and noble jurisdiction; besides he is judge of all causes, as well civills as criminels, which are incident in Court, and hath for this respect two Lieutenants, fifty Archers of the Kings guard, and severall other officers: to him appertaineth the imposing of the price of bread, wine, flesh, fish, hay, oates, with sundry other very important priviledges. But behold, here comes the guard: the first which present themselves are,

Guard of the King of France.

100 Gentlemen.

Le *Cent Gentils Hommes*, so named from their primary restriction (albeit now double in number) they are called the Kings Company, and wait on him on all days of ceremony, and like occasions. Next,

Musquetiers on horseback.

The *Musquetiers* on horseback, which during the Regency have been

dissolved, but are now in great probability to be re-established by the King; they were composed of one hundred and fifty horsemen, chosen out from amongst the prime youth of the chiefest families of France, and at the first instituted by Lewis the Thirteenth, father of this present King, who was so physiognomically punctual in their election, that it is reported he would admit none who were of a red hair: these waited on his Majestie in person whenever he went abroad: but after these, and the more ancient farr (who besides their immediate attendance on the person of the King wee are to accompt as principall and solid forces of the state) are the guards of French, Scotch, and Swisse: of all whom, because those who approach neerest to the person of his Majesty are the Scotch (by an extraordinary and special good fortune, it seems, ever esteemed faithfull to this King and Crown only, for they are very neer his person, and therefore called the *Guard de la Manch).* I will first begin with them. They consist of an hundred archers, and four exempts, who carry a staffe or truncheon in stead of an halberd, with the rest, from whence they are so denominated: these wait on the King, and observe him in all motions, joyned also with some other of his Majesties guards, whereof some bear halberds, others carabines, whether the King be at table, in coach, or in his bedchamber. But this guard of Scots, as sympathizing with the calamity of this nation, is of late years very much impaired, divers French suborned in their places, and many of their priviledges lost and infringed, insomuch as it seems at present to retain rather a name than a real being.

Late Kings curiosity in choosing them.

Scotch Guard, or Guard de la Manch.

Decay of the Scots at present.

The Swisse (for being likewise strangers) I produce in the next place: the guard of this grim nation is composed of sixteen companies; but of these the more immediately attending as the Kings constant guard are only an hundred of them, who all weare the Kings cloath, marching with halberds on their shoulders, drum always beating, and fife playing before his Majesty, when 'ere he stirs but into the city.

Guard of Swisse.

Lastly, the Guard of French, called the *Regiment des Guards,* with the Swisse (composing two entire companies) guard all the avenues and precincts of the Kings palace: they are both of them two regiments, whereof each is made up of 30 companies, consisting of two hundred men apiece, if full; and besides these there is also another *Companie*

Guard of F. or Regiment des Guards.

Gens d'arms cavalry.

de *Gens d'Armes*, who are Cavalieres, and serve quarterly on horseback.

Thus is this great Monarch so inviron'd with men of iron whereever he goes, that one who should meet him abroad, though but upon the most ordinary occasion, would suppose them an army marching rather to defend or invade some distressed province, then the private guard only of a Princes person; so carefull have the Kings of France ever been to maintain this principle of greatnesse and security, the very quintessence certainly of true polity, and infalliblest signatures of an absolute jurisdiction.

True signatures of absolute Monarchy.

It would now peradventure be thought proper here to speak next of the Militia, having already placed the guards, who indeed compose so considerable a part thereof; but because wee have now done with the Court, we will in the next cast our eyes upon the State, and afterwards secure it.

Officers of State.

Kings Revenue.

But first a word or two touching the Kings Revenue and Counsel; as being the very nerves and pillars of all earthly grandeur.

The ordinary revenue of the Kings of France is extremely uncertain, albeit vastly augmented within these late few years, and (besides from the domains formerly engaged to the Crowne) are infinitely increased by the *doüanes tailles*, and other customes arising upon all manner of merchandize; a treasure altogether uncertain, and therefore imposed still as occasion requireth, and at the pleasure of the King. In order to this, are established severall grand officers, of whom in order, first,

Superintendent des Finances or Coustumes.

The Superintendent of the Finances, equivalent to our *quondam* Lord High Treasurer, and officers depending on him. This is he who doth absolutely dispose of the farmes and customs of the King, hath the charge and dispensation of the revenues; in short, it is a place so immensly lucrative, and prodigiously rich (as being obnoxious to no Account) that there is no man able to make a just estimate of their gaine. Subordinate to him are four other Intendents, and as many Treasurers *de l'Espargne*, whereof one of each wait every month, and these are those great financiers who suck the very bloud of the people; for which (like the Jewish *Publicani* their brethren) they are sufficiently blasphemed by them upon all occasions.

Thresoriers de l'Espargne.

The *Tresoriers de l'Espargne* (which are as Chancellours of the Exchequer, have an alternative office; because the number of them is not alwayes certain), places of that vast revenue, that they are frequently sold at no less than a million of livres: for this the *Espargne* is resembled to the ocean sea, into which, like so many rivers, all the other receipts, generall and particular, of the Kings revenue, do præcipitate themselves, and pay their tribute. From hence all other the treasures, as well ordinary as extraordinary, of the wars, Generals of the Provinces, Maritime Officers, Payers of Publick Rents, Courts, receive money, and advance for their several and respective distributions.

The Treasurers of the Parties Casuelles.

There are likewise besides these, the Treasurers of the *Parties Casuelles*, who are four: these have charge to receive all monies proceeding from the sale of offices (which is a gain here openly avowed). But that which much countervails the inconvenience of their casualties, unto which they are incident is, that though a man deposit a vast summe, and even exhaust him self for the purchase, they are yet hereditary, so that even the widow of the defunct may delegate it to a deputy or proxy, the King only reserving a small annual rent, which they call *La Paulet*; in default of which payment, or that the person die without having resigned his office, these Treasurers dispose of it to the Kings use and benefit.

Casual Offices hereditary even to widows, and how.

Comptrollers-General of the Customes.

The *Comptrouler-General des Finances*, his office it is to register all receipts and expences; but, for the present, it remaines extinct.

Bureaux and Generalties.

These Treasurers are distributed into *Generalities* or *Bureaux* (so called from a stuff of that name which covereth a table, as our Exchequer); the Generalties are twenty-two great cities, and each of those have their generall and particular Receivers, which last bring the monies of the *Tailles* (which certain elected officers impose or assesse upon the parishes) unto the respective collectors who receive it: and these at Paris render it into the office aforesaid.

How the Taxes are collected.

Kings of France had other ways of subsisting till King Pepin.

The ancient Kings of France had other wayes then these to subsist, till Pepin and some later Princes of the third line, so much augmented the domaine of the Crown; as by *appanages*, which through defect of issue male now revert unto it; also by possession of lands and seigniories annexed to the Crown; by rents, fifts, and other rights proceeding

mpositions by Edicts.

from fiefs; by impositions and dues which are payable by edicts; by a number of lands who owe faith and do homage to the Prince; by the *Droit d'Aubaine*, by which the goods of strangers dying in France most inhospitably escheat to the King; putting (in this respect) no difference between them and bastards unnaturalized. By the goods vacant through death, &c.; by *annates* or first fruits, dues from certain Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, to the number of 30, and more: as likewise innumerable other wayes, which here it were too long to reckon up.

Droict d'Aubaine, death of strangers, bastardy, vacancy through death, first-fruits and dues from Ecclesiasticks.

Nor can the domain be otherwise alienated, then (as already hath been said) in case of *appanages*: the other upon some extraordinary and desperate necessity, as in occasion of warre, yet then also but upon condition of redemption, and that they be both first verified in Parliament. But these it seems of late, not sufficing the publick expences of so great a Prince and his many armies, those tailles and subsidiary assistances before mentioned have been more frequently levied; yet now (since Charles the Seventh) made the ordinary entertainment of the souldiery. Notwithstanding the Gentry and Nobility (for these tearms are coincident and convertible in France), Churchmen, and their dependants are exempt from these contributions; an immunity which they enjoy as a distinction, which ours of the same quality in England never so much as tasted off; so that (among us) if a person be not rich, let him be never so well borne, the peasant is as good a man every whit for any priviledge which the other enjoys above him; through which defect, as there remains little encouragement and reward for ancient vertue or future industry, so must it needs, in time, both utterly confound and degenerate the race of the most illustrious families, which have yet hitherto remained.

The ordinary entertainment of the Souldiery.

Gentry and Clergy exempt of taxes.

Nobility no advantage in England.

The *Aides* (which I therefore the rather mention, because it was instituted upon occasion of King Johns imprisonment in England) is now become a perpetual and generall tax upon all sorts of commodities whatever, excepting wheat only, which is the sole individual in all France free from any impost.

The Aides, what, and when instituted.

All commodities taxable in France, wheat onely exempted.

But that which seasons all the rest, and is indeed a principal ingredient to the Kings vast revenue, is the Gabels upon Salt, which yeelds

Gabels upon Salt.

this monarch more then twenty millions of livres; for which respect there are divers officers appertaining thereto, some whereof have power to constrain men to buy a certain quantity of the King whether they will or no; a rigour some interpret extremely approaching the very height of extortion: some particular places yet of the kingdome (as towards the frontiers and sea-towns) are exempted, and have their salt quit of any impost at all. These are in fine the most principall quarries from whence this Monarch diggs forth and fetches his treasure and revenue, which those who are yet thought to have made a favourable audite, do not blush to affirm, amounts unto more then an hundred and fourty millions of livres, which is about fourteen millions of our mony: nay some, that in Cardinal Richlieus time it was brought to an hundred and fifty: which portentous and monstrous treasure, together with the management and manner of enacting it, might (as some think) serve a little to extenuate that which was yet thought a proportion too large for a most excellent Prince, whose whole revenue could never yet be stretched to above one million sterling in all, *viis et modis*. Which is some thirteen short of that which the Kings of France at present enjoy.

Rigour of exacting.

King of Frances Revenue 14 millions sterling.

Now ere we define the more distinct Ministers of State, wee will first speak severally of the Supream Counsels, which are two. The chief is called the Secret (or more frequently) *le Conseil d'en hault*, that is (after our old English stile) the Cabinet Counsel, because it is commonly held in the Kings bedchamber; for which respect you may reasonably imagine it to be composed but of few, and those the prime and most illustrious persons of charge and title in the kingdome: so that (according to the nature of affaires) it is sometimes reduced unto two or three only: but upon intelligences and transactions of State, as those which concern matter of warr, forrain alliances, &c. then there is a fuller number of other Ministers required to be present.

Supream Counsels of France.

Le Conseil d'en-hault: of this Counsel are the Duke of Orleans, Prince of Condé, the Cardinal, and 4 principal Secretaries of State.

The other Conseil is termed *le Conseil d'Estat et Privé*, where, when the King himself sits not, the precedency is given to the first Prince of the Blood then present; and in default of their absence, to the Chancellour, who, together with the Treasurer or Superintendent, hath principal authority in all those Courts I have, or shall speak of;

The Counsel of State.

and this Court (besides the above named, who are chief) is composed of many Counsellours of State, who are all persons of great merit, and commonly such as have given signal testimonies of their abilities and addresse by their long services; as Ambassadors and Orators to forraign Princes; or officers in other jurisdictions and counsels: also to this Court appertaine foure Secretaries that serve quarterly; eighteen *Maistre de Requests*, who (according to the nature of the affaire) with the Intendents, make the Reports, having first resolved the businesse amongst themselves, according to which the arrest is sometimes given.

In this Counsell passe all matters belonging either to warr or peace, and all other concernements of the Crown whatever; for here they determine definitively; which judgment so passed, is termed an Arrest or Act of Counsell: howbeit, in causes of high consequence they are often revoked both from this Tribunall (yea, and the Parliament it self also) unto the *Conseil d'en-hault*, although a Counsell but of a later initiation. Branches from this are also the Counsell of the Finances, or Customs, called the Councel of Direction, where all the affaires of the Exchequer are disposed. Likewise the Chancellor holdeth another Counsell, called the *Conseil des Parties*, wherein the processes of particular parties and recusations have their proper hearing: and to this also belong Quarterly Secretaries apart.

The Counsell of Direction.

The Counsell of Parties.

The manner of proceeding in these Courts.

Now the manner of proceeding in these Courts goes according to the disposition of the severall affairs, by the reports made ready, reformed, and first signed, which is by them, then by the Chancellor, if it be at the Counsell of Parties; if at the Finances, by the Duke of Orleans, Monsr the Prince, and Superintendents, who deliver them to the *greffier* or clerk, by whom they are to be allowed, that is, paragraphed in parchment, to which they subjoyne a commission, which is sealed by the Chancellor, if they are to be immediately executed. Other Arrests and Acts of Counsel are executed by an Usher or Sergeant of the Counsel, who wears a chaine of gold about his neck, with a medail pendent, wherein there is impressed the Kings picture.

Grand Conseil.

There is likewise another Councell, called the *Grand Conseil*, in which also the Chancellor presides virtually, though seldom present in person: and this is composed of four Presidents, and a hundred and

fifty Counsellers, who serve by *semestre*: and this Court is chiefly, and indeed only conversant in affaires ecclesiastical, such as concerne bishopricks, priories, hospitals, &c. collation and presentation to benefices in the jurisdiction either of King or Pope within this realme; and therefore here is the Kings Advocate and Proctor-General continually attending.

And now (returning to our former division) we may remember that the more ancient Officers of the Crown were likewise three: *viz.* the Connestable, the Mareschal, and the Chancellor. I shall forbear a while to speak much of the two first, till I come to treat particularly concerning matters of warr: we are now in affaires of State and Justice, wherein this last in our division as chiefe and soveraign; his office is to dispatch and modifie all the graces and gifts of the King; is Keeper of the Great Seale, with which hee confirmes all the ordinances, edicts, declarations, and pleasure of his Majesty; for which respect he hath in Parliament his seat on the left hand of the King, when he is there present. But there are no dayes properly designed for sealing; that wholly depending upon the will of the Chancellour. The manner thereof is this: the Chancellour sits at the middle of a large table, upon which is placed a cabinet or coffer (wherein there is locked all the publick seals of France), the key of which he carries about his neck: at the end of this table are two Masters of Requests, with whom he may advise in case the affaire require it: and over against the Chancellour one of the four Referendaries of France, who reads all the letters, arrests, and other expeditions, which, if approved, are accommodated with yellow wax, fitting and ready for the seale, and so put up into a box to be controuled by the Kings Secretaries, who must first allow and paragraph them, and then they are sealed: for expedition of highest consequence, as treaties, edicts, abolitions, &c. in green wax: but the seals of Dauphine are in red. Moreover the character of the Chancellour is esteemed so sacred and inviolable, that it remains altogether indeleble but by death onely: yet notwithstanding upon decadency or disgrace with the King, there is commonly one called *Garde des Sceaux*, who executeth his charge, and hath also the same authority; for the seales may be taken away at his Majesties pleasure, but not the Chancelor-

Officers of State and Justice.

Chancelour of France.

Days and manner of sealing.

Guard des Sceaux.

ship, which as it is never to dye but with his person, so may he not put on mourning for the King himself, his father or mother, if any of them decease, as being insensible of all other relations, and considerations besides the sole interest of the people; his habite is a robe of black velvet doubled, or lined with crimson plush; before him goe two searjeants with chains of gold, who bear two rich maces of gold on their shoulders.

Secretaries of State.

The Secretaries of State and commands of the King are four in number; whose functions, for being different, deserve to bee mentioned in the next place. One of these Secretaries is for expeditions altogether forraign: one for affaires Ecclesiasticall and Benefices; a third for matters only appertaining to the Kings house, and the fourth serves for affairs and concernements of war; and thus have they the whole Kingdom so cantoniz'd betwixt them, that upon all particular exigencies of the Provinces, every one knows his division. In Court and presence of the King, they waite alternatively by months; for he uses them likewise in affaires of the cabinet, which, for not being matter of state, hee will not have made known or divulged.

Masters of Requests.

Lastly, the Masters of Requests (of whom there are at present no lesse then seventy) are as it were Assessors of the Chancellour, and compose the body of the Court of Parliament (of which we shall shortly speak), and have their seats next to the Counsellers, but not exceeding four at a time. In absence of the Presidents, they preside also in many other Judicatures and Bailliages: these make report and sign the Request of Justice, and sometimes the affaires of the Exchequer: they are likewise many times chosen for Extraordinary Embassades, as well as Commissioners for his Majesty in the Cities and Provinces, where they judge and determine upon all affairs of the Crowne, with most absolute power and authority.

The rest of the officers more immediately belonging to the Kings Revenue I have touched at large already. I come now to the Parliaments of France, of whom there hath hitherto been so much talke.

Parliament of France.

The Justice of France (in the equal dispensation whereof should be the glory and diadem of a Prince in Peace, as is the multitude of people

his visible strength in warr) is doubtlesse very good, but wonderfully ill executed, which happens through the sordid corruption of such as dispense it for mony and favour, without which there is nothing to be hoped for in this kingdom: and good reason there should bee some gaine made of that which the dividers thereof buy so dear, purchasing their places and offices at such excessive charges, that they are constrained to sell their vertue to him who bidds most for it. But this is not (I suppose) the only monopoly which drives that trade.

By whom established.

Philip the Faire established the Parliament of Paris; (for before it was ambulatory, and onely observed the motion of the King) whither both Ecclesiasticks and Seculars repaired. As it is now constituted, it is composed of five houses or chambers: *La Grand Chambre* hath twenty-five Counsellors, who take cognisance of affairs of highest consequence: and of five *Chambres des Enquésts*, to either of which there is also about the same number of Counsellers: likewise two other chambers, one whereof is called *La Tournelle*, wherein are pleaded only matters criminall, composed of two Counsellors of the *Grand Chambre*, and of two of every *Chambre des Enquésts*. The *Chambre de l'Edict* that is, of the Edict of Nantes, which only toucheth the affaires of the Protestants, and is also composed of two Counsellers out of each of the six other Chambers, who are nominated every second year by the Chancellour and the Protestant deputy generall.

La Grand Chambre des Enquésts.

La Tournelle.

De l'Edict for the Protestants.

President au Mortier, because there standeth a cup made in fashion of a morter over the mantling of the arms in lieu of a wreath and helmet.

In the great Chamber presideth the *President au Mortier*, who presenteth the ancient Dukes and Peers: these Presidents are Counsellers of State the first day of their reception, and have about their neck an hood of velvet, lined with furr, from whence some affirme they derive their name: they are now in number seven or eight, having of late been encreased.

Presidents, Conseillers, Advocats, and Procteurs.

To all the other Chambers of Parliament there are likewise Presidents: *viz.* two at the Tournelle, and one at the Edict. To each *Chambre des Enquésts* are two, but these last for being only commissionated Counsellers, have no places as Presidents in full assemblies of Parliament. Besides Presidents and Counsellers, there is moreover a

Procureur, and two Advocates General, who intervene in all causes which concern either the King or State; besides an infinity of other advocates, who are rather to count by multitudes then numbers established, only the Proctors have of late years been reduced to about 600.

Clerk of the Parliament.

There is likewise a *Greffier en Chef*, or Clerk of the Parliament, one of the most lucrative charges of France, as esteemed to be no lesse worth then an 100 crowns of gold a day. This office having now successively remained in the family of Monsieur du Tillet neer three hundred years, we could not passe his name in silence; lastly, of Commises, Searjeants, Ushers, and under officers, there are in very great numbers.

Robes of the officers of Parliament.

All the officers of Parliament wear a long gown and square cap, but the *Presidents au Mortier* and Counsellours, upon solemn occasions, put on robes of scarlet which are trimmed with black velvet.

Arrests of Parl. when pronounced.

The solemne Arrests or Acts of Parliament are pronounced four times in the year: *viz.* on Christmas Eves eve, on the Tuesday before Easter, on Whitson Eves eve, and the seventh day of September till which, from the morrow after the feast of St. Martine it continues; but the Parliament doth not open until such time as the King renews their commission.

Cities besides Paris, that have Parliaments.

There are, besides Paris, these nine cities which have Parliaments,

1 Toulouse.
2 Rouen.
3 Bourdeaux.
4 Dijon.
5 Grenoble.
6 Aix.
7 Rheims.
8 Pau.
9 Mets.

In what they differ from the Parl. of Paris.

Whose constitution and composition are alike to that of Paris, except that of Mets and Roüen, whose President and Counsellers of late serve *semestraly*, that is halfe during one six months, and halfe the other: some of the Parliaments also have no chamber of Edict, as Rheims and Dijon; so that the Protestants of those parts repaire to Paris to plead; and in Toulouse, Bourdeaux, and Grenoble, for default thereof, those of the religion have established them Chambers Mipar-

ties that is, of equal numbers of Romanists; nor have the other Parliaments so many Chambers of Enquests, as not (in truth) needing them.

Likewise this Prerogative hath the Parliament of Paris, that it hath the sole honour to be called the Court of Peers; for here only can they of right be judged; yet this priviledge was not able to protect them, at what time the late great Cardinal de Richlieu made bold to infringe it, when it served to his purpose. *Prerogative of the P. of Paris.*

In all these Parliaments aforesaid the Advocates plead covered, but the Proctors both bareheaded and kneeling. *How the Advocates and Proctors plead.*

Moreover, the businesse of the Parliament, besides the verifying of the Kings edicts, ordinances, and letters patents (as hath been already touched), is the dispensing of all other justice civill and criminall: here the appanages of the Crown are regulated, the erection of new dignitaries, modification of the Popes Legats, commissions, procedures to banishment, letters of naturalty, pardons, and the like supream transactions of State have their genuine and naturall source.

The Bishops in Parliament have right of place, but no deliberative voice, except only the Archbishop of Paris, and Abbot of Saint Denys. Thus much shall suffice to have been spoken touching the Parliaments. *Bishops and Ecclesiasticks in Parliament have place, no deliberative voice, except B. of Paris, and Abbot of St. Denys.*

The Chamber of Compts (which comes next in order) is a jurisdiction and court apart, that concernes and judges the accompt of all the Receivers, Treasurers, and Officers paid into, or received out of the Kings Exchequers, for which cause all their letters, edicts, ordinances, &c. are read, registred, and verified. Here it is that homage for feifs moving from the Crown are acknowledged. It hath belonging to it ten Presidents, Monsieur Nicolas, who is the first (having from father to son conserved this charge neer two hundred years in his family), hath refused for his charge 1,400,000 livres, which the late D'Emery offered him for it. To it also appertaineth seventy *Maistres des Compts*, eighty Auditors: in fine, it is a court of that high authority, that it hath sometimes stood even in competition with the Parliament itself. There are eight of these in France. Besides this court, there are likewise the two *Chambres des Requests du Palais*, where is pleaded the priviledg *Chamber of Compts, its high authority and number.* *Chambers des Requests du Palais.*

of the royall offices and household; and therefore they consist of counsellers of Parliament, &c.

Cours des Monnoyes. The *Cour des Monnoyes*, composed of three Presidents, twenty-four Counsellors: these concerne the Mint in all particulars.

Mint.

Admiralty and Table de Marbre. Also the Admiralty, called the *Table de Marbre*, instituted for maritime affaires. And, lastly,

Waters and Forrests. *Les Eaux* and Forrests, with some other inferiour courts, whereof we have already sufficiently spoken elsewhere.

And so I am come out of Westminster-hall to the other two of our three ancient officers, *viz.* the Connestable and Mareschall of France, being the last of our division, and will naturally lead us to discourse something of the Militia.

Military officers, and first the Connestable of F. The Connestable, albeit an office, to a greater then which the King himself can promote no subject, yet for that it is not a charge which is always in being, but upon extraordinary emergencies and grand occasions, will be needlesse to say more of it, then that this office holdeth ranke immediately after the Princes of the blood; and in Parliament it is before the Dukes and Pairs: the Connestable therefore is chief, superiour, and generalissimo over the armies of France, for which respect he hath his jurisdiction in the Court of the *Table de Marbre;* but at this day the Mareschals supplying this high office (although properly speaking, but his Lieutenants) come next to be spoken of.

The D. of Orleans is as it were Connestable now.

Mareschals de Fr. The *Mareschals de France*, or rather, so many Generals, are the onely persons of enterprise and action in their armies, both at home and abroad; being commonly men who are elevated to those charges, purely by their own valour and merits; so that as their number is indeterminate, so there is no souldier, of what condition soever, but may possibly by his vertue aspire to this preferment. I said even now that their jurisdiction did much resemble that of the Connestables; nor can they be devested of this honour during their lives. Before these Mareschals are determined all matters of private quarrels and defies incident to the Noblesse; for which cause they have their Provosts or Lieutenants in all the greatest cities of the kingdome. They bear in their atchievements a truncheon salterwise azure, semeéd with flower de lyces or.

Finally (which is the last part of our division), the three modern offices of Crown, *viz.* *Last division.*

1. The Admiral of the French.
2. Le Colonel de l'Infanterie.
3. Le Grand Maistre de l'Artillerie.

In the first place the Admiral (who holds likewise his place during life) is Generall of all the Kings forces by sea, and under him are all the marine jurisdictions. The charge hath in times past been divided unto more, both Guyenne and Provence having enjoyed theirs apart; but the defunct Cardinall de Richlieu (who hath left this high office to his nephew) united them all under one: his jurisdiction also is at the *Table de Marbre*, where (for being but subalternate judges) their places in Parliament is at the lower end. The charge is now in the person of the Queen Regent, some say the Duke of Vendosme; likewise the *General des Galeres* hath here his seate, which is a place of very notable gaine and authority on the coasts of the Mediterranean seas, where his Majesties gallies do both harbour and ride. *Admirall.* *General des Galeres.*

Next is the Colonel of the French infantry, which is a charge one of the most considerable in all respects of France, especially for gain, receiving eight solz every muster for each souldiers head, his authority being generally over all the French-foot, and hath for his Lieutenant-colonels the *Maistres de Camp:* under his name issue all ordinances of warr. *Colonel of the Infantry.* *Masters of the Camp.*

There is likewise a Colonel *General des Suisses*, who hath jurisdiction over all those mercenaries, as well those of the Kings guard, as those who serve in the field and in the garison; of which there are constantly about eight thousand in this dominion. *Colonel General des Suisses.*

Last of all, the *Grand Maistre de l'Artillerie*, which is a charge equal with a Mareschall of France: under his tuition and conduct is the arsenall of Paris, all the cannon and ammunition of warre in the kingdome, for which cause he hath his Lieutenants, Captains, and other officers belonging to the carriages in great number: besides all this, he hath the management of five millions of livers, together with the arbitrary disposition of above eight hundred officers; of all which he is obliged to no particular accompt. *Grand Maistre de l'Artillerie.*

Grand Prieur de France. Mr. of the Religion of Malta.

There is likewise the *Grand Prieur de France*, which for being a quality of high reputation is not to be pretermitted. The Mastership of the Religion and Order of Malta, for the French, being not lesse worth than 10,000 pounds yearly: his ordinary residence is at the Temple, a quarter in the town of Paris, as is that of ours in London so called.

Counsell of Warr.

The Councel of Warr is commonly held in the Palace of the Duke of Orleans, as being Lieutenant General of all the Kings forces, and therefore little remote (as hath been said) from the dignity and charge of High Connestable. Thus we have done with the courts and officers of France: now wee will take a prospect of the Forces.

Constant armies of France.

The King of France hath commonly four armies in field; *viz.* that of Flanders, of Germanie, of Italy, and that of Catalogna; wherein the King, Queen, Monsieur, the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Orleans, Princes of the Blood, and Mareschals of France, have their severall and individuall companies, whose Lieutenants enjoy many singular precedencies above other officers of the armies: all those consist of well armed horse.

Light horse and other forces under continuall pay.

The light horse are at present commanded by the Master of the Camp. The King hath commonly under pay about a hundred and forty Cornets of cavalry, distributed into 56 regiments, besides of strangers, twelve: of infantry, the King hath two hundred and ten, whereof some regiments have thirty companies, and every company payed for eighty men effective. Moreover his Majestie hath divers regiments of strangers, whereof enough hath been said in the beginning.

Armada Naval.

The *Armada Naval* may be composed of about twenty men of warr, and as many gallies; I have shewed you before how these forces are payed, and therefore we will proceed to the Governours of the Provinces, as being likewise men of armes.

Governours of Provinces, Cities, and Ports.

The Governours of Provinces have their commissions (which are simple, and depending on the pleasure of the King) verified in Parliament, where they have their seats next after the premiers Presidents: they are in some degree equivalent to our Lieutenants of the Shire, but exercise a much more vigorous power, which is yet restrained to matters of armes; for in other justice they meddle not at all. So likewise

the governors of cities, fortresses, and places of strength, all which are chosen of persons of blood, valour, and merit. But before we altogether quit this subject of armes, it will not be impertinent to say somthing here of the Order of Knighthood in France.

Orders of Chevalrie in France.

I shall not much amuse you with those orders which are so far antiquated, that even the heralds themselves can scarcely render us any certain accompt: Such is that which is named *de la Genette*, instituted by Charles Martel, or the *Order de l'Estoile* by King John, the *Order of the Croisant*, *Porc Espic*, nor much concerning the Order of Saint Michael it self, although not many ages since first instituted, and for a long while the principal Order in the Kingdome; composed but of 36, because (as the manner of this nation is to be as soon weary of their new inventions, as children are of rattles) they begin to have this Order already in contempt; albeit the chain and pendent badg be commonly reserved in the coat armours, together with that which is now in vogue, and next ensues.

Instituted 1469 *by Lewis the Eleventh.*

Ordre de S. Michael.

L'Ordre du S. Esprit was instituted on new years day, anno 1579, by Henry the Third, and honoured with that name, because he was both born and afterwards elected King of Polonia on Whitsunday: this Prince restrained the number also to thirty-six; but that is likewise as indefinite as it pleases the King: however, it remaines yet the Order of greatest esteem, and therefore let us look a while upon the ceremonies of the Inauguration.

Ordre du S. Esprit. Institution.

The day of their reception they appear all in cloath of silver, their cloaks (especially their caps) cut *à l'antique*, of black velvet; which they put off and change, to receive on them a robe of green velvet full of embroydred tongues of fire: then remaining on their knees, the King takes their hands between the palmes of his own, striking them lightly upon the shoulder, and kisses their cheeke.

Reception.

Ordinarily they wear a flame or orange colour crosse of velvet upon the left side of their cloakes, in the midst whereof is embossed a dove of silver, and about it a glory of rayes, like that which our Knights of the Garter in England do wear, as having first assumed that mode from the French; albeit for antiquity of the Order, ours stands much before it.

Order.

About their bodies likewise they wear a blew ribbon which of late they have watered, and at the end of that a crosse of gold, in the midst whereof there is ennamailed a white dove: and this is all which I finde observable.

State Hierarchical.

We have been hitherto very silent of the State Ecclesiastick in particular, which, although it come last in order, yet was it one of the first in mine intention, as consisting of persons who, besides their qualities both for extraction and letters, possesse alone one third part of the total revenue of France.

Archbishops and Bishops.

The Arch Bishops of this kingdom are in number fifteen, whereof he of Lyons is the Primate and Metropolitan, and some of these be Peers Bishopricks, two hundred and one.

L'Eglise Gallicane.

Of this Hierarchy is composed *l'Eglise Gallicane*, which by the concordats made with the Pope, hath sundry rights and priviledges extraordinary, which, but for that they are not much incident to our discourse, we will purposely omit, and content ourselves with what hath been briefly spoken.

Having thus, as I was able, finished my designe and your request, with what succinctnesse and perspicuity I might (for herein I am obliged to some relations, more discourses, and a little experience), I will make bold (the better to let you understand the full nature of things as they subsist and are govern'd at present) to reassume the argument, and deliver you the best and more solid opinions of men concerning the particulars already spoken of.

Present Government of France.

The Government of France doth at present rather totter then stand,

Q. Regent.

upon the late great Cardinals substruction; the Queen Regent having ever

Card. Mazarini.

since his decease continued in the principall ministry of state affairs her favourite Mazarini, a person of (to speak with the world) far greater fortune then either extraction or vertue; however he hath steered this great vessell of Monarchy a long time, and that amidst so many stormes, and in such foul weather, as whether his craft or courage exceeds, it is not yet decided; certaine it is, that as he hath longer held in then by some wise men it was judg'd he could, so some late actions of his (interpreted to have been ingratefull enough) make others daily confident of his absolute ruine: and in truth, he doth play so hazardous

a game at present, that as the hand is universally turned, it were great odds to lay on confusions side, so prodigious a fatality now threatning Princes, that if France compose not suddenly, these calamities, I am confident, will epidemically visite Europe for a time. And why it should be that this active nation have endured so many strangers to governe them thus in chief I am much to seek for a reason, when I steadily behold the universal promptnesse of the Noblesse; unlesse peradventure, to avoid emulation at Court 'twixt so many greater Princes and Subjects, as might else pretend to highest authority, they rather submit themselves to the meanest alien. But this by way of glosse and species, not opinion. The subtill have ever been too hard for the simple: and though the law deny women succession to the Crown, yet the fate of the kingdome, and addresses of the sex, furnish'd them a title which hath fully recompensed for that injury.

Noblesse of France and Gentry the same thing.

The Noblesse of France comprehend the Gentry, under one and the same common term; nor indeed is there in any Kingdome (save ours onely) that severe distinction of *minores* and *majores* amongst the Nobility; a difference which some think neither suits with true policy or justice. But quitting this decision to whom it belongs, we are (as I said) in this dominion to take the Noblesse (that is the Gentry) for the sole visible body, and consequently the Plebeians of a far more vile and naturally slavish genius, then they really are in any part of Christendome besides; which meannesse of spirit I easily conjecture to have been long since contracted from the over severity and liberty of their superiors; their incomparable poverty, and excessive oppression.

Plebeians, their misery.

Other immunities, besides the fore rehearsed, which the Noblesse enjoy in France is, that with their pensions and governments, they are likewise exempted from all contributions upon their own demains; which doth so far oblige them to their Prince, that there are none which render him such real and considerable service, upon all urgent and brisk occasions, as do the Gentry; especially, at what time the Ban and Arrier-ban be summoned to their several assignations: and to this heroique life of the field they are generally addicted, as being thereto excellently disciplined from their very cradles; by which means, certainly they become the best esteemed, and most adroict cavalry of Eu-

Service the Nobility of France yield their Prince.

Ban and Arrier-ban.

Chevalry, their generall profession.

rope; nor doth this early education of them abroad prejudice the State at home; for being kept and dissevered from projecting of commotion in the country, their rebellions have been for the most part, though frequent, yet improsperous, so considerable a party ever remaining with the Prince, whose personal presence with them in the field, gives an extraordinary life and loyalty to their actions.

Rebellions for the most part improsperous in France; and why?

As touching the Plebeians or Roturiers of France; truly I esteem them for the most miserable objects that one may likely behold upon the face of the earth; especially those which live towards the frontiers, so immeasurably exhausted by taxations, gabels, impositions, spoyls, and contributions, unto which they are generally obnoxious. The rest of the two first estates, together with all their dependants, living onely upon their revenues, remain free and exempt; but that which addes not a little to their ruin is (for all this) their extraordinary litigious nature, and vindicative disposition, especially those of Normandy, Bretagne, Gascogny, and Provence; so that, what with the premises, delay of their process, and the abominable corruption of Justice, this rank of people seldom or never arrive to any considerable fortune or competency, by their own wit or industry, as do so many of our Yeomen and Farmers in England. By these means also, their spirits becoming so abjectly debased, they are not able to afford their Prince that ready service in matter of armes, as indeed their multitudes and necessities both promise and require. To supply which defect in all expeditions of consequence, the King makes use of the Gascons and Biscaians, who being bred about the confines and frontiers of Spain, are much the better soldiers, and esteemed for the best infantry of France; as also of the Dutch, Scotch, Irish, Italian, and others, in whom together with the Suisse (a most principall ingredient) consisteth their greatest foot confidence; the more considerable part whereof being mercenary auxiliaries, and very frequently left in great arrears, might peradventure administer to politicians sufficient cause of suspition and discourse; but the event having hitherto, for many ages past, been nothing prejudicial, takes away any farther occasion of dispute.

Commons, their litigious nature in France.

Farmers in England.

Auxiliaries in the French armies.

The people of Trade and Mechanicks, are nothing so contemptible as the common sort, of whom we have spoken a little, many of them

Mechaniques of France.

living very decently and handsomly in their houses, especially the better sort of merchants, who are better furnished then the rest; howbeit, in competition with our country-men of the same quality, to be esteemed, in truth, but as mean mountebanks and inconsiderable pedlers. Those of greatest wealth and commerce, being some crafty Italian or Portuguese, who (during the time of the late and present Cardinal) have amassed very considerable estates and great riches. And here we may properly observe, that no gentleman will in France binde his youngest son to any trade or mechanique calling whatever, under that of a military life, as esteeming every apprentisage and subjection, a stain and diminution to the honor and dignity of his family; the like also they for the most part observe in their marriages and alliances; but herein the German is most religious.

Merchants.

Apprentisage counted a diminution of honor in France.

The Nobility and Gentry of this kingdom differ much from the garb of living in England, both within (and till of late) without doors; they have many of them vast estates, either in lands or offices; the revenues whereof they chuse rather to spend at Paris, and other great cities, in a specious retinue of coaches, pages, and laquaies, then suffer themselves to be eaten up at home, in the country, in the likenesse of beef and mustard, among their unthankful neighbours. This affection of theirs to reside for the most part in the chief towns of the kingdom, is the reason why the Corporations are little considerable, as not daring to be brewing and hatching such factions, as where the Gentry and civiller sort of mankinde are universally given to solitary and unactive lives in the country. Besides, the gentlemen are generally given to those laudable magnificencies of building, and furnishing their palaces with the most precious moveables, much of the luxe and excesse of Italy being now far entred amongst them, as may well serve to exemplifie, when in the Dutchess of Chaulmes her palace neer the Place Royal in Paris, the pennaches or tufts of plumes belonging to one of her beds onely, are estimated worth fourteen thousand livers, which amount to neer a thousand pounds sterling of our money.

Nobilities, garbe of living in France.

Corporations.

Magnificence of the Nobility and Gentry.

Every great person who builds here, however qualified with intellectuals, pretends to his elaboratory and library; for the furnishing of which last he doth not much amuse himself in the particular elections

Great pretenders to learning.

of either authors or impressions; but having erected his cases and measured them, accords with a stationer to furnish him with so many gilded folios, so many yards of quartos and octavos by the great, till his bibliotheke be full of volumes. And yet some of them, both have excellent books, and are very polite scholars; but the Noblesse do not naturally so addict themselves to studie, as the gown-men do; accounting it a life so contemplative and below their spirits, that no gentlemans necessity whatsoever shall easily engage him to seek any support either by Physick or Law; both which professions are (as in truth they highly merit) in very laudable esteem and reputation amongst us in England.

Physick and Law despised by the Nobility of France.

State Ecclesiastick of France.

Protestants.

The State Ecclesiastick (comprehending that of the religion) is of two sorts; the greater part whereof being Pontificians, and the Protestants, commonly called those of the religion (and by them with this adjunct, *pretendue reformée*), who exercise the doctrine and discipline of Geneva.

Roman Catholicks of France, how they differ from others of the same religion.

The Roman Catholicks of France are nothing so precise, secret, and bigotish as are either the Recusants of England, Spain, or Italy; but are for the most part an indifferent sort of Christians, naturally not so superstitious and devout, nor in such vassallage to his Holinesse as in other parts of Europe, where the same opinions are professed; which indifferency, whether I may approve of or condemn, I need not declare here.

Protestants, how eclipsed and weakned of late.

As for the poor Protestants, they are now so inconsiderable, since the late successes of the Cardinal Richlieu, and especially our nations reproach, and their misfortune at La Rochelle; that for the present they possess no one place of strength, or any other singular immunity above others, as being defeated of all eminent persons, either of birth or charge, who might be able to defend or counsel them at need; the Court having now rendered most of them proselytes by preferments, interests, or other effectual means. Howbeit, such as remain (and of which too there are likewise a very considerable body) are permitted peaceably to enjoy their consciences, upon renovation of the late edict of pacification; and are undoubtedly in case of any considerable rebellion, capable to form a very ballancing and pondrous party; but with

nothing that front and confidence which within these twenty years past they might have done, when they durst even beard the King, and protect such as retired to them from his displeasure, in most of his now strongest towns and places of importance; but the scean is now much altered, and they shrewdly contracted, especially since the stir under that late and incomparable person the D. of Rohan: the folly of their own private interests, having evidently proved their fatal destruction; as it is most frequently seen to fall out (first or last) amongst all contrivers of civil and popular dissentions. However, thus far I must needs vindicate the Protestants of France, that we finde not amongst them those frequent schismatiques and broachers of ridiculous enthusiasms as abound amongst us; every particular so unanimously concurring with their pastor, that, in truth, they are herein not unworthy to be commended; though that vertue likewise were the more estimable, were it not certainly constrained by the vigilancy of their antagonists, who watch all advantages to discompose and defame them. To be short, though they have lost many great ones and much strength, and that the form of their discipline invite few, yet the light of their attempts hath invited so many to look into the reason of things beyond the mask of tradition and mystery of policy, that it is both thought and well known, that even divers of those who are persons of greatest eminency both in Church and State, have so good an inclination to change some points of the received opinions, that were it not more out of secular consideration to lose their preferments, then any other inconveniency, many of them would openly profess themselves Jansenianists, Moulinists*, &c. whose opinions, as they infinitely propagate amongst them, so do they come on a great way towards a reformation.

The cause of it.

Fate of civil dissensions.

Little schism amongst the Protestants, betwixt themselves, and why.

Inclinations of many great ones to a reformation.

Jansenianists and Moulinists.

The forces of France is that which renders it (as indeed it doth all other kingdoms) most formidable abroad and secure at home.

Forces of France.

The frame and posiure of the Continent, situated as it were in the navel of all the Christian world, qualifies it to collect, unite, and dispose of her forces; for it hath Spain and Italy before it, England behinde; the seas upon the right, and Germany upon the left hand; at one corner the Neatherlands, and the Cantons of the Swisse at the

Advantageous site of France.

* So named from Cornelius Jansen, or Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, who died May 16, 1638; and from Peter Du Moulin, a very celebrated French Protestant Minister, who died March 10, 1658.

other; all of them potent, considerable, and active neighbors; and where they intermit, it is a worthy prospect to behold how nature hath served and defended her with the Pyrenes, Alps, Ocean, and Mediterranean Seas, whilest she sitting secure from any subitaneous irruption or natural pretension, may well be pronounced a fair and most just empire; and especially since the later accession of Bretagne, Guyenne, Normandy (once the goodly portions of the English), and Bourgogne, who are now all of them under one Prince, as having enjoyed heretofore every one their proper Dukes; by whose favour or spleen there was always a facile entrance for any potent stranger to disturbe the rest of the Kingdom; the consequencies whereof have filled almost every modern Chronicle. And to the stronger twisting of this cord, such prudence hath been had of late times, that all those great and powerful houses remain now no more divided (as still amongst the Princes of Italy and Germany), the cadets and younger brothers minding for the most part no greater preferments then what they cut out with their sword, and merit in field by being soldiers of fortune.

Cadets and younger brothers all soldiers of fortune.

As for the forces by sea, as it was never great, so we do not read that ever any signal action hath been atchieved by any of their navigations; for which cause, Francis the First was once pretty well resolved to make use of the Turk, and call in that stout miscreant, to the eternal reproach both of that Prince and Nation; notwithstanding, at this instant, their maritime strength is not totally so contemptible, having a very stately and considerable armada of handsom gallies in most of their Mediterranean ports, as at Toulon, Marseilles, and other places, which are vessels of excellent use and service upon those seas. On the ocean, I confess, both their shipping and traffique have been alike trivial; and yet of late they have greatly augmented their fleet, especially since the time (to our nations egregious shame and dishonor) that they have made so large inroads and gaps into Flanders, towards the sea coasts; witness those strong towns and havens of Dunkirk, Mardike, &c. stout forts and very commodious harbors for shipping; so that a little time (if we will still suffer it) may likewise furnish them with ships enough to make them stand in a bolder competition with their neighbors.

Francis the First reproached, and why.

Maritime forces and Havens.

Late acquists.

Land forces.

But the more principall nerve of the French power consists in his

forces at land; and amongst them (as hath already been touched) chiefly his cavalry, which is a strength and spectacle both of admiration and gallantry, they being for the greater part composed of gentlemen, who generally so bequeath themselves to this service, that hee who (amongst them) hath not made two or three campagnas (as they use to term it) by that time he is 18 years of age, is esteemed as a person *lasche*, that is, of a soft education and small repute: besides, the horse is an exercise unto which they have so naturall a disposition and addresse, that the whole earth doth not contain so many academies dedicated chiefly to this discipline, and other martiall gymnastiques, wherein they handsomly attain to competent perfection in whatsoever is active and proper for their youth and inclinations.

Cavalry of France the best of Europe.

The horse an exercise proper to the French youth.

Their academies and other gymnasticks.

And what incomparable souldiers this country hath in all ages bred, we need look out no further for testimony, then their many past and present acquisitions and enterprises, under Harcourt, Condy, Gassion, and infinite others; besides (what is no trivial mark of our assertion), the multitudes of such who are at present imployed in the services of foreign Princes. Very undenyable it is that the Spanish infantry is too hard for the French foot; for the peasants of France (of whom they should naturally consist) are thought (and that upon good grounds) to be more then accidentally improper and *mal-adroict* for that service. Howbeit, we finde (and that by quotidian experience) that custome or something else more propitious hath much altered and reformed their natures, even in this particular instance: and for ought I perceive, they keep what they have gotten, and become as good souldiers as those who brag so much of their lowsie and tenacious epitheton; but I must confess how few indigene and naturall Spaniards serve now against them; all the old brave foot having been for the greater part slain, or continued unrecruited at and since the signal battle of Rocroy, where (though with their own destinies) they bravely made good that general and worthy repute which the world hath of the infantry of that nation. And however, had his reproach a more solid ground, yet that saying of Machiavel in his Ritratti, that *Le fanterie che si fanno in Francia non possono essere molto buone, perchè gli è gran tempo che non hanno avuto guerra, e per questo non hanno sperienza alcuna.** &c.

Souldiery of France commended.

Spanish and Fr. infantry compared.

A saying of Machiavel.

* *Ritratti delle Cose della Francia.* Opere de Machiavelli, Tom. II. p. 131. ed. Firenze, 1782. 4to.

is now no more an argument, then that the premises being changed, the conclusion must needs remain, considering that the cause being taken away through their present exercise and perpetual war, the effect and defect must of consequence ensue, as we have already sufficiently proved: or admit it were yet so, I hope the Swisse and other faithful mercenaries to that Crown, abundantly supply all these wants and prejudices, most of which, yet notwithstanding for my part, were, I think, first hired rather out of consideration of diversion, and since custom, then otherwise out of any pure necessity. That likewise which made the armies of France so inconsiderable for native foot soldiers, may with much reason too (if we please) be attributed unto Lewis the Eleventh his disarming of the Commons; by which advice the King indeed became more absolute at home amongst his vassals, but a great deal less formidable abroad amongst his enemies; and herein it was that his neighbors stood him in stead.

Consequence of disarming the Commons.

Another thing rendring this kingdom very considerable for an army, is, their prolifique multiplying; for Europe embraceth not a more populous nation, nor more abounding in victuals, which is the belly of that cruel beast, called war; so fertil, I say it is, that when Charles the Fift entred into France by Provence, and afterwards by Champagne, it nourished (besides the many garrisons thereof) more then an hundred and fifty thousand ravenous soldiers; and even in the time of Charles the Sixth, there were found in this kingdom twenty thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, all consisting of strangers; and fifteen thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, all of natural French. And verily, when we have seriously surveighed the complication of enemies, which once invested this kingdom, when for extent and command it was far inferior to what it is at present, since the English have been dispossessed, Navar adjoyned, and other additions of great strength: I say, when England, Germany, Spain, and Italy, invaded it on all parts, in the reign of Francis the First, as it will appear, how potent and able this kingdom united is to defend itself: so doth the consideration of it seem to me most strange, and altogether portentous.

France abundant in people and victuals.

Adde to these advantages, their store of good arms and munition, excellent artillery, many famous and well furnished magazines; in sum,

Store of Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery.

why should I further tire you with particulars, when their present exploits, and almost continual triumphs, have planted the flower de lyces where ever they break ground. Witness those renowned adventures since Charlemaigne, St. Lewis, Charles d'Anjou, Charles the Eighth, &c.; whose heroicque atchievements and glorious trophies have filled all histories and countreys, even as far as Asia herself; witness their expeditions and successes at Jerusalem, in Egypt, Barbary, Cyprus, Greece, Naples, Saxony, Hungary, and sundry other places, even in these our times, and before our own doors; witness all their late acquists and conquests in Catalonia, Spain, Italy, Flanders, &c.: besides the signal battels and sieges of Nordlingen, Rocroy, Perpignian, Theonvil, Arras, Dunkirk, &c.: not to repeat the miraculous, or rather ingenious reduction of La Rochel, Montpelier, and other impregnable holds appertaining to the Protestants: so that if now we see them begin to decline, and refund what they have so hastily swallowed down, it is but the fate of all humane undertakings, all things having a period in this world, that had a beginning.

Ancient and late Acquists.

The common fate of all humane enterprises.

And now, albeit the Church (who is neer a good third part of France) doth in most places (as the proverb goes) neither lose nor defend any thing; yet here, in times of publick and emergent necessities, have they been made contribute most bountifully towards the maintaining of armies and supplyes.

Church neer a third part of France.

Nor are the frontiers and maritime coasts of this kingdom so ill fortified now, as in former times; but there hath been of late so thorough a reformation and care had in that regard, that it were hard to call to minde a considerable place at present but is capable to support a long and strenuous resistance; especially those harbours and keys of the country which respect our coasts; as Haver, Calais, Dieppe, and divers other places of importance.

Frontiers and Maritime coasts, how fortified at present.

In fine, France is at this present grown to that stature, so well planted, and commodiously laid to it self, that (but for their own madnesse, and the feared fate of these times, which already begins to work) in the reall interest and balance with her neighbours, it were high time she were now a little observed, and a non-ultra fixed unto her proceedings and future aspirings: nor doubt I at all, but if the Low Countries

State of Fr: at present.

High time that a non ultra were fixed to her greatnesse.

were able to preserve her neutrality, but England with Spain (as poor and contemptible as she is now, grown) may one day so exercise this ambitious kingdom, as she may be glad to contain herself within her own confines, without molesting or incommoding of her neighbours.

The greatness of Spain suspicious, and how far it concerns us.

I deny not, that even the greatnesse of Spain her self were as much to be apprehended, equally as dangerous, did not her accustomed swelling and unnatural plethory most certainly incline to a tympanie, rather then shew it proceeded from any strong and sane constitution: their over-grasping humour being much like his, who desiring a good handfull of sand, by griping it over hard, loseth more through his fingers then he can carry away in all his palm. So that in this case our onely best bulwark is France; and *(vice versâ)* opposed to their power, Spain, so long as this antipathie amongst them continues, and they remain in one entire bodie. For this cause it was, and for no other, that Queen Elizabeth would very wisely by no means consent to that offer of cantonizing this kingdom, when in the time of the late league she was offered a considerable share. But on the other side, the accession of the Low Countries to this Empire were beyond all comparison more perillous then if they had also never started aside from their lawfull master; and this by reason of their situation, vicinity, ports, traffick, towns of defence; the infinite disadvantages whereof we should soon acknowledge to our cost and ignominy.

The humour of the Spaniards likened.

Englands best bulwark and balance.

Qu. Elizabeths policy.

Danger in the Accession of the Low Countries to Fr.

That the Spaniard hath no pretence to alienate the French subjects, by his instruments the Jesuits, and why.

As touching the Protestants, they are yet so numerous in France, and the Roman Catholicks so averse in that point, as there can never spring up the least appearance of hope that the King of Spain should ever pretend any thing in this country by way of inclination or defection; however, the late Jesuites (notwithstanding all those strict edicts and bans made against them) begin to swarme and re-establish themselves. And so I have done with the more generall remarks worthy your consideration. I shal onely say a word or two of the people, and of Paris in particular, and so finish this task.

Genius and nature of the people.

Concerning the nature and genius of the inhabitants, that which the Prince of Politicians gives out of the French, where he affirms, that *I Francesi sono per natura più fieri, che gagliardi ó destri,* upon what Cesar of old said of the *Galli Insubres,* that in the beginning

Cæsars saying of the Galli Insubres.

they appeared more then men, but proved in the conclusion lesse then women, retains in it still something of their present promptnesse, and as sudden discouragement: Upon which observation, the fore-cited Florentine notably adviseth, *chi vuole superare i Francesi si guardi dal primo loro impeto, &c.* " that he who would vanquish the French, should be sure to withstand and break their first brusk and onset:" because they usually rush on danger like a torrent, and in a desperate fury, when they first charge and joyn battell: but as nothing which is violent is permanent, so expectation as soon ruines, and utterly daunts their courage.

French fury at onset.

But as for their intellectuals, and more noble part, such of them as dedicate themselves to letters and erudition prove as polite scholers and as trim wits as any Italian of them all. The greater part of them, I confesse, and ordinary pretenders, please themselves more in analyticall and cursory speculations, to which one may take post at every pillar in the streets, where you shal never fail of some bragadocio Hippias, who like some *intellectus universalis,* professes, and will undertake to render any man an exact and perfect Philosopher, Divine, Orator, Chymist; or to teach him all languages, and indeed, what not, within the space of a month or two; which kind of table method and Lullian art renders many of them, even to the very mechanicks, most egregious talkers, and intollerably pragmaticall.

Learned men in France.

Pedantry of some Professors.

Add unto this, their levelling of learning, and laying all authors in common, by their intemperate translations, having but of very late put all the Orations of Cicero into French, as it is long since that the poets have been made orators: for there is nothing more frequent then the turning of them into prose.

Their levelling of learning.

Amongst the Faculties of Paris, there are some good dextrous Divines; but their school exercises are dull and perfunctory things, in competition with what was wont to be performed here in our universities.

The Faculties of Paris.

Generally, the Chirurgians of France are pretenders to physick, and the Physician as great a friend to the Emperick; especially in point of phlebotomie, which is their panacea for all diseases. And albeit they have bred some able and accomplish'd proficients of all these kindes,

Physicians and Chirurgians of France, their method and ill success.

yet their common practice, in tedious and chronique as well as acute diseases, imports them rather to a sudden ease of the patient, then any intire recovery, or security from relapse; for they study more to weaken and enervate the body, then the disease: so that they recover few of languishing fevers, which relapse not as soon again, and for the most part perish: contrary both to the method and success of our Physicians in England; into one of whose hands I had rather put my life, then to a whole colledg of these French leaches.

Praise of English Physicians.

French Mechanicks incomparable.

In the Mechanicks, they are universally excellent, inventive, and happy; and are of late too become far more stay'd and constant in habit and fashion then they were wont to be: for I will undertake, our native levity and wantonnesse in that kinde hath of late yeers infinitely exceeded them.

French Children and Youth.

The French Children are the fairest letter that Nature, I think, can shew through all the humane alphabet; but though they be Angels in the cradle, yet are they more like Divels in the saddle: age generally shewing, that what she so soon bestows, she takes as fast away; for the French (after twenty) presently strike forty in their faces, and especially amongst their women, who are then extremely decayed, when ours, if not beautifull, are yet very tolerable at those years; which, whether it proceeds from the siccity of the air, drinking water, ill diet, or other accident, I dare not easily determine; and yet am the rather inclined to think, something of that nature it must needs be, when we finde the women of quality for the most part as exquisite beauties as any the whole world produces, without disparaging our ladies at home, whom I would be unwilling this paragraph should in the least degree offend.

Sudden decay of Women.

Youth of the French Gentry not bred to letters, and why.

I cannot affirm that the youth of the Gentry and Noblesse of France are altogether so literate as most of our English and Dutch are; being, as I said, of lesse phlegme, and more prompt then to fix to those unactive studies; nor are they at all so curious and inquisitive in their travels, unto which fewer also are inclined, but seem abundantly satisfied, to be able to say, they have been in such or such a place.

Humour in Travelling.

No trust to the outward appearance.

It is a true observation of one, that a French man appears a child at all ages; but in practice and negotiation you shall finde him a man.

It is the Field and Court which the Gentry affect as the best of education; and thence I am inclined to beleeve, they contract amongst them that indifferency of beleeving and living, in which they are generally more open and free then even the Italians; albeit yet not in all points so enormous as the depraved youth of England, whose prodigious disbaucheries and late unheard of extravagancies, far surpasse the madnesse of all other civilized nations whatsoever. Gaming also they frequent, but are in no one vice so abandoned, as to the exhausting their estates, especially in point of drink and tobacco; which, though it have of late got some footing upon the more vile sort, and infected some northern parts of the kingdom; yet fewer persons of quality use either in excesse: but what they do not in drink, they pay in bread, and are strange devourers of corn; they adore a good pottage (whatever the rest of the repast be) as the Egyptians did garlick: nor will a true Monsieur be brought at any rate to taste a glasse of wine, *sans premier manger;* which although they neither do so much, nor sit so long at it, yet they use to collation more often, the most temperate of them.

Indifferency of Fr. in religion.

The French not so disbauched as the English youth at present.

Nor more given to gaming.

Nothing so much to drink and tobacco,

but adorers of bread and pottage.

The passions of the people are suddenly imported and puffed up with a victory, and as soon dejected with the least repulse or loss. They are prodigall, and splendid in externals, but seldome undoe themselves in house-keeping and hospitality: the best sort eat like Princes, and far exceed our tables; the common, worse then dogs: generally, so they flourish and appear for a month or two in the summer, they will fare hard enough the rest of the yeer besides; and such as minde onely their profit, have little charity, where they see no evident interest. They are exceedingly courteous, and have generally their tongues well hung; which promptitude of theirs, as it becomes them well in encounter, so they are for the most part of joviall conversation, and far from that constrained addresse which is naturall to our sullen nation, who never think ourselves acquainted, till we treat one another with Jack and Tom; familiarities which, as we finde no where else in use, so they commonly terminate in vaine and rude associations.

Elevated and dejected suddenly with victory or losse.

Splendid in externals.

Full of interest.

Of a joviall conversation, handsome address, and well spoken.

Censure of the rude familiaritie of the English.

The French are the sole nation in Europe that do idolize their Sovereign, unto whom they have likewise a more free and immediate accesse

French, reverencers of their King, and his affability to them.

(without much ceremony) then ordinarily is to be seen in any other Princes Court: and this affabilitie and freedom gains them as strangely to him; which (certainly) is an excellent art in the one, and no lesse a vertue in the other. But, on the contrary, their choler throughly stirred, there never wants some Raviliac, or cut-throat, to perpetrate their malice; so unstable is popular confidence.

Their opinion and hate of the English.

Finally, they have a naturall dread and hate to the English, as esteeming us, for the most part, a fierce, rude, and barbarous nation: but their antipathy to a Spaniard is deadly and irreconcilable.

Stature.

Complexion.

For their bodies, they are both sexes of mean stature, rather in good point then either lean or grosse; generally swart of complexion, except such as have mixed towards the north and east: the women have commonly black eyes, rare teeth, and sweet voices; and certainly, so gentile and naturall an addresse, even in their most ordinary actions, that one may as easily distinguish them by it as their tongues: in fine,

Promptness,

they are extremely prompt, and imagine to comprehend all upon an instant, which makes many to give out and tire in the journey before they be half way: for all which, and their oppressions to boot, there

and cheerful supinity of the people.

lives not under the cope of heaven a more frank, galiard, and supine people: howbeit many of them will not stick to repine, and censure

Victories unwelcome to the Fr.: and why.

even their own victories and successes, whereof every one but seems to add a heavier weight to their oppression.

The best and most compendious Map of a Country.

Now as every metropolitan and royal city is likely the best map of the country wherein it stands; so may Paris be esteemed the most exact compendium of France.

Paris, site, edifices, &c.

Paris is a city in a ring, whereof the Louvre or Palace of the King is the diamond: and truely considering the vastnesse of its circumference, so incomparably built all of the living rock, whereupon it is seated (which for beauty, easie working, and lastingness, renders it a pre-eminence above many more costly materials) I think no city in the whole world equalizes it. I have seen Naples, Rome, Florence, Genoa, and Venice; all stately cities, and full of Princely fabricks; but then I compare the extent, and here are many hundreds of noblemens houses, both within the town, and the environs, which altogether approach, if not exceed the best of them. This I will boldly affirm,

that for the streets, suburbs, and common buildings, it infinitely excels any city else in Europe: for publick edifices, some of the hospitals are fair foundations and handsome piles: but the convents and churches come far short of the towns before recited: yet that of the Sorbonne and Jesuites, are not much inferiour to some of the best and most modern pieces of architecture extant.

The River of Seine.

The river of Seine, which divides it, is nothing comparable, for sweetnesse and good condition, to our Royal river of Thames: yet it would deceive any man in the use; when he shall seriously examine and consider the huge vessels of burden (though not ships) it brings up, full of commodities and necessary provisions. In conclusion, Paris wants nothing but clean streets, and a redresse of the multitude of coaches, laquays, and throngs of mankind; with all which, it is generally so pestered, that it appears a miracle to me, how so many backs are clothed, and bellies maintained (in a town of no eminent staple) as you may behold in one day, if you walk the streets and public carfours; most of the houses ordinarily harbouring six, as often ten families betwixt heaven and hell, the garrets and the cellars: and this I take to be the true cause of that nastinesse which we usually impute to the nation: persons of quality, and such as have room enough, being far more proper and sumptuous in their houses, then the best of us here in England, however we arrogate the contrary.

Number of people, &c. in Paris too great.

True cause of our reproaching their Nastinesse.

Persons of quality more neat and sumptuous then any in England.

The extent of Paris and London difficult to be compared, and why.

Touching the extent of this city, it hath been, and is still a great controversie amongst our countrey-men travellers, which is the larger, this or London; every one speaks according to his inclinations: but the figures of them both are so different, that it would be a very difficult matter to reconcile them, by making an exact tryall: and peradventure, all things considered, there is as yet no very great inequality: but if we may conjecture from the buildings at present, and prodigious enlargement of their suburbs on all sides, what a little time and peace will render it, it must without doubt in a short time outgrow the contention, and far exceed it: for I finde no end of their erecting not onely of particular houses, but even of whole streets, and those so incomparably fair and uniform, that you would imagine your self rather in some Italian opera, where the diversity of scenes surprise the beholder, then beleeve

Prodigious increase of buildings.

Beauty of the new edifices of Paris.

your self to be in a reall citie. This is onely to be observed in their prime buildings and palaces, that the best fabricks commonly promise less towards the front or street, then you will finde them within the court; which is caused by the high walls and tarraces that thwart them: a piece of modestie, which in other appearances and outsides they do not usually practise.

London for shops, taverns, other drinking schools and noise, exceeding all cities of the world.

But what our city of London hath not in houses and palaces, she hath in shops and taverns; which render it so open by day, and cheerfull in the night, that it appears to be a perpetuall wake or wedding to the beholder; for so mad and lowd a town is no where to be found in the whole world.

Government of Paris.

The government and policy of this *Prevesté* is exercised by Judges called Lieutenants, *civils* and *criminels;* who, for purchasing their offices of the Court, sell their justice at extraordinary rate, to such as have use of that rare commodity. They have also a Prevost of the Merchands, and *les Eschevins,* which is an office more resembling our Recorder and Sheriff, then Major: likewise the Archbishop hath a spirituall jurisdiction here; as also some particular Abbots and Priors. And with all this I cannot say it is well governed; the disorders of every day and night will convince me, if I should, when so many execrable murthers and villanies are committed in the streets; an inconvenience which might yet be easily prevented, if they would but imitate our policy, and form their watches of constant and responsible persons.

Prevosts of Merchands.

Archbishop of Paris, &c.

Disorders of Paris in the night, how they might be prevented.

Strength of Paris nothing in a siege.

Neither is the strength of this renowned city any thing considerable in stresse of a siege, or respect of other naturall advantage; save onely fire: nay, so open it is to the conquerour, that St. Denys (which lies but two leagues remote from it) hath oftentimes been the frontier of France; and had not the late Mareschal de Gassion as dearly as bravely purchased their liberty at the signal battel of Rocroy, the Spaniard, 'tis beleeved, might (without the least obstacle) have marched up to the very gates of Paris.

Mareschal de Gassion preserved Paris from the Spanyard.

The aire of Paris celebrated.

But the incomparable aire of Paris is that which fortifies the inhabitants: so that very seldom hath a plague or other epidemical contagion made here that havoc and lamentable devastation, which it so frequently doth in our putrified climate, and accidentally suffocated city:

contrary to that vulgar (but most false) tradition, which I find in every mans mouth; that the pestilence is never out of Paris: but this (besides the siccity of the aire) many naturalists ascribe to the over sulphurous exhalations of the streets, and dry attracting quality of the Plaster, which bears or gives the name to this goodly city. *Certè id firmissimum Imperium est, quo obedientes gaudent.*

The ordinary tradition amongst us that the plague is never out of Paris, refuted.

Quality of the Plaster of Paris.

Thus, Sir, by the assistance of your patience, I have adventured to draw the curtain, discovering a very ample theatre, in a short time, and represented it in as narrow a circumference as those artists who introduce a multitude of species through an optick into some dark room or closet: and the similitude peradventure will not appear unapt, when you consider the reversed method and confused stile in which it is described. But as writing of histories is not my trade, I know you have not commanded me to undergo this task to make thereby any advantage of my imperfections, but approve mine obedience. And now, although I doubt not but many able persons have most excellently treated upon this very subject, appropriated to their times, yet I will be bold to affirm, and that *sans vanitie*, none hath lately performed it with greater faith, succinctnesse, and in more natural colours. For hee that will truely comprehend the government and genius of this kingdome, must prospect and look out every day for new discoveries; France being now no more the thing it was forty yeers since, then the garb and fashion at that time, to the habit and mode now in use amongst them, equally as different, as incomparable: and in truth, (to disabuse the world) the complexion and crasis of this body politick is of so high concernment to the health, and good estate of our poor nation, that to preserve her in entire habit and constitution, there can never be too often inspections into the state and regiment of this kingdom. This is the opinion of,

Sir,

Your most affectionate friend,

and most obedient servant,

J. E.

Paris, this 15 of Febr. 1652.
Stilo novo.

FINIS.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE

TRANSLATION OF THE "FRENCH GARDINER." 12mo. 1658*.

To my most honour'd and worthy Friend THOMAS HENSHAW†, Esquire.

SIR,

I have at length obey'd your commands, only I wish the instance had bin more considerable: though I cannot but much approve of the designe and of your election in this particular work, which is certainly the best that is extant upon this subject, notwithstanding the plenty which these late years have furnish'd us withal. I shall forbear to publish the accident which made you engage me upon this traduction; because I have long since had inclinations and a design of communi-

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* This Dedication is reprinted from a copy of the very rare first edition, with fine cuts by A. Hertocks, formerly in the possession of the late James Bindley, Esq. The original Title to this volume is "The French Gardiner: instructing how to cultivate all sorts of Fruit-trees, and Herbs "for the garden: together with directions to dry and conserve them in their natural: six times "printed in France, and once in Holland. An accomplished Piece, first written by R. D. C. D. "W. B. D. N, and now transplanted into English by PHILOCEPOS. Illustrated with sculptures. "London, printed for John Crooke, at the Ship in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1658." 12mo. 319 pp. and with four plates.

The Second Edition was printed by J. M. for the same publisher, in 1669, who had then removed to Duck Lane, with some little variation in the title page, having Mr. Evelyn's name to it as the translator, he being at that time a Fellow of the Royal Society, Whereunto was annexed, "The English Vineyard, vindicated by JOHN ROSE, Gardiner to his Majesty, Charles the Second: with a tract of the making and ordering of Wines in France."

The Third Edition appeared in 1672, printed by S. S. for Benj. Tooke, at the Ship in St. Paul's Church-yard, (Evelyn's usual publisher;) and, with the exceptions of a few verbal alterations, is precisely the same as the second.

† This gentleman, to whom John Evelyn dedicated his own etchings, was with him during his travels; and was recommended by Mr. Evelyn to the Embassy of Constantinople, which was however filled by Lord Winchelsea. In 1675 Mr. Henshaw was left resident to the Court of Denmark, on the Death of the Duke of Richmond, who died there, Ambassador.—See frequent allusions to him in the first volume of "Memoirs."

cating some other things of this nature from my own experience; and especially, concerning the ornaments of gardens, &c.; because, what respects the soyle, the situation, and the planting, is here performed to my hand with so much ingenuity, as that I conceive there can very little be added to render it a piece absolute and without reproach. In order to this, my purpose was to introduce the least known (though not the least delicious) appendices to gardens; and such as are not the names only, but the descriptions, plots, materials, and wayes of contriving the ground for parterrs, grotts, fountains; the proportions of walks, perspectives, rocks, aviaries, vivaries, apiaries, pots, conservatories, piscinas, groves, cryptas, cabinets, ecchos, statues, and other ornaments of a *vigna*, &c. without which the best garden is without life, and very defective. Together with a treatise of flowers and evergreens; especially the palisades and contr-espaliers of Alaternus, which most incomparable verdure, together with the right culture of it, for beauty and fence, I might glory to have been the first propagator in England. This, I say, I intended to have published for the benefit or divertisement of our country, had not some other things unexpectedly intervened, which as yet hinder the birth and maturity of that embryo.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept the productions of your own commands: as a lover of gardens you did promote it, as a lover of you I have translated it. And in the mean time that the great ones are busied about governing the world (which is but a wildernesse), let us call to minde the rescript of Dioclesian to those who would perswade him to reassume the empire. For it is impossible that he who is a true *virtuoso*, and has attained to the felicity of being a good gardener, should give jealousie to the State where he lives. This is not advice to you, who know so well how to cultivate both yourself and your garden; but because it is the only way to enjoy a garden, and to preserve its reputation.

Sir, I am

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. E.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE

SECOND EDITION OF THE "FRENCH GARDINER." London, 1669. 12mo.

To my most honour'd and worthy friend THOMAS HENSHAW, Esquire.

SIR,

The success of the First Edition of this Book, has produced a second; and with it the continuance of your name in the front of this Epistle, that those who shall receive the fruits it here presents them, may know to whom they are oblig'd for it; your commands first engaging me to interpret, and give it to our country: and I was glad I had so fair an opportunity of publishing to the world how highly I honour you for your many eminent and shining parts; your virtue, your learning, and our now ancient friendship; which, contracted first abroad, has continu'd both there, and since at home, through so many vicissitudes and changes as we have seen and surmounted. The character which I first adventur'd on this Piece, (when I boldly pronounc'd it for the very best that was extant on the subject) has been amply confirm'd by the suffrages of all who have since written upon it; and I will be bold to affirm, it was the first that ever instructed our country-men how to cultivate and order their gardens for fruit, and other esculent plants, with a faith and industry becoming that honest and sweet employment.

Here is nothing added (and indeed nothing could well be) to the First Edition, but the weeding and purging it of some typographical escapes; and therefore I have nothing more to say, but that I am,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithfull servant,

J. EVELYN.

TO THE READER.

(Prefixed to the "French Gardiner.")

I advertise the Reader that what I have couched in four Sections at the end of this Volume, under the name of an Appendix, is but a part of the third Treatise in the original; there remaining three Chapters more concerning preserving of fruits with sugar, which I have, therefore, expressly omitted, because it is a mysterie that I am little acquainted withall; and that I am assured by a lady, who is a person of quality, and curious in that art, that there is nothing of extraordinary amongst them, but what the fair sex do infinitely exceed, whenever they please to divertise themselves in that *sweet* employment.

There is also another book of the same author, intituled, "*Les Delices de la Campagne*," or, "The Delights of the Countrey," being as a second part of this; wherein you are taught to prepare and dresse whatsoever either the earth or water do produce; dedicated to the good housewives. There you are instructed to make all sorts of French bread, and the whole mysterie of the pastry, wines, and all sorts of drinks. To accomodate all manner of roots good to eat; cooking of flesh and fish, together with precepts how the *Major Domo* is to order the services, and treat persons of quality at a feast, *à la mode de France*, which such as affect more then I, and do not understand in the original, may procure to be interpreted, but by some better hand then he that did the "French Cook;" which being (as I am informed) an excellent book of its kinde, is miserably abused for want of skill in the kitchin.

If any man think it an employment fit for the translator of this former part, it will become him to know, that though I have some experience in the garden, and more divertisement, yet I have none in the shambles; and that what I here present him was to gratifie a noble friend, who had only that empire over me, as to make me quit some more serious employment for a few days in obedience to his command.

FAREWELL.

To the Second Edition of this Volume is added, "The ENGLISH VINEYARD vindicated by JOHN ROSE*, Gardiner to his Majesty, at his Royal Garden in St. James's; formerly Gard'ner to her Grace the Dutchess of Somerset: with an Address where the best Plants are to be had at easie rates." And immediately after the author's dedication to K. Charles II. is the following "Preface or Occasion of this Discourse," written by John Evelyn.

Being one day refreshing my self in the garden at Essex-house†, and, amongst other things, falling into discourse with Mr. Rose (then gard'ner to her Grace the Duchess of Somerset) about vines, and particularly the cause of the neglect of vineyards of late in England, he reason'd so pertinently upon that subject (as, indeed, he does upon all things which concern his hortulan profession), that, conceiving how greatly it might oblige many worthy and ingenious persons, lovers of plantations, and of the noblest parts of it; I was easily perswaded to gratifie his modest and charitable inclinations, to have them communicated to the world. The matter, therefore, of the ensuing Discourse, being totally his, receives from me onely its forme, and the putting of his conceptions together; which I have dressed up in as rural a garb as I thought might best become, and recommended then for practice. I have turn'd over many both late and ancient books (far exceeding this in bulk), pretending to direct us in our choice of the fruit, and the planting of vineyards, but I do ingenuously profess, that none of them have appear'd the more rational and worthy our imitation than these short observations of Mr. Roses, and which I so much the more value,

* An excellent print in the line manner, 13 inches by 12, was engraved, in 1823, by Robert Grave, a young and promising artist, from the curious picture at Strawberry Hill of King Charles II. receiving the first pine-apple cultivated in England, from Rose his gardener, who is presenting it on his knees, at Dawney Court, Buckinghamshire, the seat of the celebrated Duchess of Cleveland.

† In the reign of Queen Elizabeth this house belonged to her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who bequeathed it to his son-in-law, Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, when it changed its name from Leicester House to that of its new possessor. It stood near St. Clement's Church in the Strand, and the site is still retained in Essex Street, Essex Place, Essex Court, and Devereux Court.

A plan of the house and gardens, copied from Ogilby and Morgan's Twenty Sheet Map of London, etched by Hollar, may be seen in Smith's Antiquities of Westminster. 4to. 1807.

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as I consider them the native production of his own experience, without obtruding any thing upon the reputation of others, which is now become the most pernitious imposture that flatters us into so many mistakes and errours; whilst men follow such directions as they meet withal in print, or from some *Monsieurs* new come over, who think we are as much oblig'd to follow their mode of gard'ning as we do that of their garments, till we become in both ridiculous. I might here add something of ostentation, by deducing the pedigree of vineyards from the great oriental Patriarch of them to this day; but it will be of more encouragement to us, when we shall consider how frequently they were heretofore planted in this country of ours, as they still continue to be in places of the very same latitude abroad; so as the strange decay of them amongst us for these latter ages, must needs proceed from no other cause then that of our own neglect, and the common vicissitude of things. We behold it in that of timber to our grief, and the several (almost lost) species of some. Why have we not as goodly masts for our ships as our neighbour countries? Why is the elme, the walnut, and the chestnut, so decay'd and rare amongst us, more then formerly they were? But of this I have elsewhere given an account more at large *. The Vineyard is now before you.

PHILOCEPOS.

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* "Sylva; a Discourse of Forest Trees."

THE

GOLDEN BOOK OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,

CONCERNING THE

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

TRANSLATED OUT OF THE GREEK,

BY

ESQ.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY D. M. FOR G. BEDEL AND T. COLLINS, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE GATE, IN FLEET STREET.

1659.

The EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To my most incomparable Brothers, George & Richard Evelyn, of Wooton and Woodcot, in Surrey, Esqrs.

My dear Brothers,

Amongst the very many diversions which I have experimented to mitigate and attemper the sorrowes which do still oppresse me, for the loss of my children, and especially of that *One* so precious to me*, I have found nothing that has afforded me a greater consolation then this; that it pleased God to give me opportunities and such a subject to work upon, as I cannot but hope he has in mercy accepted. And truly, when I seriously contemplate the felicity of all those which are well out of this miserable world, I find the griefe which wee conceive for their absence to be a meer φιλαυτία, and does nothing at all concerne them whom we mourne for, that have served God, their generation with honour, and left a memorial without reproach. You have, Brothers, both of you lost children, but none of them for whom you had reason to be so sensible as my selfe; because they died infants, and could not so intirely engage your affections as if they had arrived to yeers of more maturity, and the spring had flattered you with the expectation of a fruitful harvest, as me it did.

But because we are all obnoxious, and that *cuivis potest accidere, quod cuiquam potest*, be assured, that of all the afflictions which can touch the heart in this life, one of the most superlative is the loss of a hopeful child; and 'till I had the experience of this my self, I have often wondered that David should suffer himselfe to be so far transported for the death of a rebel, that had violated all the relations which ought to be betwixt a son and a most indulgent father. I know well that another cause might contribute to the effect, but all who shall read that sad story cannot but impute as much to his paternal affections as by man could be expressed.

* A very interesting and affecting account of the death of this extraordinary child may be seen in "Memoirs," vol. I. p. 299; and in vol. II. p. 176, a beautiful letter of consolation is addressed to Mr. Evelyn by the eminent Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

These are, Brothers, the contingencies which (since we can never be exempted perfectly of) have caused me to seek the remedies which I presume here to have at last encountered, and which I here likewise affectionately present unto you. Let us make our children fit for God, and then let us not be displeased whensoever he takes them from us. *Deus nobis illos educandos non mancipio dederat.* There are a multitude of other precepts that I might recollect out of the consolatory writings which are at hand; Plutarch and Cicero, Seneca and others. But all their topicks (S. Hierom and some few Christians only excepted) are most of them derived from philosophy, the pride and courage of another institution, and afford us but uncertain consolations in the wiser estimate of things. So that hereby we may be less troubled in wanting the writings of Diogenes, Clitomachus, Carneades, Possidonius, upon the same subject; there being nothing capable truly to compose the mind of a good man for the absence of his friend or of his child, like the contemplation of his undoubted felicity.

It is that which I therefore endeavor here to secure, in offering to you this Golden Book of S. Chrysostom, which having afforded me soe great a consolation, I cannot but hope may be likewise acceptable to you, and useful to as many as have either bin touched with the like resentiments, or that do establish for an infallible maxime that saying of Plato*, ὡς ὅιγε ὀρθῶς πεπαιδουμενοι, σχεδὸν ἀγαθοι γίγοντα, "that those who are well and rightly instructed, do easily become good men." And the thing is verily of so great importance, that some have taken education for religion it selfe, all for another nature; which he that shall read of the Laconick discipline will not easily dispute. This is certain, that were this one thing well secured, princes would have good subjects, fathers good children, wives good husbands, masters good servants, God would be sincerely served, and all things would be well with us. And here I would now end, did not my affections a little transport me, and the hopes that you will yet indulge it, if, whilst I erect to my dear child no other monument, I shew to the world how neerly I concurr'd with the instructions of this Golden Book (before I

* De Legibus.

had seene it), and what may be expected from a timely education, if (now that we may both read and have it) we with diligence pursue it.

I cannot, with St. Augustine*, say of my son, as he of his, *Annorum erat ferè quindecim, & ingenio præveniebat multos graves & doctos viros.* But this I can truly affirm; he was little above five years old, and he did excel many that I have known of fifteene. *Tam brevi spatio tempora multa compleverat.* He was taught to pray as soon as he could speak, and he was taught to read as soon as he could pray. At three years old he read any character or letter whatsoever used in our printed books, and, within a little time after, any tolerable writing hand, and had gotten (by heart) before he was five years of age seven or eight hundred Latine and Greek words, as I have since calculated out of his Ὀνομαστικὸν, together with their genders and declensions. I entred him then upon the verbs, which in four months time he did perfectly conjugate, together with most of the irregulars excepted in our grammar. These he conquered with incredible delight, and intelligence of their use. But it is more strange to consider, that when from them I thought to set him to the nouns, he had in that interim (by himself) learned both the declensions and their examples, their exceptions, adjectives, comparisons, pronouns, without any knowledge or precept of mine, insomuch as I stood amazed at his sedulity and memory. This engaged me to bring him a *Sententiæ Pueriles*, and a *Cato*, and of late *Comenius*; the short sentences of which two first, and the more solid ones of the last, he learned to construe and parse, as fast as one could well teach and attend him: for he became not onely dextrous in the ordinary rules by frequent recourse to them (for indeed I never obliged him to get any of them by heart as a task, by that same *carnificina puerorum*) upon occasions, but did at this age also easily comprehend both the meaning and the use of the relative, the ellipsis, and defects of verbs and nouns unexpressed †. But to repeat here all that I could justly affirm concerning his promptitude in this nature, were

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* Conf. lib. 9. cap. 6.

† Quid in illo virtutum, quid ingenii, quid pietatis invenerim, vereor dicere ne fidem credulitatis excedam. Hier. ad Marcell. Epitaph.

altogether prodigious, so that truly I have been sometimes even constrained to cry out with the father, as of another Adeodatus, *horrori mihi est hoc ingenium.* For so insatiable were his desires of knowledg, that I well remember upon a time hearing one discourse of Terence and Plautus, and being told (upon his enquiring concerning these authors) that the books were too difficult for him, he wept for very grief, and would hardly be pacified: but thus it is reported of Thucydides, when those noble Muses were recited in his hearing, at one of the most illustrious assemblies of Greece, from whence was predicted the greatness of his genius. To tell you how exactly he read French, how much of it he spake and understood, were to let you onely know that his mother did instruct him without any confusion to the rest. Thus he learned a catechism and many prayers, and read divers things in that language. More to bee admired was the liveliness of his judgment, that being much affected with the diagramms in Euclid, he did with so great facility interpret to me many of the common postulata and definitions, which he would readily repeate in Latine and apply it. And he was in one hour onely taught to play the first half of a thorough basse, to one of our Church psalmes, upon the organ. Let no man think that we did hereby crowd his spirit too full of notions. Those things which we force upon other children were strangely natural to him; for as he very seldome affected their toyes, to such things were his usual recreations as the gravest man might not be ashamed to divert himself withal. These were especially the Apologues of Æsop, most of which he could so readily recount, with divers other stories, as you would admire from whence he produced them: but he was never without some book or other in his hand. Pictures did afford him infinite pleasure; above all, a pen and ink, with which he now began to form his letters. Thus he often delighted himself in reciting of poems and sentences, some whereof he had in Greek, fragments of comedies, divers verses out of Herbert, and, amongst the psalmes, his beloved and often repeated *Ecce quam bonum:* and indeed he had an ear so curiously framed to sounds, that he would never misse infallibly to have told you what language it was you did read by the accent only, were it Latine, Greek, French, Italian, or Dutch. To all I might add, the incomparable sweetness of his

countenance and eyes, the clean fabric of his body and pretty addresses: how easily he forgot injuries, when at any time I would break and crosse his passions, by sometimes interrupting his enjoyments, in the midst of some sweet or other delicious things which allured him: that I might thereby render him the more indifferent to all things, though these he seldom quitted without rewards and advantage. But above all, extremely conspicuous was his affection to his younger brother, with whose impertinencies he would continually bear, saying, he was but a child, and understood no better. For he was ever so smiling, cheerful, and in perfect good humour, that it might be truly verified of him, as it was once of Heliodorus*, *gravitatem morum hilarite frontis temperabat.* But these things were obvious, and I dwel no longer on them: there are yet better behind; and those are, his early piety, and how ripe he was for God. Never did this child lye in bed (by his good will) longer then six or seven, winter or summer; and the first thing he did (being up) was to say his French prayers, and our Church Catechism; after breakfast that short Latine prayer, which having encountred at the beginning of our Lillie's Grammar, he had learned by heart, without any knowledge or injunction of mine, and whatsoever he so committed to memory, he would never desist till he perfectly understood; yet with all this, did he no day employ above two houres at his book by my order; what he else learned was most by himselfe, without constraint or the least severity, unseene, and totally imported by his own inclination. But to return, wonderful was it to observe the chapters which himselfe would choose, and the psalmes and verses that he would apply upon occasions, and as in particular he did to some that were sick in my family a little before him, bidding them to consider the sufferings of Christ, how bitter they were, and how willingly he endured them. How frequently would he pray by himself in the day time, and procure others to joyn with him in some private corner of the house apart? The last time he was at church (which was, as I remember, at Greenwich), at his return I asked him what he brought away from the sermon; he replyed, that he had remembred two good things, *bonum*

* Hierom.

gratiæ, and *bonum gloriæ*, which expressions were indeed used, though I did not believe he had minded them.

I should even tire you with repeating all that I might call to mind of his pertinent answers upon several occasions, one of the last whereof I will only instance. When about Christmas a kinsman of his related to us by the fire side some passages of the presumptuous fasting of certain enthusiasts about Colchester, whilst we were expressing some admiration at the passage, That, sayes the child (being upon the gentlemans knee, and, as we thought, not minding the discourse), is no such wonder, for it is written, "Man shall not live by bread alone, &c." But more to be admired was his perfect comprehension of the sacred histories in the method of our Golden Author, so as it may be truly affirmed of this child, as it was once said of Timothy*, *Quod à puero sacras literas noverat.* Nor was all this by rote only (as they term it), for that he was capable of the greater mystery of our salvation by Christ I have had many infallible indications. And when the Lords day fortnight before he died, he repeated to me our Church Catechism, he told me that he now perceived his godfathers were dis-engaged; for that since he himself did now understand what his duty was, it would be required of him, and not of them for the future. And let no man think, that when I use the term dis-engaged, it is to expresse the childs meaning with a fine word, for he did not only make use of such phrases himself, but would frequently in his ordinary discourse come out with such expressions as one would have admired how he came by them; but upon enquiry he would certainly have produced his authority, and either in the Bible, or some other booke, shewed you the words so used. How divinely did this pious infant speake of his being weary of this troublesome world (into which he was scarcely entred), and whilst he lay sick, of his desires to goe to Heaven; that the angels might conveye him into Abrahams bosome, passionately perswading those that tended him to dye with him; for he told them that he knew he should not live: and, really, though it were an ague which carried him from us (a disease which I least apprehended, finding him so lively in his interval),

* 2 Tim. iii. 15.

yet the day before he took his leave of us, he call'd to me, and pronounced it very soberly; Father (sayes he), you have often told me that you would give me your house, and your land, your bookes, and all your fine things; but I tell you, I shall have none of them; you will leave them all to my brother. This he spake without any provocation or passion; and it did somewhat trouble me, that I could not make him alter this conceit, which in another would be esteemed prophetick. But that I may conclude, and shew how truly jealous this child was least he should offend God in the least scruple, that very morning, not many howres before he fell into that sleepe which was his last, being in the midst of his paroxcisme, he called to me, and asked of me whether he should not offend, if in the extremity of his pain he mentioned so often the name of God calling for ease; and whether God would accept his prayers if he did not hold his hands out of bed in the posture of praying? which when I had pacified him about, he prayed, till his prayers were turned into eternal praises. Thus ended your nephew, being but five years five monethes and three dayes old, and more I could still say. *Nam quem corpore non valemus recordatione teneamus, et cum quo loqui non possumus de eo loqui nunquam desinamus.* But my tears mingle so fast with my inke, that I must breake off here, and be silent—I end therefore with that blessed Saint: *Munera tua tibi confiteor, Domine Deus meus, Creator omnium, multum potens reformare nostra deformia: nam ego in illo puero, præter delictum nihil habebam. Quod enim enutriebatur à nobis in disciplinâ tuâ. Tu inspira veras nobis, nullus alius. Munera tua tibi confiteor.—Cito de terra abstulisti vitam ejus, et securior eum recordor.* Deare Brothers, indulge me these excesses. It is not a new thing which I doe. St Hierom wrote divers Epistles, which he inscribed his Epitaphs; and never was a Paula or Estochium dearer to him then this your nephew was to,

Dear B. B.

Your most affectionate brother and most humble servant,

J. E.

Grot. ad Patrem.

Carere liberis durum non est, nisi his qui habuerunt.

EPITAPHIUM*.

R. EVELYN, I. F.
Quiescit hoc sub marmore,
Unà quiescit quicquid est amabile,
Patres quod optent, aut quod orbi lugeant.
Genas decentes non, ut ante, risus
Lepôre condit ampliùs.
Morum venustas, quanta paucis contigit
Desideratur omnibus.
Linguæ Latina, Gallica,
Quas imbibit cum lacte materno, tacent.
Tentârat artes, artiumque principiis
Pietatis elementa hauserat.
Libris inhæsit improbo labore,
Ut sola mors divelleret.
Quid indoles, quid disciplina, quid labor
Possint, ab uno disceres.
Puer stupendus qualis hic esset senex,
Si fata vitæ subministrâssent iter!
Sed aliter est visum Deo.
Correptus ille febriculâ levi jacet:
Jacent tot unà spes parentum.
Vixit ANN. V. M. V. III super D.
Eheu! delicias breves.
Quicquid placet mortale non placet diu,
Quicquid placet mortale ne placeat nimis.

* This epitaph was written by Christopher Wase, a distant relation of Sir Richard Browne, with whom Evelyn became acquainted at Paris in 1652; and whom he brought to England, where he ultimately provided for him. See "Memoirs," vol. I. p. 255. This information is derived from a manuscript n » in a copy of the present Tract, formerly in the possession of the late J. Bindley, Esq.

TO THE READER.

I ADVERTISE the Reader that this Golden Book of S[t] Chrysostom is not to be encountred amongst any of his Works formerly published; but hath (amongst other fragments of that incomparable Author) bin lately produced out of a MS. in the Cardinals Library at Paris, by the industry of Father Francis Combesis, of the Order of the Friers Preacher, and there printed the last year, 1656.

THE

GOLDEN BOOK OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,

CONCERNING THE

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN*.

So soon as ever a child is borne, the father bestirs himself, not that he may rightly take order about his education, but that he may magnificently set him forth, and adorn him with jewels and rich apparel. O vain man, wherfore dost thou this? Be it that thou thyself art cloathed with all these things, why dost thou instruct thy child, as yet free from this madnesse, in these trifles? For what purpose dost thou put that ornament about his neck? He needs the care of a diligent tutor, who may compose and regulate his manners: he hath no need of gold. And thou dost nourish him a lock of hair behind like a girle, effeminating thy son even from the very cradle. Softning thus the vigor of his sex, engraftest into that tender age a superfluous love of riches, and dost perswade him to the pursuit of those things which are totaly unuseful. Why dost thou spread for him so large a snare? Wherefore dost thou so charm him with the love of corporal things? If a man (saith S[t] Paul) have long hair it is a shame unto him†. Nature will not endure it; God hath not indulg'd it; 'tis a thing altogether forbidden; it is the practice of Gentil superstition. But many there be who hang gold in their ears. I would that were wholy forborn even by the female sex; you infect boyes with this pest also; nay, and there are very many who deride these discourses as if they were small matters. I tell you, they are not small matters but exceeding great, and very considerable. A maid,

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* Originally published 16th Sept. 1658, "which," says Evelyn, "I dedicated to both my brothers, to comfort them on the loss of their children."—*Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 314.

† 1st Cor. xi. 14.

when in her mothers chamber she hath learned to long after these various tires and ornaments of women, being gone out of her fathers house, becomes impertinent to her husband, and very troublesome, putting him to more charges then the very publicans. I have already told you, that it is therefore a difficult thing to reform a vice, because there is no body which takes the care of children, no body discourses to them about virginity, no body concerning modesty, no body of the contempt of riches and glory, and no body speaks to them of those blessed promises which are made in the Scriptures.

If therefore children be from their infancy deprived of governors, what will become of them? If some from the womb even to their old and decrepit age, having been instituted, are not yet arrived to perfection, what will not they perpetrate, who from the beginning of their life have accustomed themselves to hear such discourses! Now indeed that their children may be instructed in the arts, letters, and eloquence, every one doth studiously contend; but that they may cultivate their minds few or none are at all solicitous. I will never desist to beseech, to entreat, and to beg of you, that before all things else whatsoever, you would now compose the manners of your children. For if thou wilt be truly indulgent to thy child, declare it in this, thou shalt not lose thy reward. Hear what St. Paul saith *, "If they continue in faith and charity, and holinesse with sobriety." And though thou art conscious to thy self of never so many evils, the rather seek out some consolation for them. Make a Champion for Christ. I do not speak it that thou shouldst cœlibat him, send him into the desarts, and make him a monk; I say not so; I wish it indeed, and would, with all my heart, that every man could receive it: but since that may seem a burthen too great for him to support, I do not compel. Bring up a Champion (I say) for Christ, and whilst he remains in this world instruct him from his very cradle. If whilst he is yet young thou imprint good principles in him, no body shall be ever able to efface them when he becomes more firme, being then as the wax which hath received the impression. As yet thou hast him trembling, fearful, and revering thy very looks, thy words,

* 1 Timothy, chap. ii. v. 15.

and every little beck. Treat him as thou shouldst at the beginning. If thou have a good child, thou wilt have the first benefit of him, and then God. Thou labourest but for thy self. 'Tis reported, that when pearles are first taken up, they are only little drops of water, so that he which receives them being skilful, placing the drops in his hand, and exquisitely turning them in his palm, renders them perfectly round and polished. But when once they have attained their perfect shape and become hard, they are no more to be moulded to every mans fancy; for that which is soft is every way flexible, being not as yet compacted, and therefore is easily drawn which way one pleaseth; but that which is hard, as having once attained a disposition to stiffnesse, is with difficulty to be moved, or susceptible of any other form.

Let then every one of us (who are parents) as we behold painters adorning their pictures and statues with so much exactnesse, be diligently studious about these wonderful statues. For when painters have once designed a picture, they work every day about it to bring it to perfection; the same do statuaries, abating what is superfluous, and adding whatsoever is deficient. So you also, like so many statuaries, bend all your endeavors, as preparing those admirable statues for God, take away that which is superfluous, add that which you find wanting: consider every day how they abound in natural endowments, that you may timely augment them: what natural defects you espy, that you may accordingly abate them: but with all sedulity, and above all things, be careful to exterminate unseemly speeches, for this custom begins extremly to infect the minds of youth; yea, and before he have essayed it, teach him to be sober, to be vigilant and assiduous in his devotions, and upon whatsoever he saith or doth to put the seal upon it. Imagine thy self a σφρεγιδα king who hast a city to govern, the mind of thy child; for really the mind is a city; and as in a city some are thieves, some live honestly, some labour, and others transact all they do foolishly; just so it is with the discourses and cogitations of the mind; some of them strive and militate against injuries, like as in a city there are souldiers; some of these thoughts provide for the body and houshold, like the senators of a city; others command in chief, such as are governors; some speak lascivious things, such as shamelesse men, others more modest, such as are modest

persons: some againe are effeminate, as women be amongst us; others discourse more indiscreetly, like children; some domineer as if over vassals, because they are domesticks; others as over the free borne, because they are noble and ingenuous. We must therefore of necessitie have laws, that we may exterminate these evil cogitations and cherish those which are good; but never let us permit the evil to rebel against the good. For as in a city, if one should constitute laws giving liberty and impunity to thieves, it would soon subvert all: and if the souldiers pursue their fury without respect to what is fit, all things fall to confusion; and if every one quitting his due order, take upon him to prosecute that which belongs to another, by this usurpation and avarice he violates and utterly spoiles the whole government. It is truly no otherwise in that which we have spoken.

The mind of a child is therefore a city, a city newly built and furnished, a city full of new inhabitants, and as yet wholly unexperienced. 'Tis an easie matter to instruct and model such: for those which have been at first possest and grown up with evil principles, such as are many old persons, are truly with great difficulty reformed, though neither is that impossible (for even they themselves may be converted if they will) but such as are totally ignorant, will with ease embrace the laws which you enjoyn them.

Establish laws therefore in this city, and for those who are denisons of it, formidable and severe laws, which if any shall dare to violate, approve thyself a governor and revenge it; for it is to no purpose to enact laws, unlesse punishment be also inflicted: make laws then, and look diligently to your work; for know, that wee impose lawes upon no lesse then the universe it selfe. To day we build a city, let the four senses be the bulwarks and the gates, and let all the rest of the bodie be as the walls. Now these gates are the eyes, the tongue, the eares, and the nose, and (if you please) also the touch. Through these overtures it is that the citizens go out and in; that is to say, by these ports it is that our cogitations are corrupted or amended.

Go to then, and first let us go to the gate of the tongue, since this is of all the rest the chief, and the greatest port; let us now prepare for it the doors and its barres, not of wood nor of iron, but of gold, for the very

city it self which is thus built is of gold, and not any man, but he that is the King of the Universe shall keep his court in this city, if thus you prepare it: and you shall perceive by the processe his speech, in what parts of this city to consign him a palace. Let us therefore make the doors and the barrs for it of gold, I say; namely, the Oracles of God, as the Prophet speaketh. "The words of God are more delicious than honey or the honey comb, above gold and much precious stone *." Let us teach them to have these things continually in their mouths and wheresoever they stir, and that not slightly, nor perfunctorily or seldom, but without ceasing. Nor is it yet sufficient that the doors be overlayed with gold, but they must be framed altogether of solid gold, and having the precious stones fixed one against another without. Let the Crosse of our Lord be the barre of these gates, which is, indeed, every where inchased with stones of price: let this then bee put athwart the middle of the gates; and when we shall thus have made the doores fast, solid, and of gold, and shut to the bolt, let us then make them worthy citizens; namely, by instructing the child to speak gravely and piously, banishing all strangers out of town, lest otherwise a certaine impure and infected rabble enter, and commix themselves with our citizens, such as are reproachful words, injurious and foolish, filthy speeches, secular and worldly; all these let us eject; nor, besides the King only, permit any to passe these gates; but to him, and to all his retinue, let them be still opened, according as it is said of it †, "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it." And, with the blessed Paul ‡, "If there be any word which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers." Let their talk be giving of thanks, modest songs, and let them alwayes be discoursing of God, and of that philosophy which is from above.

But which way shall we now effect all this? and from what topicks shall we instruct them? If we become severe judges of the actions which they do, for in a child there is an extraordinary facility. How? He contends not for wealth nor for glory; he is yet a child: not for a wife, not for children, not for an house; therefore what occasion

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* Psalm xix. ver. 11. and Psalm cxix. ver. 103. † Psalm xi. verse 20. ‡ Eph. ch. iv. ver. 29.

hath he to injure or traduce any one? He only contends with his equals. Appoint him a law immediately, that he wrong none, that he defame none, that he do not swear, that he be peaceable; and if you shall perceive him to transgresse this law, chastize him sometimes with a sterne countenance, sometimes with sharp reproofs, such as may go to the quick, and upbraid him, and now and then sooth and flatter him with promises. Treat him not alwayes with blows, nor accustome thyself so to chastize him; for if thou art used to correct him every day, he will soon learne to despise it, and having once learned to do so, it utterly marres all: rather cause him alwayes to fear the rod, not alwayes to feel it: shake indeed the scourge, but touch him not with it, neither from threats proceed to the work: but let him not know that your words are only menaces; for then threatenings are only proper, when children believe they will proceed to deeds: for if the offender once understand this œconomy, he will soon contemne it: let him therefore expect to be chastized, but yet let him not be chastized, lest it extinguish his reverence; rather let it remaine like a glowing fire, and every where burn up the thornes, or, like a keen pick-axe, let it dig to the very bottom. And when once you perceive that you have gained any fruit by fear, remit a little, for there is due even to our very natures some relaxation. Teach him to be modest and courteous; but if you perceive him to do any injury to his servant, connive not at it, but check your child though free; for hee that shall see he is not permitted to reproach his very lacquey, will much lesse dare to injure or miscal one that is free-borne and his equal. Lock up his mouth from ill language; if you find him accusing of any, stop the mouth, and convert your tongue against her own errors.

Admonish his mother, his pædagogue and his servant, that they still speak and inculcate the same things to the child, that they may all of them be his keepers together, and diligently observe that none of those evil cogitations proceed from his mouth, and those golden portals.

Do not imagine that the thing requires so much time, provided that from the beginning thou presse it earnestly upon him, threaten, and dost constitute so many guards over him. Two months will be sufficient, all things will be redressed, the business established, and pass into very nature it selfe.

By this means will this gate be made worthy for the Lord, when there shall be neither filthy speech, scurrility, nor folly, or any such thing, but all as becomes such a Master. For as those who train up their children to serve the State in the wars, immediately instruct their warlike youth in the art of shooting, to put on the corslet, and manage the great horse, their age and stature being no impediment; how much rather then those which are entered into the heavenly militia, ought they to provide themselves with those accoutrements for the service of their King? Learn him, therefore, to sing praises to God, that he have no leisure for impurer songs and foolish discourses.

And be this gate thus guarded, and such citizens elected; the rest let us destroy within, as the bees do the drones, not suffering them to go forth, or once to buz at home.

But now let us proceed to the next gate. What is that? even that which is the next, and of our near affinity with it, I mean the Hearing; for that gate indeed hath citizens which passe out from within, but none have admission through it; but in this they enter in from without, and there are none which by it do sally forth. This, therefore, hath great affinity with the other; for if no filthy nor polluted thing be suffered to climb up by this portal, there will be no great difficulty to preserve the other; since he which doth not heare filthy and wicked things, does not likely speak wicked things; but if these lie open and common to all, the danger will be great, and give disturbance to all that are within. This then, peradventure, were first to have been spoken of, and the entrance to have bin secured.

Let children, therefore, heare nothing impertinent, neither of their domesticks nor their governors, nor their nurse: for as plants have then most need of care, when they are yong and tender, so have children. Provide them careful and virtuous nurses, that a good foundation be laid at first, and that from their very infancy they receive nothing of evil. Let them then never hear any foolish and old wives fables: such a person (says he) gave such a one a kisse; the Emperors son and his little daughter did this and this; permit them to hear none of these matters; but other things they may hear, so they be related without any circumlocution, and with all fidelity. They may, indeed, hear the

discourses of their servants, and those which wait upon them: but 'tis not fitting to mix with all promiscuously, and with the domesticks in general: but let them be known what they are, as it becomes them whom we take as assistants for the framing of these artificial statues.

For if it be necessary that being skilful architects, and building a palace for the Prince, we admit not all the servants in common to be our associates in the edifice; shall we now, when we are erecting a city, and making citizens for the King of Heaven, admit of all rashly to the work? Let those servants which are indeed fitted for it be taken to our assistance: and in case we can find none, enquire after some ingenuous person for a stipend, such a one as is virtuous; and commit rather all things to him, that he be taken in as a coadjutor of the work.

Let them by no means therefore hear such idle fables; but when the child is to have relaxation from his taske (for the mind is much delighted to stay a little upon old stories) discourse freely to him, and withdrawing him as much as possible from childish sports, remember thou bringest up a philosopher, and a champion, and a citizen of Heaven. Discourse therefore with him, and tell him—Once upon a time at the beginning, a father had two sons, both of them brothers. Here pause a little; then go on. They came both out of the same body, one of them was the elder, and the other the younger. The first was a husbandman, and his brother was a shepherd, that us'd to lead out his flock upon the downes and amongst the thickets. Sweeten then your discourse with some pretty diversion, that the child may take delight in what you say, least it becomes tedious. The other sowed seed in the ground and planted trees. But upon a time they went to serve God, and the shepherd taking the very best lamb of all his flock, offered it up to God. Is it not a thousand times better to discourse these things to them, then to amuse them with I know not what wonders of the Golden Fleece, and the like? Then encourage his attention again; for the narration itself is a very serious matter, there is nothing in it false, all is out of Scripture. Now because he offered to God the firstling and prime of his flock, there came presently fire down from Heaven, and snatched up all that lay upon the altar.

But the elder brother did not behave himself in this manner, but out

he goes, and reserves for himself the best and first-fruits of his labours, offering the second and the worst to God; and God accordingly had no respect unto it, but slighted and turned from it: letting it lie still upon the ground; when as the others he received up to himself. Just as it happens with those who are the stewards and bailiffs over our farmes, when they come to present their fruits: one of them his master honours and brings him into the house, the other he lets stand regardlesse without. Just so it fell out here. But what followed this now? Why, the elder brother became dejected, and as one that saw himself despised and not approved of, walks melancholy out. And God sayes to him, 'Wherefore art thou so sad? knowest thou not that thou didst offer to God? why then didst thou me that injury? What hadst thou to complain of? How comes it to pass that thou offredst the refuse to me?' Here, if you think fit to descend more to his capacity, you may add, That he having nothing at all to reply, held his peace and answered not a word.

A little after this, spying his yonger brother, he sayes to him, 'Come, prithy, let us walk a little out in the fields;' and when they were there, surprising him treacherously, and being stronger, he kills his poor brother, and thought that he should conceal it all from God. But God comes to him, and asks him, 'Where is thy brother?' 'What can I tell?' replies he; 'Am I my brothers keeper?' Then sayes God to him, 'Behold thy brother's blood cryes to me from the earth.'

Let the mother sit by whilst the mind of the child is moulding with these discourses, that she now and then interpose, and praise that which is recounted. But what followed all this? God took him up into heaven, and he being dead, lives above for ever. By this means the child will begin to learn the doctrine of the resurrection; for they use to relate such stories in fables: They made her (sayes one) a demi-goddess, and the child believes it, and though he know not what a demi-god is; yet he imagines it something which is more then a man, and he wonders presently at the hearing of it · how much more, then, when he shall hear of the resurrection, that his soul ascended into heaven, and that God immediately took him up. But as for the murtherer, having lived many years after, miserably unfortunate, and conti-

nually in fear and trembling, he suffered innumerable evils, and was punished every day. Speak to him concerning the punition with terror, not gently. That he heard God say, 'Thou shalt be groaning and trembling upon the face of the earth.' The child indeed knows not what this signifies at first; but say it, however. As you, when you stand perplexed before your master, shortly to be whipped, tremble and fear; so he lived all his life-time, after he had thus offended God. And hitherto shall suffice for the first.

Afterwards, one evening as you are at supper, talke of this again to him, and let his mother repeat the same things; and then when he hath heard it several times over, require it of him. 'My son, recite me the story; and, the more to encourage him, when you find he hath retained it, you shall propose to him some reward. The mind will, indeed, upon the first narration of this history, gather some fruit by you, as you make the deduction. After this, say thus: 'Do you see, child, what a horrible thing it is to envy ones brother? Do you perceive what a crime it is to think one can hide any thing from God? for he sees all things; yea, even those things which are committed in secret.' So that sowing this doctrine onely in the child, thou wilt have no need of a pedagogue, since the feare which the Deity doth hereby work in him, will affect the child beyond every other apprehension whatsoever, and extreamly move his mind.

But this is not all; you shall lead him also to church, and then especially when the lesson is read, how you shall perceive him to exult, dance and rejoyce, that what every body does not know he does, outrunning in his understanding the words of the minister, and arguing that he knowes that already, and receiving wonderfull fruit by it. And by this the thing will become sufficiently fixed in his memory. There are many other advantages to be reaped from this narration.

Let him be taught, therefore by you, that from the very beginning, from the death of this child, we are instructed not to grieve when we are afflicted, seeing he who was thus accepted, was by death received up into heaven. When this narration shall be well rooted in the mind of the child, introduce another, as that of other two brothers, and say, 'There were also other two brothers, an elder and a younger; the elder of

them was a hunter, the younger was a keeper and lover of home;' and this hath somewhat of more delight in it then the former (as being full of more variety of emergencies, and the persons which manage it being more in yeares then the former). 'Now these were also two brothers, and both of them twins; but when they were born, the mother loved the younger, but the father was more fond of the elder, who was wont to pass his time abroad in the fields; but the younger kept altogether at home. Upon a day, his father being now very aged, said to him whom he loved, 'Son, seeing I am now an old man, goe thy way, I pray, and prepare for me some venison: that is, take me a ro-buck, or an hare, and bring it to me, that when I have eaten of it I may blesse thee:' but to the younger he said nothing at all.

Now the mother over-hearing all that the father said, calls her youngest son, and says to him, 'Son, since thy father has commanded thine elder brother to bring him some venison, that eating of it he may give him his blessing, hearken what I say to thee: hasten immediately to the flock, and fetching thence some young fat kids, bring them hither to me, and I will make such as thy father loves, and thou shalt carry it to him, that when he has tasted of it, he may blesse thee;' for the father was dark through extremity of age.

Now when the younger had brought her the kids, his mother stewed them, and putting the viands into a dish, delivers it to her son, who carried it in: and she also clad him with the skins of the goats, least he should be discovered, seeing he was smooth, but his brother was all hairy and rough; that by this means it might be concealed, and his father not discern the imposture: and thus accoutred, in she sent him. Now the good old man supposing him to have been the elder, having eaten the meat, blessed him. And when he had made an end of blessing him, in comes the elder brother, bringing the venison: but perceiving what had hapned, roaring out aloud, he wept lamentably.

Observe now what a world of benefit this will produce, and do not recount all the story at once, but see what profit will spring from this. For in the first place, children will learn to reverence their parents, perceiving how they contended for the blessing, and will rather endure a thousand stripes then once to hear their father curse them.

If you fill their thoughts with such like stories, so as they may imagine them worthy of beliefe (as indeed they are very truths), how will it not affect and fill them full of reverence? By this also they will learn to contemne gluttony (for that is likewise to be told them), and that he gained nothing by being the first-borne and the eldest, since by the intemperance of his belly, he betrayed the excellency of his birthright.

Now when the child shall have throughly remembred this, upon some other evening, thou shalt require him to repeate this story of the two brothers. And if he begin to speak of Cain and Abell, recall him, and say, 'I do not mean this, but that of the two other, whom the father gave his blessing to;' thus giving him some hints, but without mentioning the names, and when he has recited it all, add as followes, and say, 'Mark now what hapned after this: this also sought to have slain his brother, and for that end expected onely his fathers decease; which the mother coming to hear of, and fearing it, caused her son to flee away.' Much philosophy, far exceeding the apprehension of the child, may be hence (with a little condescention) implanted into the spirit of the child, so that the narration be skilfully and dexterously handled. Thus therefore let us tell him. This same brother went his way, and came to a certain place, having nobody with him, not so much as a servant, no fosterer, no attendant, nor any person besides. Being arrived to the place, he prayed, and said, 'O Lord, give me, I beseech thee, bread and clothing, and save me;' and having said thus, overcome with sorrow, he fell asleep; and there he saw in a dream a ladder reaching up from the earth to the heavens, and the angels of God ascending and descending, and God himself standing at the top of all. Then he said, 'Bless me;' and he blessed him, and called him Israel.

It comes happily into my mind, and now I remember, that from the very names another instruction may be inserted, and what is that? *viz.* That from the appellations we presently introduce a certain emulation of vertue in children. Let none, therefore, be forward to name their children for the memory of their fathers, or mothers, or grandfathers: but of the righteous, of the martyrs, bishops, and apostles. Be this also their emulation; let this child be called Peter, that John, and another

by the appellation of some holy man, and talke not to me of the Gentil names; for (believe it) it is no small reproach, and worthy of derision, when in a Christian family some heathen ceremonies are performed, and they light up the lamps, and watch which of them shall first go out and be spent, with other the like fopperies, which bring no little detriment to those which practise them; for do not imagine that these are small matters or trifles which are done.

This, therefore, I require of you, that you impose the names of the righteous upon your children, for it was the custom in the beginning (not without reason) that they called their children by the names of their ancestors, it being a kind of consolation against mortality, that he which was gone seemed still to live, by reason of his name: but now this custom is quite out of request.

Truly we see that the righteous did not so call their children, for Abraham begat Isaac: Jacob and Moses were not called after their ancestors names, nor do we find any of the just so called. O what an example will here be of virtue, of consolation, and of exhortation. And moreover neither do we find any other cause of changing names besides this only, that it may be a monument of virtues. Thou, saith he, shalt be called Cephas, which is, being expounded, Peter*. Why so? Because thou didst confesse. And thou shalt be called Abraham. Why so? Because thou art a father of nations†. And Israel, because he did see God‡. Hence, therefore, let us begin our care over our children, and institute their lives.

But as I said, he saw a ladder reaching to the heavens and touching it; let the names therefore of the saints enter into your houses, by the appellations of your children, that by this means it may not alone compose the manners of the children, but of the fathers also; when he shall remember himself to be the son of John, of Elias, of Jacob, seeing those names were circumspectly and piously imposed, and for the honour of those that are departed.

Thus, therefore, let us court the affinity of the righteous rather then of our progenitors. This likewise will be very beneficial both to us and

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* Mat. c. 16. v. 18. † Gen. c. 17. v. 5. ‡ Gen. c. 32. v. 28.

our children: nor because the instance is small, think it to be small; for the supposition is exceedingly profitable. But, as I said, let us proceed to that which follows. He spied a ladder fixed, he sought for a blessing, and God did bless him: He travelled to his kindred, and became a shepherd to his kinsman, then treated with him concerning a wife, and of his return. And here also there will result a world of advantage; observe but what a deal he will learn. That being nobly born, he despise no man, not to be ashamed of poverty, that he bear adversity couragiously, and then all the rest. After this, when he is a little older, relate things that are more terrible; but being as yet tender, impose not such a burthen on him, lest thou too much terrifie and abash him; but when he has attained to fifteen years old, or shall be grown bigger, let him hear of the pains of hell; and when he is about ten, or eight, or less, tell him what happened at the Deluge, of Sodome, of Ægypt, which examples are full of severity, and acquaint him with all these particulars at large. Being then grown bigger, instruct him in matters of the New Testament, of Grace, of Hell. By these and sundry other narrations and familiar examples, guard and secure his ears.

But if any man come in with a false tale, by no means (as I said) let him be admitted. If you find a servant speaking filthily before him, chastise him for it immediately, and be thy self a severe and bitter censor of whatsoever evil they do. But if by chance thou espy a young maid (yea rather let there be no such approach him), let her not so much as light the fire; unless it be some old woman, which has nothing to attract a young man. From a young maid, I say, flie rather then from the fire; and by this means it will come to pass, that he which hears nothing impertinent, will speak nothing impertinent. Thus, therefore, let them be brought up.

But we proceed now to another port—the Smelling: for this also brings a very great inconvenience with it, unless timely barr'd; such are odours and incense; there being nothing which more dissolves the frame and tenor of the mind, nothing that more softens it, then if thou be affected with sweet smells. What, then, says he, 'ought one to take pleasure in dirt?' I do not say so; but neither with this nor that.

Let none therefore bring him sweet ointments, for as soon as that

once affects the brain, it effeminates and softens all the rest: hence also lusts are incited, and in that do lurk innumerable snares. Therefore lock up that gate securely. For the faculty of smelling is to breathe the air, not to receive perfumes. Some there are which peradventure will deride all this, as though whilest we discourse of this nurture, we trouble ourselves about trifles: but in truth the matter is not small; but the very basis, instruction, and institution of the whole world, that these things be duly performed.

There is likewise another gate, more specious then the former, but of exceeding difficulty to guard, namely, that of the eyes, as being rais'd on high, set in the front and beautified. This has many smaller leaves, by which it not onely sees but is seen, if it be gallantly framed. Here then there is great necessity of laws, one of the principal whereof let be, never to send the child to the theater, lest thereby he receive an entire overthrow at once, both by the ears and by the eyes: and let his attendant observe this especially in the markets, and whilest he passes through the by-lanes and streets, carefull that he never fall into that debauchery. Now to the end he may receive no harm by being seen, there are divers things to be considered. Deprive him of all over-costly apparel and superfluous ornaments, let him wear his hair modestly short, and if the boy take it hainously, as if he were disfigured by it, teach him this first, That it is the greatest ornament.

Now that he may not gaze, sufficient to preserve him will be those stories of the Sons of God, which happened on the Daughters of Men, and of the Sodomites, Hell, and such like instances. Here then must the Governour and he that waits on him, be wonderfull carefull and sollicitous, shew him therefore other beautifull objects, drawing away his eyes from these things: such as are the heavens, the stars, the flowers of the earth, the meadows, fair books, &c.: these therefore let him delight his eyes withall; and there are many other objects besides, which are very inoffensive: for it is a Port extreamly difficult to guard; for as much as it has a fire burning within, and a kind of natural necessity as I may say. Teach him some divine verses. And thus, unless he be inwardly incited, he will not care to be seen abroad. Be sure that he never bath with women, it is a very wicked custome: neither

permit him to haunt their company. Let him often hear the whole history of Joseph, and now learn the things which concern the kingdom of Heaven: what a garland there's laid up for those which are chast. Promise him a beautifull wife, and that you will make him your heir; but menace all the contrary, if you find him disobedient: And talk thus to him: 'We shall never procure you, son, a virtuous wife, unless you shew a great deal of circumspection, and an access of virtue. If you persevere, I will quickly marry you:' but especially if he be taught to abhor filthy speeches, he has gain'd from above a very excellent foundation of modesty. Discourse to him of the pulchritude of the mind, make him resolute against women. Tell him 'tis a disingenuous thing to be despis'd of a slavish maid, and that much more circumspection is requir'd in a youth. When any man speaks, he is known; but he that sees onely is not known. For this is a very quick sense, and one sitting amongst many persons is able to take which of them he pleases with one onely dart of his eye. Let him therefore have no converse with woman-kinde, his mother onely excepted. Suffer him to behold no woman. Give him no gold, let nothing that is sordid once enter into him: but teach him to contemn pleasure, and all such like things.

There is yet another gate behind, which hath no resemblance to the former, but which goes through the whole body. We call it the Touch. Indeed one would imagine it shut, yet as if it were of all the rest the most open, it admits entrance to all. Let us neither suffer this to be acquainted either with soft clothing or bodies; render him more hardy, we are bringing up a champion, and let us seriously mind it. Permit him neither to use soft coverings, nor soft garments, and thus let matters be ordered.

Go to then, and entering into this city let us prescribe laws, and make ordinances; for now the gates are in posture: and in the first place take we diligent notice of the houses, and of the lodgings where the citizens remain, those which are circumspect, and those which are dissolute.

They report that the place and habitation of anger is the breast, and the heart, which is in the breast, concupiscence in the liver, and

the understanding in the brain. The first is both a virtue and a vice. Sobriety and modesty is a virtue; rashness and morosity a vice. Likewise the virtue of concupiscence is chastity; luxury a vice. The virtue of the intellect is prudence, the vice, folly. Let us therefore have a care that virtues be produced in those places, and that they bring forth such as are good, not evil citizens. For these affections are as it were the very parents of all our cogitations.

But let us now proceed to the tyrant, anger: for neither is that to be altogether cut off in a youth, nor upon all occasions to be used. But thus let us instruct him from the cradle, that being injur'd he bear it patiently, and that when they perceive another man wronged, they stoutly revenge it, and according as the person is depressed, in a due and convenient manner take his part. But how should this be, when they are train'd up to it in their own servants? Being under-valu'd, are not impatient, being disobey'd are not outrageous; but rather vindicate that which is committed against others. But in these cases let the father be always arbiter, and when they transgress the orders it behoves him to be sharp and severe, as when they perform and observe them rightly, to be kind and gentle, enticing and alluring the child with many rewards: for with this method God governs the world, by the fear of hell, and the promises of the kingdom; and so should we our children, permitting them to be vexed now and then, for the exercise and tryal of their patience, that they may learn how to govern their passions amongst the domesticks.

And as in a wrestling place, before they play the prize, they daily exercise with their companions, that making their party good with them, they may the more easily vanquish their antagonists: so should a child be educated at home. And let his father or his brother frequently cross his humours above all the rest, and exceedingly contend for the victory, or else some other defend him that he may be exercised in that other person; thus the servants may occasionally provoke him, right or wrong, that so he may be taught every where to moderate and qualifie his passion; seeing if the father onely incite him, it will be no such great matter; for the very name of father præpossessing the mind does not suffer him to turn again and make head; but let his com-

panions and servants, and such as are ingenuously born do it, that by them he may be taught moderation.

There is yet another. What is that? When ever he is angry, put him in mind of his proper passions: when he is offended against a servant, whether he himself never committed a fault, and what he would be if he were in his place. But in case he find him striking a servant, meet him with revenge; and if he extreamly wrong him, chastise him again for it; never suffer him to be too soft and remiss; nor over churlish and morose, in as much as he is a man, and should be affable and courteous. Sometimes, indeed, he may have a worthy occasion for his anger, as if hereafter he should have children of his own, or himself be a master of servants, in such a condition anger were very usefull. Then onely it is unprofitable when we revenge our selves. And therefore Paul never made use of it himself, but for their sakes only who suffered the wrong. Thus Moses, seeing his brother injured*, had recourse to his anger, and that stoutly, being yet of all men the most meek†, but when afterward he was himself injured, he did not revenge it, but fled away. These discourses inculcate into him. For whilst we are thus trimming the gates, they have great need of such plain narrations. But when entringe into the city, we begin to discipline the citizens; 'twill then be fit to discourse to them of sublimer matters. But let this law be fixed in him, that he never revenge himselfe being injured or wronged, nor ever permit him to despise another who suffereth the like.

His very father shall become better, who by teaching him in these matters may himself be instructed; or in case he do it for no other end, he shall become better then himself, least he set a bad example before his child. And therefore let him learn to be despised, and to suffer contempt, exacting nothing of the servants, because himself is free born; but upon many occasions serve rather himself. Let his servants take care only of such things as he cannot so handsomely perform in person: for instance, a gentleman should not be his own cook; for it is not decent that, quitting those studies which become a gentleman, he should give his mind to this inferior employment. But if there be occa-

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* Exod. ii. 12. † Num. xii. 3.

sion to wash his feet, never let him make use of a servant, let himself do it. And by this means thou shalt render him ingenuous, mild, and amiable to the servants. Nor permit any body to bring him his clothes, nor in the bath to use any ceremony to him; but let him perform there all necessaries himself. This will make the youth robust, not disdainful, but affable and meek. Teach him also those things which concern nature; what a servant is, what a freeman. Say to him, child, there was heretofore no servants in the dayes of our fore-fathers; 'twas sin that introduced servitude: but because one was irreverent towards his father*, there was this punishment inflicted upon him, that he should be his brothers servant; beware, therefore, lest thou become the servant of servants: for if you be implacable and furious as they were, and in all things follow their example, and hast nothing of virtue more then them, neither shalt thou have any thing of excellency or preheminence above them.

Strive, therefore, that thou mayest become their master, not upon this account, but by thy manners and education, least being free-born thy self, thou become their servant. Perceive you not how many fathers have disinherited their children, and adopted their vassals in their stead? Take heed least any such thing should happen to you. Truly I neither desire nor wish it. They are as yet either of them in your power. And in this sort qualifie his passion; perswading him so to deport himself to his servants as to his brothers. And thus instruct him concerning the laws of nature, repeating to him the words of Job: If ever (sayes he †) I dispised the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me; what then shall I do when God makes enquiry, and when he visiteth what shall I answer him? Are they not fashion'd in the womb as I am ‡? For we are made in the same womb. And again, if my maidens often said, who shall give us to be filled with his flesh, I being very mild. Think you that of Paul § was for nothing? He who knows not how to govern his own house is not fit to rule in the Church.

Say therefore, if at any time his style be lost, or his pen be broken

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* Gen. ix. 25. † Job, xxxi. 13. ‡ Job, xxxi. 31. § 1 Tim. iii. 5.

by his servant: be not presently in choler, nor mis-call him, but be rather gentle and easie to be intreated. Thus from smaller things thou shalt with ease support greater losses. Or if a book-string be spoyl'd, or a brazen clasp, boys take the losses of these things impatiently, and had rather lose their very lives than suffer so great an injury to go unreveng'd; here therefore let their asperity be mitigated; for well you know, that he who on these accidents is patient and contented will easily, being a man, undergo all other disasters.

When he has then gotten a table-book made of some curious wood, pure and white, adorn'd with brazen-chains, and finely polished brazen pens, shining like any silver, or the like toys; and that the boy which attends him happening to lose any of them, you perceive him not mov'd at it, 'tis an evident and certain indication of philosophy and great wisdome. Nor do thou upon this buy him new immediately, lest thou extinguish his passion; but when you shall perceive he bears the want of it handsomly, and is not much concern'd with it, then repair his losses.

Believe it, we do in this no trifling matter. The discourse concerns no less then the polity of the world itself. If he have a younger brother, instruct him to suffer him to be preferred in honour before him: but if he have none, then some servant: for even this likewise is a point of the greatest philosophy. So therefore mitigate and asswage his anger, that it may suggest to us meek cogitations: for when he shall not let his affections run out upon any thing, when he shall need no mans service, when he shall envy no man's being preferr'd in honour before him, what room will there be left for anger?

It is now time that we speak of concupiscence. Here also chastity is two-fold, and the violation of it a double loss. I conceive that young men should neither be dishonestly loved, nor dishonestly love young maids. Physitians say, that presently after the fifteenth year youths are vehemently inflamed with the lust of concupiscence. How shall we now fetter this beast? What is there to be done? What bridle shall we put on it? I know of no other then the fear of hell it self. First therefore, let us be carefull that he neither see nor hear any thing which is filthy; nor by any means suffer an ingenuous youth to frequent the

theater. But if he seek for these pleasures, if you know of any his contemporaries which deny themselves that vanity, shew them to him, that by their example he may be reduced: for there is nothing in the world which does sooner redresse it then emulation, no, not any. And in every thing else let us observe this rule, especially if you perceive him to be of an emulous disposition. It is a great deal more effectual then either fear or promises, or whatsoever else.

To these let us devise some other innocent divertisements, bring him to holy men, grant him relaxation, and give him rewards, that thereby his mind may be the less troubled at it; and instead of these spectacles propose to him some pleasant story, talk to him of meadows, of sumptuous buildings, and afterwards wheel off your discourse with an application. Tell him, these spectacles, son, are for base and servile persons, to behold naked women speaking immodestly. Promise me that thou wilt not hear nor say any thing that is dishonest, and I permit thee to go: but it cannot be, it is impossible that thou shouldest there hear nothing which is vile. The things that are there acted, are unworthy thy eyes, my son. And in saying this, let us kiss and embrace him, that he may perceive how dearly we love him.

With all these stratagems let us entice him. What then? As I said already, let a young maid never approach him, nor do any service about him, but some ancient maid or woman that is well stricken in years. Discourse to him concerning the kingdome, and of such as have been illustrious for their chastity, as well those without the pale as amongst ourselves; and with these let us perpetually fill his ears; nay, if we have servants that excel in chastity and sobriety, propose them likewise for examples, seeing it would be a great reproach, that a servant should be modest, and that a free person, a gentleman, should be sordid.

There is yet another expedient, and what is it? Let him learn to fast, if not always, yet twice a week, Wednesdays and Frydays at least. Cause him to frequent the church. And when the father walks with him abroad, towards the evening, at the time that the shows are done and the theatres are dissolved, let him show him those that are coming away, and laugh at the old fools who as yet have not the dis-

cretion of striplings, and at the young men who are fired with filthy lusts. Then let him ask the boy, what he thinks all they have gain'd? Truly nothing at all but shame, infamy, and damnation. This will prove of no small importance to chastity, that he abstain both from the spectacles and from the discourse.

But besides all this, let him be taught another thing, and that is, that he pray to God with all diligence and compunction. And say not to me, that these things are not imployments for a child; a child is not capable of this: yes, a child, especially if of a quick understanding, and encouraged, is very capable of it. Amongst the ancient we find many such examples; as Daniel, and Joseph; and tell not me that Joseph was seventeen years old, but consider before that age for what he was so dear to his father; and that he was more fond of him than of all his elder brethren? Was not Jacob himself the younger? Jeremias, Daniel but twelve years old *; was not Solomon also of the same age when he made that wonderful prayer †? Did not Samuel, being but a very boy, teach his master ‡? Let us not then be discouraged. If any one indeed be a child in understanding, he is not capable of this, not if he be a child in years.

Instruct him therefore to pray with much compunction, and to watch likewise, as much as will stand to health, and by all means let there be imprinted on him, being a child, the character of an holy man. For he that is not addicted to swearing, nor being provoked to return injuries, to reproach no body, to hate none; but gives his mind to fasting, and is assiduous in his prayer, shall from these be sufficiently furnished to chastity. And in case thou destine him to a secular life, provide a wife betimes, nor defer it till he be inrolled amongst the souldiers, or that he hath attained to some office in the commonwealth, before thou consider of it; but settle his thoughts first, and then proceed to secure his glory, which is but a worldly business. Dost thou imagine it of so small a concernment to marriage, that a virgin be joyn'd to a virgin? Truly, it doth not a little concern also the very wifes chastity, not to speak of the young mans also. Shall not this render their affection the

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* Dan. xiii. 45. † 3 Reg. iii. 4. ‡ 1 Reg. iii. 1.

more pure? and, which is above all this, will not God himself be then more propitious, and fill that marriage with a thousand benedictions, when they thus meet together as he has commanded, and will make them cordially to love one another?

Whilest he is detained by this affection, he will laugh at all other women; if when you commend the virgin for her beauty and vertue, and all other endowments, you shall then adde, that she will never endure him if once she but understand him to be an idle person; hereupon, as touch'd in his highest concernments, he will put forth his utmost diligence. For if that holy man, being deceived of his wife, so loved her as yet to serve seven years more for her, nay fourteen years, how much more should we? Tell him, that all that belong to the virgin, the father, the mother, servants, all the neighbours and friends, are strict observers of his behaviour and actions, and all will relate it to his virgin. With this obligation bind him; 'twill prove an effectual preservative to the child. So that in case it should not be so convenient to give him a wife very young, let him yet be espoused to one at least from the first; this will make him strive to excel in goodness, this alone is sufficient to banish all vice.

There is likewise another excellent guard to chastity, that he perpetually frequent the Bishop of the Church, and from him receive many encouragements; and of this let his father glory to all that hear it; let the virgins seeing him, look on him with a reverend esteem: besides, the discourses and the awe of his father, the promises which are made, and with these the rewards reposited for him of God, with all those benefits which the chast shall be made partakers of, will extreamly hinder and repress all lubricity in this kind.

To this you may add, the gallant atchievements in war and in peace, and to these things studiously direct your discourse, continually declaiming against vice and luxury, and bringing it into contempt. It will much conduce to the repute of chastity, and all these particulars wonderfully restrain the mind of the young man, and produce in us most chast cogitations.

There is one more yet remaining, let us therefore now proceed to that which is the chief of all, and which keeps all entire; and what is that?

namely, prudence. Here must be infinite care used, that he be discreet, and that he abandon and banish all folly; and this is a special and grand point of philosophy; that he comprehend those things which are divine, and what there is laid up for the future: of hell, and the things which concerne the kingdome of heaven, since the beginning of wisdome is the fear of the Lord*.

Let us therefore establish this point of prudence in him, that he be also intelligent in humane affairs: what riches are, what glory, what power, to the end he may learn how to contemn them, and set his affections upon things which are of highest concernment. Let us often remember him of the good instructions which have been given him, and say, son, fear God alone, and besides him fear none other. And thus he will emerge a prudent and a gracious person. There is nothing in the world that renders a man more a fool, then these vices; the fear of God is alone sufficient to make thee wise, and to have such a judgement in secular and humane affairs as is necessary. This, this is the very sum and top of all wisdome, that he be not taken up with impertinent and childish vanities. Teach him therefore that riches avail nothing, worldly glory nothing, power nothing; nothing, death; nothing this present life. Thus he shall indeed become a wise man. And if, educated in this manner, we conduct him to his nuptials, consider how noble a portion thou bringest to his bride.

But let us now celebrate the marriage, not with pipes and harps, and dancing; with these kind of things to disgrace the bridegroom thus educated, it is highly incongruous. Let us rather invite Christ thither, such a bridegroom is worthy of him; let us bid his Disciples: these things well become him. And now let him henceforth thus learn to instruct his own children, and so educate them; and they theirs; and thus it will become a golden chain indeed.

Let us also promote him to offices in the commonwealth, such as he hath abilities to undergo, and such as do not minister to vice. Or whether it be any charge in the army, let him learn to gain nothing sordidly. Or whether he patronize the cause of those which are wronged, or

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* Eccles. i. 16.

whatever else he undertakes. That his mother learn likewise to instruct and discipline her daughters after the same manner, and to avert their thoughts from superfluous attires and fashions, from the world, and from whatsoever else are the proper marks of lewd women and strumpets.

Let him manage all things by this rule, and wean as well the youth as the maid from pleasure and ebriety; for even this also will be of great effect towards chastity; there being nothing which doth more molest and trouble young men, then concupiscence; nothing more young women, then haughtiness and lux of apparel.

Thus therefore let us order and compose all these things, that so we may please Almighty God, whilst we bring him up such champions, and that we and our children may attain those promises which he hath made to them that love him: and all this through the grace and benignity of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory and honour now and ever, and to eternal ages. Amen.

NOTES UPON SOME PASSAGES.

ΚΑΙ *κόμην δὲ ὄπισθεν ἀφίεις εἰς κόρης σχῆμα*, &c. *And thou dost nourish him a lock of hair behind like a girle, &c. Goar in Rituali sive Euchologia Græcorum,* recites an office in *τριχοκουρία*, or the *detonsion* of a child: but it was neither *monachal* nor *clerical,* but the common *cut;* and it seems the custom was introduced to avert the Gentile superstition. *Athanasius quæst.* 28 *dictor. & interpretat. Parabolarum Evangel.* *Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἀποκείρειν τῶν παίδων τὰς κορυφὰς, καὶ τοὺς μαλλοὺς ἐᾷν καὶ τούτους μετὰ χρόνον ἀνατιθέναι τοῖς δαίμοσι.* The Heathen (Greeks) were wont to shave the crowns of their children, and to have their locks to hang down, which after a space of time they did consecrate to (divels) idols. This heathenish superstition, which the Latine and Greek humane authors attest, St. Chrysostom here intends, and the later Greeks did transfer into Christianism, either by consecrating them, as first-fruits unto the true God, or as signifying their surrendering themselves to the service of God: or rather, uncovering their head, as the Apostle enjoynes that sex: and there was to that end not only *Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παίδα*; but also for the other sex, *Εὐχὴ ἐπι τὸ ἀναδήσασθαι κεφαλὴν γυναῖκα.* This primary tonsure was with the godfather. And of old they consecrated their first-shorn locks to Apollo (going often in person to Delphos), to Æsculapius, or their country rivers, as Lucian testifies. *Plut. in vit. Thes.* And Martial, *lib.* 1, *ep.* 32.

Hos tibi Phœbe vovet totos à vertice crines
Encolpus, domini centurionis amor,
Grata pudens meriti tulerit cùm præmia pili.
Quam primum longas *Phœbe recide* comas,
Dum nullâ teneri sordent lanugine vultus,
Dumq; decent fusæ *lactea colla jubæ,*
Utq; tuis longum dominúsq; puérq; fruatur
Muneribus, tonsum fac citò, serò virum.

But their beastly *Catamits,* with their monstrous heads of hair, were in great esteem amongst the luxurious Romans; whence that of the poet,

——— *Si nemo tribunal*
Vendit Acersecomes ——— Juvenal, lib. 3. Sat. 8.

Which when they grew old they used to colour, as appears by that witty Epigram, *In Lentinum.*

Mentiris juvenem tinctis, Lentine, capillis:
Tum subitò corvus, qui modò cygnus eras?
Non omnes fallis, scit te Proserpina canum,
Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo. Mart. l. 3. ep. 32.

Which I add in reproof of some old men in our days, who to the reproach of gravity, and that reverend blessing, being now descending to the sepulchre, do yet *mentiri juvenem,* and would be thought boyes. But of these customes let the reader consult Papinius, Festus Pompeius, Junius, and the most learned Salmasius. I pass them over.

Κόρη ἐν τῷ θαλαμῷ τῷ μητρικῷ παδευθεῖσα πρὸς κόσμον ἐπτοῆσθαι γυναικεῖον, &c. *A maid when in her mother's chamber she hath learned to long after these various tires and ornaments of women, being gone out of her father's house, becomes impertinent to her husband, and very troublesom,* &c. This reproof is parallel to that of the Satyrist, but with less acerbity, more modesty and gravity.

——— *Expectas ut non sit adultera Larga*
Filia; quæ nunquam maternos dicere mœchos
Tam cito, nec tanto poterit contexere cursu,
Ut non ter decies respiret? Conscia matri
Virgo fuit; ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
Implet, & ad Mœchum dat eisdem ferre cinædis.
Sic natura jubet; velociùs & citius nos
Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica magnis
Cùm subeant animos auctoribus ——— . Juv. Sat. 14.

So true is that of the Orator, *Plus homines exemplo quam peccato nocent.* And especially parents whose lewd examples children are many times too prone to imitate.

Λέγονται οἱ μαργαρίται ὅταν ἐνθέως ληφθῶσιν ὕδωρ εἶναι, &c. *Tis reported that when pearls are first taken up, they are only little drops of water,* &c. And it was only a report, taken up by S. Chrysostom to metaphorize his discourse: but it is apparently true of glasses, which from a fluid metal receive their figure from the will of the blower of them, which is afterwards firm, and not to be new moulded. The French have an expression, *Il a prins son pli,*—A tender twig soon yeelds. Hence that of Persius,

Udum, et molle lutum es, nunc, nunc properandus et acri
Fingendus sine sine rotâ ——— Sat. 3.

Children are *rasæ Tabulæ,* or rather *cereæ,* apt for every inscription and impression.

Πάντα καὶ λέγοντα καὶ ποιουντα τὴν σφραγίδα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. *And upon whatsoever he saith or does to put a seal. Crucis consignatio,* as *Combefis;* and the acception of this word in the Mixobarbarous Greek, is in that sense, as in the Latine Ecclesiastical Writers *signaculum,* and *signare.* But to skrue it so high as 2 Cor. 1. 22. Καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς, &c. *And hath sealed us,* &c. is farther then will be evinced upon any probable grounds of reason. That in this place it may signifie no more then what was before expressed, εἰς προσευχὰς ἀγρυπνεῖν, I am at an indifference, if not propension to believe; comparing it with a sentence of very near affinity in Nilus, a great admirer of S. Chrysostom, Πᾶσαν μὲν πράξιν διὰ προσευχῆς σφράγιζε· ταύτην δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ᾗ τὸν λογισμὸν θεωρεῖς ἀμφιβάλλοντα. Thus men should consecrate all their undertakings.

Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ τιθέναι νόμους, ἐαν μὴ καὶ ἡ ἐκδίκησις ἕποιτο. *For 'tis to no purpose to enact laws unlesse punishment be also inflicted,* &c. Conformable to that of the Lyrick.

Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris:
Mos, & lex maculosum edomuit nefas:
Laudantur simili prole Puerperæ.
Culpam pœna premit comes. Hor. lib. 4. Od. 5.

Such was the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis* severely inflicted upon the offenders; for

Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
Quid leges sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt? Hor. l. 3, od. 24.

Μιγάδες, such are called *Mestiso's.* The Israelites were to be a pure and separate people. *Exod.* 12. 38. Καὶ ἐπίμικτος πολὺς συνανέβη αὐτοῖς, &c. *And a mixed multitude went up,* &c. Numb. 11. 1. Καὶ ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπεθύμησεν ἐπιθυμίαν, &c. *And a mixt multitude that*

was among them lusted a lust. Such a one was the blasphemer, *Levit.* 24. 10. He was Hybrida, of an Egyptian father and Israelitish mother. *Nehem.* 13. 3. καὶ ἐχωρίσθησαν πᾶς ἐπίμικτος ἐν Ἰσραὴλ. It was upon hearing the law that *they were separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.*

Οἱ τροφεῖς. *Altores, Nutritii.* Nursing fathers. It seems to be an employment about young Nobility; S. Chrysostom, the Chief Bishop of Constantinople, seems to direct the education of the children of Noblemen and Gentry of great quality; he mentions a garb of attendants — their τροφεῖς. This office he sets down as the first Impression ἐκ κρηπίδος, & ἐξ ἀρχῆς. I suppose a nurse and foster-father taken into the house.

Παιδάγωγος, a *Governor*; Ἀκόλουθος, a *Page*; besides other οἰκέται, domestick attendants. So that of Jacob, οὐδένα ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ δοῦλον, οὐ τροφέα, οὐ παιδάγωγον, οὐκ ἄλλον οὐδένα, &c. *Having no body with him, not so much as a servant, no fosterer, no attendant, nor any person beside, &c.*

Καὶ προλαμβόνοντα, καὶ ἐπιγινώσκοντα, *Out-running in his understanding the words of the Minister, &c.* Not *occupantem, Legetem,* as Combefis. The author speaks of a child (if I understand aright) that hath been instructed by narrations from his father and mother, not yet arrived to those years that he hath learned to read; for it is a question, whether the Greeks were so very forward in putting their children to read and write as we now are. Besides, ἐπιγινώσκω does not signifie to read, though ἀναγινώσκω do: but *agnosco,* to own or declare that I knew such a person formerly. *Recordor,* to call to mind: here it is either by gesture in the church, importing that he knew the history before, or afterwards to recount to his parents when he comes from church.

Γραφὶς, called also παραγραφὶς, γραφεῖον, πινακὶς, called πυξίον. The ἄλυσις χαλκῆ, I suppose, bound up the *Tabella,* and fastened the *Style* too; for which use was sometimes (as appears before) *ἱμὰς, Corrigia,* or *Lorum.*

Τοὺς δὲ γάμους ποιῶμεν μὴ μετὰ αὐλῶν, μὴ μετὰ κιθάρας, μηδὲ μετὰ ὀρχημάτων. *But let us celebrate the marriage, not with pipes, and harps, and dancing, &c.* Pertinent to which passage is that incomparable Homily of this Father, *tom.* 5, *lib.* 25, *p.* 321. *Edit. Savil.* too long to recite, but most worthy of the reading; and such a wedding was that of Cana in Galilee, at which our B. Savior was present, *John.* ii.

To conclude, there is Ἐκλογὴ περὶ παίδων ἀνατροφῆς. *Chrys. Savil. tom.* 7, *p.* 823; but it does not contain any part of this work; yet points it to other places of this Father, where upon the same subject are used phrases harmonious to some of these.

A

CHARACTER OF ENGLAND,

AS IT WAS LATELY PRESENTED IN A LETTER TO A NOBLEMAN OF FRANCE.

WITH

REFLECTIONS UPON "GALLUS CASTRATUS."

THE THIRD EDITION.

(ORIGINALLY PRINTED IN 1651.)

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN CROOKE, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT THE SHIP IN ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD.

1659.

A

LETTER IN VINDICATION OF THIS "CHARACTER,"

AGAINST THE

SORDID REPROACHES OF "GALLUS CASTRATUS."

MADAME,

I HERE transmit you the "Character of France*," in which it must be confess'd, as he renders to his antagonist in civility, so is he superior to him in fancy and baudry: and it cannot but extreamly please the Monsieur, to see the zeal and anger of this Mirmillo discharge itself upon his person to so little purpose, who has been so civill to our Country, and to all who can pretend to worth and vertue in it; that in my judgment, had he spared the gentleman, his observations had as much obliged that Nation in some particulars as the "Character †" has our own, in so charitably shewing us our avowed deformities, and the expedients to redresse them. But I beseech you, Madame, could you imagine, that if there had been the least period in the Monsieur which reflected on your fair sex, it had been left to this pitifull champion to defend your honours? I protest, I have confronted them with the best skill I have, and not without some animositie; and seriously, when I

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* A small Tract, intituled "A Character of France;" to which is added *Gallus Castratus*, or an Answer to a late slanderous Pamphlet called "The Character of England." London, 1659.

† The great rarity of the Answer to this equally scarce Tract, has been the principal motive for its insertion in the present Collection of Evelyn's smaller pieces. Although the above appears in the list of his Works attached to his Memoirs in Dr. Kippis's edition of the Biographia Britannica, whence it has been copied by all the subsequent writers of his Life, it is not mentioned in his Memoirs recently published, nor in the list of his productions which he sent to his friend Dr. Plot, in a letter dated 16th March, 1682-3; and on that account some have considered it as apochryphal. The extracts from the Diary introduced as notes to the preceding Tract, will however form a chain of illustrative evidence to prove that it is the genuine production of Evelyn's pen.

"GALLUS CASTRATUS, an Answer to a Slanderous Pamphlet, called the CHARACTER OF ENGLAND.

consider what the "Character" has spoken of our Country in generall, and with what decent reserves he has treated your sex in particular, that but pretend to vertue, I am sure your La^p^ cannot be offended at his reproofes, because so little concerned with them; and that none but the guilty will condemne so civill a declamation, which has nothing of asperity in it but that which is proper for the cure of what both you and I, and thousands more, have frequently deplored. Juvenal and Persius did the same to their own country which this stranger has done to us, and have been celebrated these 1500 yeares for their service; and shall we be the only ungratefull? The hope is, the reply is penn'd in so coarse a style, that there will not be found words in all the French tongue to let them know we have so foule a mouth amongst us, or your honours so weak an advocate. But it seemes the offence is not universall, for I am credibly informed by a person of quality, and much integrity, that heard a learned and sober preacher quote the "Character" in his sermon, and reproach the people for their irreverent behaviour in the church in the very language of that book, which being asserted to me by a lady who was her self an auditor, is enough to discharge it of the blasphemy which this impure insect imputes to it, and to give it the reputation of a precious balme, a sober and just reproof.

But I say no more, least whilst I am advocate for the stranger, I become the subject of this scorpion; which I had yet rather be, than in the catalogue of his worthies, if such monsters as the last he mentions bring up the arriere, whose fanatick impieties he would palliate by his Phari-

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Si talia nefanda et facinora quis non Democritus. London: Printed for Nath. Brooke, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1659.

"To the illustrious Starres of Glory, the incomparable Beauties of the English Nation. These with a deep humility.

"*Gallus Castratus, &c.*—Ladies, To make a hue and cry, or research after this Satyrist, were to enquire after yesterdayes air, or the last evenings sun: since the perpetrating a sin against charity and divine beauty, hath occasioned him to conceal his unworthy name; yet by your permission (fair Ladies) I shall adventure a throw after him, so as to bestow on him a character not unworthy of his fact.

"He may be thought one of the dislodged brood of wandering Cain, who having sinned in good, sets his hand against all for bad; such of these are true sons of the Curse, they bring brambles for violets, and thorns for roses: desperate persons to converse with, as infectious in their souls, as in their

saicall censure of the Monsieur; for having reproved nothing but what this wasp must needes blush to have vindicated, if he were a true sonn of the Church of England, and not a scabbed sheep of some other flock. In summe, I defer no more to his wit then to his wisdome; for it seemes he has replied with as little moderation as the Monsieur with method: at least, I wish he had distinguished better, and given him lesse subject to suspect him of the offspring of Billings-gate; so ungentlemanlike he railes, that in the next edition of Mr. Wren *, his epithetes may happen to be added to the elegancies of Mr. Harrington †, of whose schoole and complexion he appears to be. For the rest, I read him with patience; but as the justice of my nature transports me, could wish to have seen the product of the "Character" result in a due deploring of what is really amisse amongst us, and not in empty recriminations, which serves to no other end than to harden us in our follies, and steele us with the metall of his own forehead. But thus the urinall is cast into the physitians face, and he becomes our enemy who tells us the truth; verifying rather the signature of one of Solomons fooles than at all treating the Monsieur as an ingenuous person should do, and had become him that intended not rather to justify the errours we are guilty of, than to acknowledg and reform them. Madame, I shall add no more than to tell you, that if any worthy persons think themselves agreiv'd, and have the leisure to revenge us upon the French, there are witts of our Nation, and devotos of yours, of another allay than this trifler, and who can tell how to make a better election of what is

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their limbs; a traveller, that makes it his business to deface the glories of nature, not to admire and adore them; a frothy wit, not consenting to its captivity, hath in his caprichios snorted his foam upon the sweet face of this blessed Island; the method he pretends too, for he hath none, was sure begot in a hirricano, where, being frighted by his conscience, he thrusts things together *à la negligence*; a brat only born to die accursed, and to shew to the world that France hath of late her monsters as well as Africa.

"His end I cannot remark, except like Erostratus to purchase a fame, though by the vilest infamy, or to engage a smile from those (banditors to nature) the rude offspring of a brothel or a dunghill:

* Matthew Wren, eldest son of the Bishop of Ely, and author of "Considerations on Mr. Harrington's Commonwealth of Oceana." 8vo. 1659.

† James Harrington, an eminent political writer, and author of "Oceana." 1656. Folio.

reprehensible in them, with more becoming tearmes, and equall charity: but that he may not altogether despair, now the bolt is shot, the onely way to render him usefull (if so you think he may be), is to separate his quibbles from his scurrility; and by a second perusall of the Monsieurs letter, to determine impartially, as (on your Ladyships injunctions) I have endeavoured to do. But if I would give counsell to this whiffling capon-maker* (which is the name he affects in revenge for the others concealment), it is, that instead of triumphing with the rams-hornes, and defending the blasphemies, sacrilege, and ill manners of this corrupt age, he would withdraw his own, and write a second Apology for the froth which he hath so indiscretely spewed out; least being judged a creature of the liquor he so much celebrates, he be thought unworthy a rejoynder, and after the English Character is made use of, his own supply the sweet office, *ad spurcos usus.*

24th June 1659.

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a dunghill: a monster fitting to rove after its sire, rather than find a Mecænas in any serious family; so unfit to bear the name of a character, that it may well be stiled the Leprosie of France cast upon England. But by this time (Ladies) I suppose you have enough of this unmaskt Gentleman; now to the work itself.

" And first he apologizeth for his rudeness by the commands of a person (once a devoto to the charmes of England) a person of quality (a Lord); but if his qualities answered his dignity, surely his Lordship hath repented him of his commands.

" He declares he had licence only for minute things: his Honour thought great ones too much beyond the sphere of his activity and cognizance: but to particularize his aspersions, which I shall civilly name his complaints,

" *Comp.* 1. His first is, (of the stiffe whispering and forbidden countenances) at Dover.

" Surely his last collation of the grape at Calais, or the high trott of Neptune, had contributed much to this mistake; since as Comines his own country-man saith, I used to go to Calais (when in the hands of the English) without a passe, for (saith he) they are very courteous and honourable in their entertainments to strangers. And further, in their tryals with forrainers they allow them a Jury, de Medietate Lingua. Surely then they had not lost their native gallantry at this Monsieurs landing; but for a certain the Monsieur brought a face from Madagascar, or a habit from America, not fit to be seen without a motion or amazement, as the Spaniards are usually respected in their country. But I see this poor gentleman is mighty tender, for he seems to take pet at every tree that grows not straight, and excepts at any person that comes but neer him, much more that doth but touch him: the very boyes give him an adventure much of Don Quixots, which makes him view all things through inchantment; and I wonder I hear no news of his eccho, a Sancho Pancho to flatter his folly into a romance.

" *Comp.*

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* *Gallus Castratus.*

TO THE READER.

WHEN I first chanced upon this severe piece, and had read it in the language it was sent me, I was so much concern'd with the honour of our Country, that it was my resolution to suppress the publication of our shame, as conceiving it an act of great inhumanity; but upon second and more impartial thoughts, I have been tempted to make it speak English, and give it liberty, not to reproach, but to instruct our Nation, remembering what the wise-man hath said*, "Open rebuke is better than secret love." The truth is, I cannot say but the particulars are most of them very home, and which we may no way evade, without acknowledging, at least, that the gentleman (who ever he were) made notable use of his time, but best of all by setting upon effectual redresse of what is amiss. And though I doubt not but one might easily retort in as many instances upon defects as great (if not greater) of that Nation, (for he that finds fault had need be perfect,) yet were it then fittest to do it, and to revenge this charitable office, when we shall have first reformed ourselves. Farewell.

"*Comp.* 2. To see his cónfident Host sit down cheek by joule by him, belching and puffing tobacco, and that our gentlemen do usually entertain them, and are pleased with their impertinencies.

"This Monsieur was (I dare say) not banished France for his great head-piece; else he might have considered himself now in a free state, where no person is shackled by prerogative, but may be company (by way of divertisement) to the greatest piece of honour in Europe; and if you can fit your lacquey upon what last your humor shall frame, why may not sometimes an impertinency please your fancy, as well as the character of England doth some of your ladies? For you must know, our people are not an asse-like galled nation, who are bound by their chains to come no neerer then an interview of Princes: but I confess my host was somewhat too bold to approach so nigh, lest he might have had imployment for his fingers and nails all the year after.

"But I hope Monsieur you have paid your reckoning, and are now coming to London, as you say (the metropolis of all civility.)

"*Comp.* 3. You write, That you had some honour thrown upon you, as dirt, squibs, roots, nay rams' horns, entering London.

"Seriously, Sir, I wonder at the last lot, how they came to hit upon this honour for you; I must tell you, that it was a sad and lowering constellation or ludibrium of fortune cast upon your person, that in that great place of civility such ominous caresses should be offered, since your deserts had been better paid you in your own country, and with your own coyn. As for the carmen, as you say, overthrew the hell-carts, I wonder, Sir, how your company escaped, since there was

* Proverbs, chap. xxvii. ver. 5.

A

CHARACTER OF ENGLAND, &c.

My Lord,

You command me to give you minute account of what I observed, and how I passed that little time which I lately spent in England *; a Country, whose character you so greatly desire to be inform'd of, in a conjuncture (as you rightly deduce) of so strange vicissitude and wonderful alterations; and to whom, my Lord, should I more readily submit? first encouraged to make this excursion by your L^p^, as who had formerly beheld and so much admir'd the splendor and magnificence of this Court and Kingdom in its greatest acme and lustre. But, my Lord, I cannot imagine that you should esteem me either of years or capacity to inform you, whose judgement is so mature, and correspondence so universall, as that there is nothing which can escape your cognizance, not onely in that Island, but in all the world besides. But since you oblige me not to dip into the transactions of States, the effects of Providence, time, notices of a superiour orbe, and in which you cannot be instructed by so weak an instrument as your servant; and demand onely the little remarkes of my hasty and desultory peregrination,

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was a story, that the Devil rid through our streets with some blades having none of the best faces.

" *Comp.* 4. That our city is a wooden, northern, and inartificial congestion of houses.

" This Monsieur, I perceive, is no curious architect, for finding fault with our wooden buildings, which consider London, as a mercantile city, strong and beautiful, her manner of building agreeable to the jettyes, bay-windows, and returns in her streets; every part so ingaged one with another, that though under several modes, yet like loving citizens they hold hand in hand faster then brick or stone can do, and by their diversity of frontings do declare a freedome of our subjects, that what they acquire by industry, may be bestowed at pleasure; not obliged to build so for the will of the Princes: whereas the citizens of Paris are so forced to uniformity, that their

structures

* Referring to the Diary, June 27, 1650, it will be seen that Evelyn quitted Calais, " intending but a short stay in England," and returned to France on the 13th of the following month.

though I cannot pretend to improve your Lordships knowledg, yet I may hope to give it diversion, and an essay of my obedience.

It must be avowed that England is a sweet and fertill Country, —

Terra potens armis, atque ubere glebæ;

that the fields, the hills, and the vallies are perpetually clad with a glorious and agreeable verdure; that her provisions are plentifull, her staples important, and her interest very considerable, not omitting the most beautifull ladies, I had almost said, of the world, but for a just respect due to the illustrious circles of our Court, where the beauties of conversation so far transcend the tinctures of lillies and roses. But these, my Lord, are not the memoires which you demand; I will therefore hasten to my post.

After a short passage from Calais, we came on shore at Dover, where the people of the town entertain'd us with such suspicious and forbidding countenances, whispering, and stiff postures, that I should never have believed so great a difference in the addresses of two nations could have been produced in so short a trajection, and in a port continually accustom'd to the faces of strangers, had not the contrary humors of our contiguous neighbours, the Spaniards, made it possible in so many pleasant instances. But I was amazed, when we had taken post, and scarce out of the village, at the acclamations of the boys, running after and affrighting our horses, hooting, and crying out, 'French dogs, French dogs, a Mounser, Mounser!' by a particular expression of welcome,

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structures seem to be only one continued magnificent wall loop-hol'd; whereas variety is more pleasant, if it be not so fantastick as to incommodate passage, height, or sight, as it is an undoubted maxim in the opticks, that it lengthens your entertainment to a rapture: whereas in the French walk the eye in an instant is glutted with an identity, so that having seen one city or street, the eye is not urged to take her revels in another, all being so like to a primitive pattern of one livery, it choaks delight; as for magnificent buildings, or regalios, Monsieur forgets the Abbey of Westminster, the Royal Exchange, two such works of architecture, that for their kind and use meet not with any parallel in France; though, I confess, the absolute tyranny of your Kings by the blood and sweat of the inslaved peasantry, have erected palaces as it seemeth to me works of impertinency and leisure; but if you view further their precordia, you will find the work like sattin pinckt upon canvas, being so furnished, that you would think them the edifices of some former inhabitants frighted from them, and possessed by Nomades or Scythians, that never knew the use

which other people would interpret derision; but in this triumph (though somewhat late e're we set out for Dover) we attain'd as far as Rochester the first night, where, how new a thing it appeared to me, to see my confident host set him down cheek by joul by me, belching and puffing tobacco in my face, you may easily imagine, till I afterwards found it to be the usuall stile of this Country, and that the gentlemen who lodge at their inns entertain themselves in their company, and are much pleas'd at their impertinencies. Arriv'd at the metropolis of civility, London, we put our selves in coach with some persons of quality, who came to conduct us to our lodging: but neither was this passage without honour done to us; the kennel dirt, squibs, roots, and rams-hornes being favours which were frequently cast at us by the children and apprentises without reproofe; civilities that in Paris a gentleman as seldom meets withall, as with the contests of carmen, who in this town domineer in the streets, o're-throw the hell-carts (for so they name the coaches), cursing and reviling at the nobles: you would imagine yourself amongst a legion of devils, and in the suburbs of hell. I have greatly wondred at the remisness of the magistrate, and the temper of the gentlemen, and that the citizens, who subsist onely upon them, should permit so great a disorder, rather joyning in the affronts then at all chastizing the inhumanity. But these are the natural effects of parity, popular libertinism, and insulary manners.

I find, as you told me, my Lord, London to be a town so nobly situated, and upon such a river as Europe certainly shews not a more usefull

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of such civil utensils: besides, our Kings have had larger theaters of Majesty then these; for whereas the French King is sedentary in Paris, our Kings have been like the sun, not confined to a place, but enriching all places with their justice and glory: and so our palaces are beauties scattered and equally distributed to all places of the nation: no King (for the extent of earth) having more residencies of Majesty than our English Potentates have had; so that if this city (of London) be considered as a mercantile city, and place of trading, and the King's Court but as an issue of his favour to these merchants: you will find he hath grandeurs both noble and sufficient. What a charm of Majesty is there of the houses of the nobility, fronting that christal and sweet nymph (the Thames?) Besides, the city illustrated with the like in many places; together with the stately structures belonging to citizens, that, I am confident, cannot be paralleled by the whole trade of France or Europe.

"But I am bound to follow you, Monsieur, up and down from the tavern to the church, then

and agreeable; but with all this a city consisting of a wooden, northern, and inartificial congestion of houses; some of the principal streets so narrow, as there is nothing more deformed and unlike than the prospect of it at a distance, and its asymmetrie within the walls. Their fountains, which are the pride and grace of our streets, and plentifully supplyed in this city, are here immur'd, to secure the waters from, I know not what, impurities: but, certainly, it do's greatly detract from the beauty of the Carfours, and intercepts the view.

Amongst the pieces of modern architecture, I have never observ'd above two which were remarkable in this vast city; the portico of the Church of St. Pauls, and the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, of which I remember to have heard your Lordship speak: but you would be amaz'd at the genius of this age, that should suffer this goodly and venerable fabrick to be built about, and converted into raskally warehouses, and so sordidly obscur'd and defac'd, that an argument of greater avarice, malice, meanness, and deformity of mind, cannot possibly be expressed: nothing here of ornament, nothing of magnificence, no publique and honourable works, such as render our Paris, and other cities of France, renowned and visited by all the world; emulating even Italy her self for her palaces, uniform and conspicuous structures: but O! how loathsome a Golgotha is this Pauls! I assure your Lordship, that England is the sole spot in all the world where, amongst Christians, their churches are made jakes and stables, markets and tippling-houses, and where there were more need of scorpions than thongs to drive out

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then to the shambles, and indeede it seems you visited things (like our rusticks) with a streightened heart and a wide mouth, for now you bark most monstrously against our religion and professors of it: but seriously, had you minded any thing of charity, you would not have given a character of us in our distempers, taking the present advantage of our being sick of schisme and division: but I find you one of those Lucian scoffers, that rather then not exercise your froth, the gods shall not escape your animosity. I cannot like that spirit in a Frenchman, which would be scorned in a Heathen, or like a Jew spit upon the Saviour of the world, because not their insomniated Messias: but Monsieur, *procul hinc, procul ite, prophani.* Yet I seriously assure you (dear Ladies) as touching their several worships, of these equivocal Christians, as he cals them, it is a newly forged blasphemy against the truth, and I question not but his god-father will one day congratulate his intelligence with a meritorious reward.

" Well now into the tavern I must follow my Frenchman, who is my *ignis fatuus,* leads me in

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the publicans and money-changers; in sum, where these excellent uses are pretended to be the markes of piety and reformation.

I had sometimes the curiosity to visit the several worships of these equivocal Christians and enthusiasts*. But I extremely wondred to find those whom they call Presbyterians, and that would imitate us of the religion in France and Geneva, to have their discipline so confused and different. In this remarke, my Lord, to be somewhat more particular, you will not be displeased; because it was a thing you so much recommended to my especiall notice. Form, they observe none. They pray and read without method, and indeed, without reverence or devotion. I have beheld a whole congregation sit with their hats on, at the reading of the Psalms, and yet bare-headed when they sing them. In divers places they read not the Scriptures at all; but up into the pulpit, where they make an insipid, tedious, and immethodical prayer, in phrases and a tone so affected and mysterious, that they give it the name of canting, a term by which they do usually express the gibberish of beggars and vagabonds; after which, there follows the sermon (which, for the most part, they read out of a book) consisting (like their prayers) of speculative and abstracted notions and things, which, nor the people nor themselves well understand: but these they extend to an extraordinary length and Pharisaical repetitions; and well they may, for their chaires are lined with prodigious velvet cushions, upon which they loll and talk, 'till almost they sleep; I am sure, till their auditors do.

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no method or order; but what sees he now? Now a legion of adversities, as shops, smoak, coaches, sea-coal; would not any wise man think this man mad, or tumbled lately out of some chaos? But his chief regret is for the sea-coal, which he saith:

"*Comp.* 5. That if there be any hell it is in this vulcano on a foggy day.

"You may not well question a hell, Monsieur, since in this piece of impiety and unhandsomeness, if you had your reward, you might easily perceive you are in the suburbs already. Methinks this was as strange an adventure as the knight errants wind-mills, and I suppose as much crazed your body; so that I wonder at your high valour, that dared adventure that eyelet-holed invaded body of yours, to such corroding fumes; but peradventure you are well sheathed with brimstone and

* "It was now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were filled with Independents and Phanatics." Diary, vol. I. p. 257, 1st edit.

The Minister uses no habit of distinction, or gravity, but steps up in *querpo;* and when he laies by his cloak (as I have observed some of them) he has the action rather of a thrasher than a divine. This they call taking pains, and indeed it is so to those that hear them: but thus they have now encouraged every pert mechanick to invade, affront, and out-preach them; and having uncancell'd all manner of decency, prostituted both their persons and function to usurpation, penury, and derision. You may well imagine, by the manners of the people, and their prodigious opinions, that there is no Catechism nor Sacraments duely administred*: the religion of England is preaching and sitting stil on Sundaies. How they baptise I know not, because the congregation is dismissed, and they agree in no form; and for the other Sacraments, no man gives or receives alike; and it is so seldome done in remembrance of Christ, that in some parishes, I have heard, they can hardly remember when they received it. Generally, I have no where seen goodlier out-sides of churches; what they are within I cannot so well say; for their temples are as fast as was that of Janus after the first Punick-war, unless it be upon Sundaies, when they blow the brazen trumpets of sedition, not the silver ones of the tabernacle. I have discoursed with some concerning this sealing their churches in the week-dayes: they are ready to retort upon us in France, not considering that our churches are solitary, and in some places many leagues distant from the towns; that we are under a persecution, and so necessitated to omit the publique Morning and Evening Sacrifice, which I remember

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and butter against this infection, and you might have known, or I wonder your Lord informed you not, that the sulphure of our combustibles is a very great enemy to any sacrifice made in favour of Venus, her oblations being burnt upon altars in our suburbs.

" *Comp.* 6. But now if you will hear a loud one, mark his words well; I have, saith he, been in a spacious church, where I could not discern the minister for smoak.

" *Ex ungue Leonem,* one may judge of the rest of his narrative by this notorious untruth. Did ever any sober man happen upon such an incounter? Surely this gentleman's opticks were much eclipsed, or some drunken vapours had overclowded his mind, or else he had framed in his smoaky cranium

* " Mr. *Owen,* a sequester'd and learned Minister, preach'd in my parlour, and gave us the blessed Sacrament, now wholly out of use in the parish churches on which the Presbyterians and Fanatics had usurp'd." *Diary,* vol. I. p. 234.

to have heard severall of our divines deplore the defect of; as of many other decencies, which, here, they can have no pretence against: but such of their churches as I have frequented were dammed up with pues, every three or four of the inhabitants sitting in narrow pounds or pulpits by themselves; for they are all turn'd preachers now. In short, there is nothing more unlike to our reformed churches in France, and I think, in all Europe beside; the apprehension of Popery, or fondness to their own imaginations, having carried them so far to the other extream, that they have now lost all moderation and decorum. And I have been herein, my Lord, the more industrious to inform myself of each particular; because it seems yet to be the most publique religion of the State. Some of their own party I have heard deplore this confusion; but certainly they themselves gave the first occasion to these monstrous liberties, by a rigid and uncharitable discipline, primarily (it seems) introduced by the Scots, and so refined upon by these, as there are few or none that will submit to the tyranny; but every one takes his own course, and has protection for it. Some well natur'd abused men I have met withall amongst them; but if I mistake not, for the greater ingredient, ambitious, ignorant, overweening, sower and uncharitable, *ne quid asperius*, combining with the interest of the times, and who, to render themselves powerfull, have in compliances with the spiritual pride of the mechanicks and corporations, conniv'd at those many and prodigious schismes and heresies which are now spawn'd under them in such numbers as give terrour to the State.

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cranium such an imposture; and I wonder, Sir, you make not a recantation for such a grosse insipid irregularity, since if our very boys read but your book, they would hoot at your nation indeed for your sweet-lye-composed wonder.

" *Comp.* 7. There is a number of houses where they sell ale (a muddy beverage) where the gentlemen sit and spend much of their time in drinking it.

" As for that wholesome, pleasant, restorative, noble drink, the blessed offspring of Ceres; what impudence dares find fault, or cast a cloud over that gift of nature? Since that if it could be conveyed, all the earth would court it; witness the great esteem is had in all parts of this our English liquor; so that one of your countrymen doctors saith, that there is no liquor more increaseth the radical moisture, and preserves the natural heat; these two being the pillars of our decaying bodies. Now for any one to speak against the props of life, deserves to die, as his own enemy, under an unlamented death. But I am sure of this, that this tipple, and the grey goose-

wing,

I omit to tell your Lordship that few take notice of the Lords Prayer; it is esteemed a kind of weakness to use it, but the Creed and the Decalogue are not once heard of in their congregations: this is milke for babes, and they are all giants. They do frequently solemnize their late nationall deliverances, and some daies of Christian bloodshed with all possible severity; but they think it gross idolatry to joyn with the whole Christian church of all professions under Heaven, in the anniversaries of our B. Saviour's Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, spirituall, eternall, and never to be forgotten mercies *. Would your Lordship believe that this madnesse should advance so far as to disturbe the French church there, which, you know, do's in all places observe those signal deliverances and blessings, both by preaching, prayer, sacraments, and exhortations apposite to the occasion? What think you will be the issue of this goodly Reformation? I could tell you of the mysterious classis of the Tryers, their ridiculous, insidiary and presumptuous questions; their unheard of animosities against their brethren of the Church of England, suffering themselves to be rather torn in sunder by the Sectaries, Demetrius and the Crafts-men, whilst they contend about trifles and meer shadows.

Concerning the Independents, all I can learn is, they are a refined and apostate sort of Presbyters; or, rather such as renounce all ordination, as who having preached promiscuously to the people, and cunningly ensnared a select number of rich and ignorant proselytes, separate themselves into conventicles, which they name congregations.

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wing, had almost torn all the feathers from the back of France; and certainly this Monsieur had some other reason then he produceth, to inveigh against this liquor; it may be it holds no friendly correspondency with Venus races, or else is not commodious (by reason of its fumes) for a nation half drunk already.

" And now he appeals to his Lord (his confident), and as a preludium (knowing my Lord was no enemy to the French beauties) to the prosecuting on his road of scandals. And now let all the world consider this unheard of impudence against a sex, the whole hoast of heroes court with caresses due to their charms, creatures (rather a creation) framed by the indulgent hand of the Deity, as it were, cordials poured down from heaven in compassion to our infirmities: you, even you (great souls) his folly hath not blusht to asperse, with the like success; pardon the dirty expres-

* 1652. " Christmas day: no sermon any where, no church being permitted to be open, so observ'd it at home." *Diary*, vol. I. p. 263.

There is nothing does more resemble this sect than our Romish Missionaries sent out *in partibus infidelium;* for they take all other Christians to be Heathens. These are those pretenders to the Spirit, into whose party do's the vilest person living no sooner adscribe himself, but he is, *ipso facto,* dub'd a saint, hallow'd and dear to God. These are the confidents who can design the minute, the place, and the means of their conversion; a schism full of spiritual disdain, incharity, and high imposture, if any such there be on earth. But every alteration of State destroying the interest of the versatile contrivers, they are as ready to transmigrate into the next more thriving fraternity, as the souls of Pythagoras into beasts, and may then, perhaps, assume some other title. This is a sad, but serious truth, and no little menaces the common Christianity, unless timely prevented. But, S^r^, I will no longer tire your patience wth these monsters (the subject of every contemptuous pamphlet) then with the madness of the Anabaptists, Quakers, Fift Monarchy-men, and a cento of unheard of heresies besides, which, at present, deform the once renowned Church of England, and approach so little to the pretended Reformation, which we in France have been made to believe, that there is nothing more heavenly wide. But I have dwelt too long on this remarke; I return to where I digressed; for I was viewing the buildings, which are as deformed as the minds and confusion of the people; for if a whole street be fired (an accident not unfrequent in this wooden city) the magistrate has either no power, or no care to make them build with any uniformity,

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expression, as the breath of a dunghill doth the sun, which still shall shine as glorious as his infatuated mind shall be obscured with infamy.

" *Comp.* 8. That our ladies suffer themselves to be treated in a tavern, and drink crowned cups.

" This is an horrid impudence indeed: survey the whole universe, as their beauties excel, so, then these fair creatures in general, their lives; none whose lives are modester without ignominy, and freer without scandals, then our English ladies.

" This gentleman comes over with our last desultory French visitation, who had received so much virility by the posting of our horses in the dayes of travel, that they (being in London) did that thirteenth labour to Hercules twelve, purging a stable of so much filth, that our suburbs shall sing an *Io Pean* to them hereafter: and truly those poor pieces of mortality bred an excellent French trade of it, enough to keep them till the like opportunity may so seasonably court them. And these are your Madamoseilles, who (Proteus like) changed their shape (to ingratiate their hire) into ladies, countesses, this beauty, and that beauty, till they had taken excise of your limbs,

gave

which render it, though a large, yet a very ugly town, pestred with hackney-coaches and insolent carre-men, shops and taverns, noyse, and such a cloud of sea-coal, as if there be a resemblance of hell upon earth, it is in this vulcano in a foggy day: this pestilent smoak, which corrodes the very yron, and spoils all the moveables, leaving a soot on all things that it lights: and so fatally seizing on the lungs of the inhabitants, that the cough and the consumption spares no man*. I have been in a spacious church where I could not discern the minister for the smoak; nor hear him for the people's barking. There is within this city, and in all the towns of England (which I have passed through) so prodigious a number of houses where they sell a certain drink called ale, that I think a good halfe of the inhabitants may be denominated ale-house-keepers: these are a meaner sort of cabarets; but what is most deplorable, where the gentlemen sit, and spend much of their time, drinking of a muddy kind of beverage, and tobacco, which has universally besotted the nation, and at which (I hear) they have consumed many noble estates. As for other taverns, London is compos'd of them, where they drink Spanish wines, and other sophisticated liquors, to that fury and intemperance as has often amaz'd me to consider it: but thus some mean fellow, the drawer, arrives to an estate, some of them having built fair houses, and purchased those gentlemen out of their possessions, who have ruined themselves by that base and dishonourable vice of inebriety: and that nothing may be wanting to the height of luxury and impiety of this abomination, they have trans-

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gave as good as you brought, left you loose in the hilts. These Mons. are your ladies that drink crowned healths; these are those beauties that are so free; to such a nation indeed it would be too great impiety for civil ladies to neglect their noble souls, their proper persons, to court your deformities and diseases.

" *Comp.* 9. It is the afternoon business of English Gentlemen only to drink and be drunk.

" Surely such as was your females company, such was your males; surely you rak'd hell for these deboist unthrifty cadets, for otherwise I never knew this to be a custom amongst civil gentlemen. You say, after they have taken their repast with the ladies they withdraw into another room; certainly, Monsieur, this is a handsome separation, for the gentlemen to carrese one with another, having sometimes masculine interests in hand; whereas you never separate your confused

——— interests,

* For a further illustration of this fact, see his " *Fumifugium:* or the Inconveniencie of the Aer and Smoak of London dissipated;" reprinted in the present volume.

lated the organs out of the churches to set them up in taverns, chanting their dithrambicks, and bestiall bacchanalias to the tune of those instruments, which were wont to assist them in the celebration of God's praises, and regulate the voices of the worst singers in the world, which are the English in their churches at present. I cannot but commend the Reformed in Holland, who still retain their organs in the churches, and make use of them at the Psalms, without any opinion of superstition; and I once remembered to have heard the famous Diodati * wish it might be introduced even at Geneva. A great errour undoubtedly in those who sit at the helme, to permit this scandal; to suffer so many of these taverns and occasions of intemperance, such leeches and vipers; to gratifie so sordid and base a sort of people with the spoile of honest and well-natur'd men. Your L. will not believe me, that the ladies of greatest quality suffer themselves to be treated in one of these taverns, where a curtesan in other cities would scarcely vouchsafe to be entertained; but you will be more astonish't when I shall assure you, that they drink their crowned cups roundly, daunce after the fiddle, kiss freely, and tearm it an honourable treat. But all this my experience, particular address, and habitudes with the greatest of that nation has assur'd me, that it is not the pass-time only of the inferiour and meretricious sort; since I find it a chief suppletory at all their entertainments, to drink excessively, and that in their own houses, before the ladies and the lacquaes. It is the afternoon's diversion; whether for want of better to employ the time, or affection to the drink, I know

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interests, knowing no distinction between male and female civilized interests, but only by the more retired managements of nature; and certainly you would seem to be so fond of your Mopsa's, as not (out of a complement) to give them time to disembogue. As for our drinking healths or pledges, if you knew but the way to our custom, you will find it sprang from a laudable necessity at first, and was in earnest a duty performed really (by) one friend for another. The Danes know it. But Monsieur, you do but fanatically trifle in all your discourse: as for our cadets that visit the gallows so frequently (as you say), I suppose yours in France are, or ought to be, so seriously imployed, as their proper merit; since your robberies are meerly massacres; such cowards are ye, that ye first shoot before ye dare bid stand; they never taking purse before it is crimsond, reaking hot

* Dr. John Diodati, the celebrated Italian Minister, and translator of the Holy Bible into that language, with whom Evelyn became personally acquainted when at Geneva in 1646. See *Memoirs*, vol. I. pp. 224. 226. 227.

not; but I have found some persons of quality, whom one could not safely visit after dinner without resolving to undergo this *drink-ordel*, and endure the *question* *. It is esteem'd a piece of wit to make a man drunk, for which some swilling insipid client or *congiarie* is a frequent and constant adjutant. Your L. may hence well imagine how heavy, dull, and insignificant the conversation is; loud, querulous, and impertinent. I shall relate a story that once happened in my presence at a gentlemans house in the countrey, where there was much company and feasting. I fortun'd to come at dinner-time, and after the cloth was taken away (as the manner is) they fell to their laudable exercise; but I, unacquainted then with their custome, was led up into a withdrawing room, where I had the permission (with a noble person who introduced me) to sit and converse with the ladies who were thither retired; the gentleman of the house leaving us, in the mean time, to entertain his friends below. But you may imagine how strangely I was astonish'd, to see within an hour after, one of the company that had dined there entering into the room all bloody and disorder'd, to fetch a sword which lay in one of the windowes, and three or four of his companions, whom the fumes of the wine had inspirited, pursuing and dragging him by the hair, till in this confusion one of their spurs engaged into a carpet, upon which stood a very fair looking-glass, and two noble pieces of porselain, drew all to the ground, break the glass and the vasas in pieces; and all this on such an instant, that the gentleman and my self had much ado to rescue the affrighted ladies from suffering in the tumult; but at last we

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hot in bloud; of such horrible actions none but base cruel-spirited bravoes could be guilty; this one unmanly trick might enough satyr against all the grandeurs in France. As concerning our Gentry, I shall conclude, they come short of your follies, as much as you come short of their native gallantry.

" *Comp.* 10. The Ladies of England have designs at playing at cards.

" Pray, Monsieur, what's the end of play but ingenious designs, products of pure fancy, and ready managery? and if you would dishonour them for this, you may as well carp at their ingenuity: I suppose your ladies will never prove guilty of shewing so much judgment, since for to be dextrous at play cannot possibly be the lot of French ladies, for they want two necessary virtues to it, silence and patience; which at what a distance these stand with them, let all the world judge. ——— " *Comp.*

* In France they give a certain torture to malefactors, by pouring such a quantity of water into their mouths, which they call giving the Question, and I (by translation) term *drink-ordell.*

prevail'd, and brought them to tearms; the quarrel concerning an health onely, which one of them would have shifted. I don't remember, my Lord, ever to have known (or very rarely) a health drank in France, no not the Kings; and if we say, *A vostre santé, Monsieur*, it neither expects pledge or ceremony. 'Tis here so the custome to drink to every one at the table, that by the time a gentleman has done his duty to the whole company he is ready to fall asleep, whereas with us, we salute the whole table with a single glass onely. But, my Lord, was not this, imagine you, an admirable scene and very extraordinary? I confess, the lady of the house, being much out of countenance at what had hapned, profered to excuse this disorder, and I was as ready to receive it, till several encounters confirmed me that they were but too frequent, and that there was a sort of perfect debauches, who stile themselves Hectors, that in their mad and unheard of revels pierce their veins to quaff their own blood, which some of them have drank to that excess that they died of the intemperance. These are a professed atheistical order of bravos, compos'd for the most part of cadets, who, spending beyond their pensions to supply their extravagancies, practise now and then the high-way, where they sometimes borrow that which they often repay at the gibbet; an ignominious trade, unheard of amongst our gallant nobless, however fortune reduce them. But I know not whether I might not here match these valiant heroes with an avow'd society of ladies, and some of them not the meanest for birth (I even blush to recount it of that fair sex), who boast of making all advantages at play,

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" *Comp.* 11. That our Gentlemen and Ladies are defective in courtship and addresses.

" I confess if he means our ladies want that impudence, which he cals assurance, when it is as incompatible with modesty as the devils are with glorious angels; or if you mean a forwardness to court the male, to jet and garb it in company, like the Queens quondam petit-dancer, which you call address, I confess we will not vye with you; or if you mean by charming discourse, a bold unlimited chattering, taking into cognizance ceremonious dissembled impertinencies, both in affront to heaven and earth; in these our wise ladies come short I confess; but if you mean an address, where modesty keeps its decorum betwixt impudent gallantry and bashful rusticity, this, this is the address of our incomparable beauties, which outshine yours as the greater lights of the firmament do the lesser. As for our gallants the gentlemen of this nation, none I am sure are better able to manage an honourable and serious entertainment with more cordial handsome magnificence of address than they, setting aside the mode of the high rope of our Frenchified English apes.

and are become so dextrous at it, that seldome they make a sitting without design and booty: for there is here, my Lord, no such thing as courtship after the decent mode of our circles; for either being mingled in a room, the gentlemen separate from the conversation of the ladies, to drink, as I before related; or else to whisper with one another, at some corner, or bay-window, abandoning the ladies to gossip by themselves, which is a custome so strange to a gallant of our nation as nothing appears more barbarous and unbecoming; and this in effect must needs be the reason that those beautiful creatures can so little furnish, that they want assurance, address, and the charming discourse of our *damoiseles*, which are faculties so shining and agreeable in their sex with us in France: and, in truth, even the gentlemen themselves are greatly defective as to this particular, ill courtiers, unplyant, morose, and of vulgar address, generally not so polished, free, and serene, as is universally found even amongst the most inferiour of our nation. I am not ignorant that they impute it to a certain levity in us; but it is a mistake in them, and that because they so hardly reform it without some ridiculous affectation, as is conspicuous in their several modes and dresses, which they vary ten times for our once, every one affecting something particular, as having no standard at Court which should give laws and do countenance to the fashion. The women are much affected with gaudry, there being nothing more frequent than to see an ancient ladie wear colours, a thing which neither young nor old of either sex do with us, save in the country and the camp; but widows at no

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apes. But when you shall pretend no child legitimate but your ill-faced bastards, and call that gallantry which swims uppermost in a giddy cranium and foisted garb, a deformed posture against the wise product of nature, a goatish concupiscence, a salacious approach, fit only for satyrs; if, Monsieur, these be your addresses, the beasts of the earth, the scum of rudeness, the excrements of nature, may discipline you in such wayes of reputed manners.

" As for our aping you, it is confest a few loose young souls, giddy like your selves, are your disciples; but we may thank our alliance with you by civil contracts, which by your locust-like swarming hath infected us at such a height, that we shall hardly claw it off without bloud or smart.

" *Comp.* 12. To see the bals so disposed by dancing-masters, and their boldness with the ladies.

" Monsieur, we intend not bals to make a meal of them, but as a condiment intended *(à la vollee)* as transient actions, only for a divertisement; yet want we not a decorum and a magnifi-

time. And yet reprove they us for these exorbitances; but I have often disputed the case: either we do ill, or well; if ill, why then do they ape us? if well, why do they reproach us? The truth is, they have no moderation, and are neither so lucky nor frugal as our ladies are in these sumptuary expenses; and whereof the magistrate takes so little cognisance, that it is not an easy matter to distinguish the ladie from the chamber-maid; servants being suffered in this brave countrey to go clad like their mistresses, a thing neither decent nor permitted in France, where they may wear neither lace nor silke.

I may not forget to acquaint your Lordship, that though the ladies and the gentlemen are so shy of one another; yet when once they grow acquainted, it passes into expressions and compellations extreamly new to our usages and the stile of our country. Do but imagine how it would become our ladies to call Mons. N. Jack N. What more frequent than this? "Tom P. was here to-day:" "I went yesterday to the *Cours* * with Will. R.; and Harry M. treated me at such a tavern." These are the particular idioms and gracefull confidences now in use; introduced, I conceive at first, by some camerades one with another; but it is mean and rude, and such as our lacquaes would almost disdain in Paris, where I have often observed two chimney-sweepers accost one another in better forms and civiller addresses. But to be confident and civill is not a thing so easily understood, and seems a peculiar talent of our nation.

However the ladies are not more obliging and familiar than the lords are difficult and inaccessible; for though by reason of my birth and quality, my recommendations and addresses, I found some tolerable reception amongst them; and yet I observ'd that they kept at such a

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cency, witness those grand masques in the Kings dayes, which were thought to excel all of this nature in Europe, as much as our playes do all your rhiming fools-bables; but your curtail'd Intelligencer, which hath brought you provision no further then from some petty schools of children, neither well educated nor well practised.

"But, Monsieur, I hope these answers may inform you into a recantation, or else I must leave you scurrilous, and condemne your pamphlet to accommodate for sundry uses and purposes instead of your Weekly Gazets, as new-lye printed and new-lye come forth."

* A place neer Paris, like Hide-parke.

surly distance with the gentlemen, even of a family, that methought I never beheld a ruder conversation; especially, when comparing their parts and educations, I found them generally so much inferiour, as if a lord were indeed other than a gentleman; or a gentleman not a fit companion for a king. But this must needs be the result of an ill and haughty institution, and for that most of these great persons are in their minority, and the age wherein they should be furnished with the noblest impressions, taught only to converse with their servants, some sycophants, and under the regiment of a pedant, which imprints that scornfulness and folly, and fits them with no better form when they should produce themselves, and give testimony to others as well of their superiority in vertue as in birth and dignity. But this is, my Lord, a particular which I have heard you often complain of, and which we do frequently take notice of at their coming abroad into our countrey; where for want of address and fit persons to introduce them, they seldome return more refined than they came; else they could not but have observed, that there is nothing which makes the distinction of Nobles in France but the title, and that his Majesty himself do's them the honours, which here they usurpe upon their equalls. But, my Lord, they are sufficiently punished for it in England; where, to me, they appear so degenerate for want of this humility and free conversation, by which, and their other vices, they grow now so much despised, that the gentlemen need seek no revenge; for though (as I told you) the gentlemen are most of them very intemperate, yet the proverb goes, "As drunk as a Lord." But, my Lord, as there is no rule so generall but it does admit of exceptions, so should I give my own experience as well as your Lordships the contradiction, to make the censure universall; there being even amongst these some few, and in particular my Lord N. and N. &c. whom I esteem to be very noble and accomplished persons, as who have learned (by the good fortune of a better education) how to value the conversations of worthy men, and who, indeed, do sufficiently verifie all those attributes which are due to their qualities, and therefore whom this paragraph doth no waies concern.

Nor should I be less severe and unjust, totally to exclude even some of the ladies from the advantages of this period, whose perfections and

vertues claim an equal right to all that I have here spoken, out of a due resentiment of their merits and excellencies.

It was frequently, during the last winter, that I was carried to their balls, as where indeed I hoped to see what should appear the most of gallant and splendid amongst the ladies; nor really did my expectations deceive me; for there was a confluence of very great beauties, to which the glistring of their jewels (which upon these occasions they want not) could adde nothing save their weight; the various habits being so particular, as if by some strange inchantment they had encountred and come out of severe nations; but I was astonished to see, when they were ready to move, that a dancing-master had the boldness to take forth the greatest ladies, and they again the dancing-master, who performed the most part of the ball, whilst the gentlemen that were present were least concerned, and stood looking on, so as it appeared to me, more like the farce of a comedy at the *Hostel de Bourgoyne**, than a ball of the Noblesse; and in truth their measures, when any of them were taken out, made me somewhat ashamed to lead a lady, who did me the honor, for fear, though my skill be very vulgar in that exercise, they should have taken me for a dancing-master, as who had haply imploy'd my youth so ill, as to have some advantage of the rest in that faculty. This favour is particular to the dancing-masters in this country; and reason good, for they ride in their coaches, and have such ample salaries, as maintains both their prodigality and insolence, that were insupportable in France, where these trifling fellows do better know themselves, are worse payed, and less presumptuous. Nay, so remiss are the ladies of their respect in this instance, that they not only entertain all this, but permit themselves likewise to be invited, and often honour these impertinent fantasticks, by receiving the ball at their petty schools.

When this ceremony was ended, some of the gallants fell to other recreations, and as far as I understood, were offering at that innocent, yet salt and pleasant diversion, which in France we call ralliary; but so far were they from maintaining it within the decencies and laws which both in that and our characters † we observe; that in a little

* The play-house at Paris, as once ours at Blackfryers.

† A witty and a civil description of one anothers persons.

time, they fell so upon personal abusing one another, that there was much ado to preserve the peace, and, as I heard, it was the next day the product of a quarrel and a duell.

I did frequently in the spring accompany my Lord N. into a field near the town, which they call Hyde-Parke; the place not unpleasant, and which they use, as our Course; but with nothing that order, equipage, and splendor, being such an assembly of wretched jades and hackney-coaches, as next a regiment of carre-men there is nothing approaches the resemblance.

This Parke was (it seemes) used by the late King and Nobility for the freshness of the air, and the goodly prospect: but it is that which now (besides all other excises) they pay for here in England, though it be free in all the world beside; every coach and horse which enters buying his mouthful, and permission of the publicane who has purchased it, for which the entrance is guarded with porters and long staves. *

The manner is, as the company returns, to alight at the Spring Garden, so called in order to the Parke, as our Thuilleries is to the Course; the inclosure not disagreeable, for the solemness of the grove, the warbling of the birds, and as it opens into the spacious walks at St. James's: but the company walk in it at such a rate, as you would think all the ladieswere so many Atalantases, contending with their wooers; and, my Lord, there was no appearance that I should prove the Hippomenes, who could with very much ado keep pace with them: but as fast as they run, they stay there so long, as if they wanted not time to finish the race; for it is usuall here to find some of the young company till midnight; and the thickets of the garden seem to be contrived to all advantages of gallantry, after they have been refreshed with the collation, which is here seldome omitted, at a certain cabaret in the middle of this paradise, where the forbidden fruites are certain trifling tartes, neates-tongues, salacious meates, and bad Rhenish; for which the gallants pay sauce, as indeed they do at all

* "April 11, 1653. I went to take the aire in Hide Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse 6d. by the sordid fellow who had purchas'd it of the state as they were call'd." Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 264.

such houses throughout England; for they think it a piece of frugality beneath them, to bargaine or accompt for what they eat in any place, however unreasonably impos'd upon: but thus those mean fellows are (as I told your Lordship) inriched; begger and insult over the gentlemen.

I am assur'd that this particular host, has purchased, within a few years, 5000 livres* of annuall rent; and well he may, at the rates these prodigalls pay; whereas in France, a gentleman esteems it no diminution to mannage even these expences with reason. But my Lord, it is now late, and time to quit this Garden, and to tell you, that I think there is not a more illustrious sight in the world, than to meet the divinities of our court marching up the long walk in the Thuilleries, where the pace is so stayed and grave, the encounters so regular and decent; and where those who feed their eyes with their beauties, and their ears with the charming accents of their discourse and voyces, need not those refreshments of the other senses, finding them all to be so taken up with these.

I was curious before my return, and when I had conquer'd some difficulties of the language and customes, to visite their judicatures; where besides that few of their Gown-men are to be compared to those of the robe in our Palais † for elocution, and the talent of well speaking; so neither do they at all exceed them in the forms and colours of their pleading; but (as before I spake of their ralliary) supply the defects of the cause, with flat, insipide and grossely abusing one another; a thing so trifling and misbecoming the gravity of courts (where the lawyers take liberty to jeast mens estates away, and yet avow their avarice) that I have much admired at the temper of the Judges, and their remisseness in reforming it; there was a young person, whom at my being there, was very much cried up for his abilities, and in whom I did not observe that usuall intemperance which I but now reproved; and certainly it springs either for want of those abilities which the municipall lawes of this nation (consisting most of them in customes like our Normandy,) whose ancient dialect their books yet retain, are so little

* 500*l.* per annum of our moneys. † Where they plead as at Westminster.

apt to furnish; or the defect of those advantages, which the more polished sciences afford us, without which it is impossible to be good orators, and to maintaine their discourses, without diversion to that vile impertinency.

But what is infinitely agreable in this country, are the bowling-greens, and the races, which are really such pleasures abroad as we have nothing approaches them in France, and which I was extreamly delighted in; but the verdure of the country, and delicious downes it is which renders them this prætheminence, and indeed, it is to be valued, and doth in my esteeme, very much commute for the lesse benignity of that glorious planet which ripens our vines in France.

The horses and the doggs, their incomparable parkes of fallow deer, and lawes of chace, I extreamly approve of: but upon other occasions, all Englishmen ride so fast upon the road, that you would swear there were some enemie in the ariere; and all the coaches in London seem to drive for midwives.

But what did much more afflict me is their ceremony at the table, where every man is obliged to sit till all have done eating, however their appetites differ, and to see the formality of the voider, which our with-drawing roomes in France are made to prevent, and might so here, if they knew the use of them to be, that every man may rise when he has din'd without the least indecency, and leave the sewers to their office.

I have now but a word to adde, and that is the tediousness of visits, which they make here so long that it is a very tyranny to sit to so little purpose: if the persons be of ladies that are strangers, it is to look upon each other, as if they had never seen any of their own kinde before; and here indeed the virtue of their sex is eminent; for they are as silent and fixt as statues; or if they do talk, it is with censure, and sufficient confidence; so difficult it is to entertain with a grace, or to observe a mediocrity.

In summe, my Lord, I found so many particulars worthy of reproof in all those remarks which I have been able to make; that to render you a veritable account of England, as it is at present I must pronounce with the poet, —*Difficile est satyram non scribere.*

FINIS.

AN

APOLOGY

FOR

THE ROYAL PARTY,

WRITTEN IN

A LETTER TO A PERSON OF THE LATE COUNCEL OF STATE.

BY

A LOVER OF PEACE AND OF HIS COUNTRY.

WITH

A TOUCH AT THE PRETENDED "PLEA FOR THE ARMY."

ANNO DOM. MDCLIX. QUARTO.

AN

APOLOGY FOR THE ROYAL PARTY*.

WRITTEN IN

A LETTER TO A PERSON OF THE LATE COUNCEL OF STATE.

SIR,

The many civilities which you are still pleased to continue to me, and my very great desire to answer them in the worthiest testimonies of my zeal for your service, must make my best apology for this manner of addresse; if out of an extream affection for your noblest interest, I seem transported a little upon your first reflections, and am made to despise the consequence of entertaining you with such truths as are of the greatest danger to my self, but of no less import to your happiness, and which carry with them the most indelible characters of my friendship. For if, as the Apostle affirms, "For a good man some would even dare to die," why should my charity be prejudged, if, hoping to convert you from the errour of your way, I despair not of rendring you the person for whose preservation there will be nothing too dear for me to expose?

I might with reason beleeve that the first election of the party wherein you stood engaged, proceeded from inexperience and the mistake of your zeal; not to say from your compliances to the passions of others; because I both knew your education, and how obsequious you have alwayes shewed your self to those who had then the direction of you: but, when after the example of their conversion, upon discovery of the impostures which perverted them, and the signal indignation of God upon the several periods which your eyes have lately beheld, of the bloudiest tyranies, and most prodigious oppressors that ever any age of the world produced, I see you still persist in your course, and that you

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* "7th Nov. 1659, was published *my bold Apology* for the King in this time of danger, when it was capital to speake or write in favour of him. It was twice printed, so universally it tooke." Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 306.

have turned about with every revolution which has hapned: when I consider what contradictions you have swallowed, how deeply you have ingaged, how servilely you have flatter'd, and the base and mean submissions by which you have dishonour'd your self, and stained your noble family; not to mention the least refinement of your religion or morality, (besides that you have still preserved a civility for me, who am ready to acknowledge it, and never merited other from you,) I say, when I seriously reflect upon all this, I cannot but suspect the integrity of your procedure, deplore the sadness of your condition, and resolve to attempt the discovery of it to you, by all the instances which an affection perfectly touch't with a zeal for your eternall interest can produce. And who can tell but it may please Almighty God to affect you yet by a weak instrument, who have resisted so many powerfull indications of his displeasure at your proceedings, by the event of things? For, since you are apt to recriminate, and after you have boasted of the prosperity of your cause, and the thriving of your wickedness (an argument farr better becoming a Muhametan then a Christian) let us state the matter a little, and compare particulars together; let us go back to the source, and search the very principles; and then see if ever any cause had like success indeed; and whether it be a just reproach to your enemies, that the judgements of God have begun with them, whilst you know not yet where they may determine.

First then, be pleased to look northwards upon your brethren the Scots, (who being instigated by that crafty Cardinal [Richlieu] to disturb the groth of the incomparable Church of England, and so consequently the tranquility of a nation, whose expedition at the Isle of Ree gave terrour to the French,) made reformation their pretence to gratifie their own avarice, introduce themselves and a more than Babylonish tyrany, imposing on the Church and State beyond all impudence or example. I say, look upon what they have gotten by deceiving their brethren, selling their King, betraying his son, and by all their perfidie; but a slavery more then Egyptian, and an infamy as unparallel'd, as their treason and ingratitude.

Look neerer home on those whom they had ingaged amongst us here, and tell me if there be a person of them left that can shew me

his prize, unless it be that of his sacriledg, which he or his nephews must certainly vomite up again: what is become of this ignorant and furious zeal, this pretence of an universall perfection in the religious and the secular, after all that blood and treasure, rapine and injustice, which has been exhausted, and perpetrated by these sons of thunder? Where is the King whom they swear to make so glorious, but meant it in his martyrdome? Where is the classis, and the assembly, the Lay-elder; all that geare of Scottish discipline, and the fine new trinkets of reformation? Were not all these taken out of their hand, while now they were in the height of their pride and triumph? And their dull Generall made to serve the execution of their Soveraign, and then to be turn'd off himself, as a property no more of use to their designes? Their riches and their strength, in which they trusted, and the Parliament which they even idoliz'd; in sum, the prey they had contended for at the expence of so much sin and damnation, seizd upon by those very instruments which they had rais'd to serve their insatiable avarice and prodigious disloyalty. For so it pleased God to chastise their implacable persecution of an excellent Prince, with a slavery under such a tyrant *, as not being contented to butcher even some upon the scaffold, sold divers of them for slaves, and others he exild into cruell banishment, without pretence of law or the least commiseration; that those who before had no mercy on others, might find none themselves; till, upon some hope of their repentance and future moderation, it pleased God to put his hook into the nostrills of that proud Leviathan, and send him to his place, after he had thus mortified the fury of the Presbyterians. For unlesse God should utter his voice from Heaven, yea, and that a mighty voice, can there any thing in the world be more evident, then his indignation at those wretches and barefac't impostors, who, one after another, usurped upon us, taking them off at the very point of aspiring, and præcipitating the glory and ambition of these men before those that were but now their adorers, and that had prostituted their consciences to serve their lusts? To call him the Moses, the Man of God, the Joshua, the Saviour of Israel; and, after all this,

* Oliver Cromwell.

to treat the Thing his son with addresses no lesse then blasphemous, whose Father (as themselves confess to be the most infamous hypocrite and proflegate Atheist of all the usurpers that ever any age produc'd) had made them his Vassalls, and would have intaild them so to his posterity for ever?

But behold the scene is again changed, not by the Royal party, the common enemy, or a foreign power; but by the despicable rumpe of a Parliament, which that mountebanke had formerly serv'd himself of, and had rais'd himself to that pitch, and investiture: but see, withall, how soon these triflers and puppets of policy are blown away, with all their pack of modells and childish chimæras, nothing remaining of them but their coffine, guarded by the souldiers at Westminster; but which is yet lesse empty then the heads of these politicians, which so lately seemed to fill it.

For the rest, I despise to blot paper with a recitall of those wretched interludes, farces, and fantasms, which appear'd in the severall intervalls; because they were nothing but the effects of an extream gyddiness, and unparallel'd levity. Yet these are the various despensations and providences in your journey to that holy land of purchases and profits, to which you have from time to time appeal'd for the justification of your proceedings, whilst they were indeed no other then the manifest judgements of God upon your rebellion and your ambition: I say nothing of your hypocriticall fasts and pretended humiliations, previous to the succeeding plots and supposititious revelations, that the godly might fall into the hands of your captains, because they were bugbears, and became ridiculous even to the common people.

And now Sr. if you please, let us begin to set down the product, and survey the successe of your party; and, after all these faces and vertigos, tell me ingenuously, if the chastisement which is fallen upon one afflicted man, and his loyall subjects, distressed by the common event of war, want of treasure, the seizure of his fleet, forcing him from his city, and all the disadvantages that a perfidious people could imagine; but in fine the crowning him with a glorious martyrdome for the Church of God and the liberty of his people (for which his blood doth yet cry aloud for vengeance) be comparable to the confusion which you

(that have been the conquerours) have suffered, and the slavery which you are like to leave to the posterities which will be born but to curse you, and to groan under the pressures which you bequeath to your own flesh and blood? For to what a condition you have already reduced this once florishing kingdom, since all has been your own, let the intolerable oppressions, taxes, excises, sequestrations, confiscations, plunders, customes, decimations, not to mention the plate, even to the very thimbles and the bodkins (for even to these did your avarice descend), and other booties, speak: all this dissipated and squandered away, to gratifie a few covetous and ambitious wretches, whose appetites are as deep as hell, and as insatiable as the grave; as if (as the wise-man speaks) "our time here were but a market for gain."

Look then into the churches, and manners of the people, even amongst your own saints; and tell me if, since Simon Magus was upon the earth, there was ever heard of so many schismes, and heresies, of Jewes and Socinians, Quakers, Fifth-monarchy-men, Arians, Anabaptists, Independants, and a thousand severall sorts of blasphemous and professed Athiests, all of them spawned under your government; and then tell me what a reformation of religion you have effected?

Was there ever in the whole earth (not to mention Christendom alone) a perjury so prodigious, and yet so avowed as that by which you have taken away the estate of my Lo. Craven *, at which the very Infidels would blush, a Turke or Sythian stand amazd.

Under the Sun was it never heard that a man should be condemned for transgressing no law but that which was made after the fact, and abrogated after execution; that the posterities to come might not be witnesses of your horrid injustice: yet thus you proceeded against my L. Strafford†. How many are those gallant persons whom after articles

* William Earl of Craven, a firm supporter of King Charles I. whose house at Caversham near Reading, was destroyed, and "his goodly woods" which Evelyn saw "felling by the Rebells;" ‡ Diary, vol. I. 8th of June, 1654. See also Whitelock's Memorials, pp. 609, 610, 698.

† "12th May, 1641. I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which sever'd the wisest head in England from the shoulders of (Thomas Wentworth) the Earle of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precident, but his destruction: to such exorbitancy were things arived." Memoirs, vol. I. p. 10.

‡ His Town Residence at the end of Wych-street, Drury Lane, shared the same fate.

of war, you have butchered in cold-blood, violating your promises against the lawes of all nations, civill or barbarous; and yet you thus dealt in the case of my Lord Capel[1], Sr. John Stawel[2], and others.

Is not the whole nation become sullen and proud, ignorant and suspicious, incharitable, curst, and, in fine, the most depraved and perfidious under heaven? And whence does all this proceed, but from the effects of your own examples, and the impunity of evill doers?

I need not tell you how long justice has been sold by the Committees, and the Chair-men, the Sequestrators, and Symoniacall Fryers, not to mention the late Courtiers, and a swarm of Publicans who have eaten up the people as if they would eat bread.

Will you come now to the particular misfortunes, and the evident hand of God upon you for these actions (for He has not altogether left us without some express witnesses of his displeasure at your doings). Behold then your Essex[3] and your Warwick[4], your Manchester[5], Browne[6],

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[1] Arthur Lord Capel, who bravely defended Colchester; but when the garrison was forced to surrender, he yielded himself a prisoner, and was beheaded 9th March 1648-9, in violation of a promise of quarter given him by General Fairfax.

[2] Sir John Stawell, Knight of the Bath, a loyalist who steadfastly adhered to the cause of King Charles I. and suffered very much on that account. He was of Queen's College, Oxford; one of the Knights for Somersetshire in the fatal Parliament of 1640, and in several subsequent Parliaments; taking up arms, with three of his sons, he raised and maintained at his own charge three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, and another of foot, for the service of his injured Sovereign: and on the reduction of Taunton in 1643, he was made governor. Sir John was engaged with other loyalists in the defence of Exeter, which sustained a blockade and siege from October 28, 1645, to April 9, 1646, when it surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax, upon articles signed by him and the garrison, and confirmed by both Houses of Parliament. However, he was not only debarred of the benefit of composition, but on coming to London, to reap the benefit of the capitulation, was sent prisoner to Ely-house in Holborn, and deprived of his estate. He endured tedious imprisonments in the press-yard in Newgate and other gaols, and afterwards in the Tower of London. Though reduced to the greatest want and misery, yet by the subsistence which his aged mother, the Lady Elizabeth Griffin, afforded him, he lived to see the happy Restoration, was again elected one of the representatives for Somersetshire, and died Feb. 21, 1661, and was buried in the church of Cotholstone, in that county, leaving a son and heir, Ralph Stawell, esq. created Lord Stawell of Somerton, in consideration of the eminent loyalty and sufferings of his father.

[3] Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, only son of the unfortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and who inherited much of his popularity. He became General of the Parliament army, and for a long time was victorious in their cause; yet obliged, from the result of the memorable battle of Edgehill, where he was routed, to retreat to Warwick Castle: and afterwards in Cornwall, he was

Fairfax[7], and your Waller[8] (whom once your books stiled the Lord of Hosts), casheered, imprisoned, suspected and disgraced after all their services. Hotham[9] and his Son came to the block: Stapleton[10] had the

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compelled to abandon his own army, and proceed to London by sea: for which disasters, the Parliament, who so solemnly swore before to live and die with him, dispensed themselves of that oath, and deprived him of his command. He died 14th Sept. 1646, not without suspicion of poison, if we may credit the author of a curious tract, intituled, "The Traytors Perspective Glass," 4to. 1662. p. 10.

[4] Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral, died 19th April 1658.

[5] Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester, a nobleman of many good qualities, was a zealous and able patron of liberty, but without enmity to monarchy. He was one of the avowed patriots in the House of Peers, and was the only member of that House who was accused by Charles of high treason, together with the five members of the House of Commons. In the civil war, he raised an army of horse, which he commanded in person: he forced the town of Lynn to submit to the Parliament; defeated the Earl of Newcastle's army at Horncastle; took Lincoln by storm in 1644, and had a principal share in the victory at Marston Moor. After the battle of Newbury, he was suspected of favouring the King's interest; nay, even accused by Cromwell of neglect of duty, and deprived of his commission. He heartily concurred in the restoration of Charles the Second, who appointed him Lord Chamberlain of his household, and died May 5, 1671, aged 69.

[6] Major-general Browne, though he was then Sheriff of London, was committed to prison in 1648, with Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Major-general Massey, and Commissary-general Copley, "who were the most active Members in the House of the Presbyterian party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the service of the Parliament in their several stations against the King as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the present army had then credit to do." Clarendon.

[7] Thomas Lord Fairfax, at the breaking out of the Rebellion, took a decided part against the King, as his father, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, also did, under whom he served till he obtained a principal command. He contributed to the victory at Naseby; and next went into the West of England, the whole of which he subdued. He assisted, however, in the Restoration, and retired into Yorkshire, where he died 1671.

[8] Sir William Waller, knt. was one of the most active of the Parliament Generals, and was for a considerable time victorious, and therefore called "William the Conqueror." He was, however, beaten by Sir Richard Greenville and Sir Nicholas Slanning at the battle of Lansdown, near Bath, July 5, 1643; again at Roundway Down, near the Devizes, on the 13th of the same month; and was defeated by the King at Croperdy Bridge, June 29th, 1644. The conqueror's fame sunk considerably, but he afterwards beat his former fellow-soldier, the Lord Hopeton, at Alresford. He died September 19, 1669. "A Vindication of his Character, and Explanation of his Conduct, in taking up Arms against King Charles I." written by himself, was published in 1793, in 8vo, from the original MS.

[9] "A man," says Granger, "of a timid and irresolute nature, and without any firm principles of attachment to the King or Parliament, was, by the latter, appointed Governor of Hull, the most considerable magazine of arms and ammunition in the Kingdom. Charles, perceiving to what lengths the Commons were proceeding, was determined to seize this fortress; but was peremptorily refused admittance, when he appeared before it in person, by the Governor, who was

buriall of an asse, and was thrown into a town ditch, Brooke [11] and Hamden [12] signally slain in the very act of rebellion and sacriledg: your Athesiasticall Dorislaw [13], Ascam [14], and the Sodomiticall Ariba [15], whom

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instantly proclaimed a traitor. Though Hotham was employed, he was not trusted; his son, who was much more devoted to the Parliament, was a constant check and spy upon him. At length, both father and son were prevailed upon to listen to the overtures of some of the Royalists, and to enter into a correspondence with them. This quickly brought them to the block."—The son was beheaded on Tower-hill, January 1, 1645, and Sir John the following day.

[10] Sir Philip Stapleton and John Hamden formed the Committee appointed by Parliament to attend the King in Scotland.—See Clarendon.

[11] Robert Lord Brooke, a member of the Long Parliament, and a very obstinate and violent opposer of the King, and persecutor of the Bishops and Clergy. In besieging Lichfield Cathedral, "being harnessed cap-a-pe," he was shot with a musket in the eye by a Prebendary's son from the wall of the Close, whilst he was sitting at his chamber-window, April 1643.

[12] John Hampden was one of the first who took up arms against the King, being a Colonel of foot, and was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets on the 18th of June 1643, in a skirmish with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrove-field, near Brill, in Oxfordshire; and after suffering much pain and misery, he died on the 24th of that month, and was buried in the church of Great Hamden.

[13] Isaac Dorislaus, or Dorislaw, was originally a school-master, and afterwards Doctor of Civil Law, at Leyden, whence coming into England, he was entertained by Fulk Lord Brook, and by him appointed to read an History Lecture in Cambridge; but in his first lecture decrying monarchy, was, upon the complaint of Dr. John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, silenced, and about that time marrying a woman near Malden in Essex, lived there for some time. Afterwards he became Judge Advocate in the King's army, in one of his expeditions against the Scots, then Advocate in the army against the King under Robert Earl of Essex, afterwards under Sir Thomas Fairfax; and April 13, 1648, was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Admiralty, with Doctors Clerk and Exton. January 10th, 1648-9, he was chosen assistant in drawing up and managing the charge against King Charles I. and selected by the Parliament as an Envoy to Holland to prosecute their designs. He arrived at the Hague in May 1649, King Charles II. being then there in exile, which bold act offending certain English royalists attending his Majesty, about twelve of them in disguise repaired to his lodging, and finding him at supper, stabbed him in several places, and cut his throat, whereupon one of them said, "*Thus dies one of the King's Judges.*" His body was conveyed to England, and buried in the Abbey Church at Westminster, which is thus alluded to by Evelyn in his Memoirs (vol. I. p. 285): "This night, June 14, 1649, was buried with great pomp Dorislaus, slaine at the Hague: the villain who managed the trial of his Majesty." In September 1661, his remains were taken up, with the bodies of other Cromwellians, and buried in St. Margaret's church-yard adjoining. History of King-killing, 8vo. 1719.

[14] Anthony Ascham, member of the Long Parliament, and author of "The Confusions and Revolutions in Governments: wherein is examined how far a Man may lawfully conforme to the Powers and Commands of those who, with various Successes, hold Kingdoms divided by Civil or Foreign Wars." 8vo. 1649. He was an active person against his Sovereign, was concerned in drawing up the King's trial, and, after his execution, was sent by Cromwell in 1650 Ambassador to the Court of Madrid, where he was assassinated at his lodgings by some English loyalists.

[15] The Editor, after much research, cannot find any notice of this wretched character.

though they escaped the hand of justice, yet vengeance would not suffer to live. What became of Rainsburrow[16]? Ireton[17] perished of the plague, and Hoyle[18] hanged himself; Staplie[19] died mad, and Cromwell[20] in a fit of rageing; and if there were any others worthy the taking notice of, I should give you a list of their names and of their destinies, but it was not known whence they came which succeeded them; nor had they left any memory behind them, but for their signall wickednesses, as he that set on fire the Ephesian Temple to be recorded a villain to posterity. Whereas those noble souls whom your inhumanity (not your vertue) betrayed gave proof of their extraction, innocency, religion, and constancy, under all their tryalls and tormentors; and those that died by the sword fell in the bed of honour, and did worthily for their countrey; their loyalty and their religion will be renowned in the history of ages, and precious to their memory when your names will

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[16] Thomas Rainsborough, Colonel in Cromwell's army, and appointed by Fairfax to command the troops before Pontefract Castle. He was shot in his own quarters, an inn in Doncaster, November 1648, before the face of some of his soldiers, by a party of cavaliers from Pontefract, under a pretence of delivering him a letter from Cromwell. Whitelock's Memorials.

[17] Henry Ireton was a student in the Middle Temple, but when the Rebellion broke out, he joined the Parliament, and signalized himself at the battle of Naseby. He was concerned with General Lambert in drawing up the remonstrance of the Army to the Parliament; and having married a daughter of Oliver Cromwell, he soon rose to preferment, and became Commissary-general. He sat in judgment upon the King, whom he had previously betrayed, and in 1650 went as commander of the army in Ireland, where he died at the siege of Limerick 26th November in the following year.

[18] Thomas Hoyle, a merchant and alderman of York, a member of the Long Parliament; chosen Lord Mayor of York, first in 1632, and again in 1644: "a bitter enemy against his Prince, for which Cromwell rewarded him with the place of Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer; who on that day twelve months that the King lost his life, made a bonfire for joy he was beheaded; but on the same day twelve months after, miserably hanged himself." Traytors Perspective Glass, 4to. 1662, p. 13.

[19] Anthony Stapely, a native of Sussex, Colonel and Governor of Chichester, one of the King's judges, and who also signed the warrant for his execution. He died previously to the Restoration.

[20] "He was cut off by a miserable and tormenting sickness, which caused him two days before his death to roar so loud, and make such doleful clamours, that his Council, being informed that many persons as they passed by his chamber window took much notice of his crys, thought fit to have him removed from the place where he then lay to one more private, where with extremity of anguish, and terror of conscience, he finished his miserable life, for he dyed mad and despairing, September 3, 1658." The Traytors Perspective Glass, by I. T. 4to. 1662.

rot with your carcasses, and your remembrance be as dung upon the face of the earth. For there is already no place of Europe where your infamy is not spread, whilst your persecuted brethren rejoyce in their sufferings, can abound, and can want, blush not at their actions, nor are ashamed at their odd addresses, because they have suffered for that which their faith and their birth, their lawes and their liberties have celebrated with the most glorious inscriptions, and everlasting elogies.

And if fresher instances of all these particulars be required, cast out your eye a little upon the Armies pretended Plea *, which came lately a birding to beat the way before them, charm the ears of the vulgar, and captivate the people; that after all its pseudo-politicks and irreligious principles, is at last constrained to acknowledg your open and prodigious violations, "Strange and (very) illegal actions, (as in termes it con-" fesses) of taking up armes, raising and forming armies against the " King, fighting against his person, imprisoning, impeaching, arraigning, " trying and executing him: banishing his children, abolishing Bishops, " Deans and Chapters; taking away Kingly Government, and the " House of Lords, breaking the crowns, selling the jewells, plate, goods, " houses, and lands belonging unto the Kings of this nation, erecting " extraordinary High Courts of Justice, and therein impeaching, arraign-" ing, condemning, and executing many pretended notorious enemies to " the publique peace; when the lawes in being and the ordinary Courts " of Justice could not reach them: by strange and unknown practises in " this nation, and not at all justifiable by any known lawes and statutes †," but by certain diabolicall principles of late distilled into some persons of the army, and which he would intitle to the whole, who (abating some of their commanders that have sucked the sweet of this doctrine) had them never so much as entred into their thoughts, nor could they

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* A quarto tract of thirty pages, intituled, "The Army's Plea for their present Practice; tendered to the Consideration of all ingenuous and impartial Men. Printed and published by special Command." 1659: which, according to a manuscript memorandum on the title-page of the copy preserved in the British Museum, was published on the 24th of October, three days before the date of the present answer.—A copy of this pamphlet is likewise in the Library of the London Institution.

† The Army's Plea, p. 5.

be so depraved, though they were masters only of the light of nature to direct them. For common sense will tell them, that whoever are our lawfull superiours, and invested with the supream authority, either by their own vertue, or the peoples due election, have then a just right to challenge submission to their precepts, and that we acquiesce in their determinations; since there is in nature no other expedient to preserve us from everlasting confusion: but it is the height of all impertinency to conceive, that those which are a part of themselves, and can in so great a body have no other interests, should fall into such exorbitant contradiction to their own good, as a child of four years old would not be guilty of; and as this Phamphlete wildly suggests, in pp. 6. 11. 27. &c. did they steer their course by the known lawes of the land, and as obedient subjects should do, who without the King and his Peers, are but the carcass of a Parliament, as destitute of the soul which should informe and give it being. But if so small a handfull of men as appeared in the Palace-Yard without consent of a quarter of the English Army, much lesse of the ten thousandth part of the free people that are not clad in red, shall disturb and alter a Government when it thinkes fit to set aside a few imperious officers, who plainly seek themselves, and derive their commissions from a superiour to whom they swear obedience, (I meane not here the Rumpe) who shall ever hope, or live to see any government established in these miserably abused nations? For I dare report my self to the ingenuity of the very souldiers themselves if they, who have effected all these changes by your wretched instigations, and blind pretences, imagine themselves the people of this Nation, but as a very small portion of them compared to the whole, and who are maintained by them, to recover and protect the Civill Government, according to the good old Laws of the Land; not such as they themselves shall invente from day to day, or as the interests of some few persons may engage them.

But if the essential end of Rulers be the common peace, and their Laws obliging as they become relative: restore us then to those under which we lived with so much sweetness and tranquility, as no age in the world, no government under Heaven, could ever pretend the like. And if the people (as you declare) are to be the judges of it, summon

them together in a Free Parliament, according to its legal Constitution; or make a universal balott, and then let it appear, if Colonel Lambert* and half a dozen officers, with all their seduced partizans, make so much as a single cypher to the summe total. And this shall be enough to answer those devious principles set down in the porch of that specious edifice; which being erected upon the sand, will (like the rest that has been daubed with untempered mortar) sink also at the next high winde that blowes upon it. But I am glad it is at last avowed, upon what pretexts that late pretended Parliament have pleaded on the behalf of themselves and party, their discharge from all the former protestations, engagements, solemn vows, covenants, with hands (as you say) lift up to the most high God, as also their oaths and allegiance, &c. because I shall not in this discourse be charged with slandering of them, and that the whole world may detest the actions of such perfidious infidels, with whom nothing sacred has remained inviolable.

But there is yet a piece of artifice behinde, of no less consequence then the former, and that is, a seeking to perswade the present armie that they were the men who first engaged thus solemnly to destroy the Government under which they were born, and reduce it to this miserable condition: whereas it is well known by such as daily converse with them, that there is hardly one of ten amongst them, who was then in arms, and that it was the zelots under Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the succeeding Generals, who were the persons of whose perfidiousness he makes so much use, and that the present army consists of a far more ingenuous spirit; and might in one moment vindicate this aspersion, make their conditions with all advantage, and these nations the most happy people upon the earth, as it cannot be despaired but they will one day do, when by the goodness of Almighty God, they shall perfectly discern through the mist which you have cast upon

* Major-general Lambert, who distinguished himself by his valour and conduct during the civil war, was second to Cromwell in courage, in prudence, and capacity, but was equal to him only in ambition. He, however, escaped punishment at the Restoration, and when brought to his trial, behaved with more submission than the meanest of his fellow prisoners, and was reprieved at the bar. He was banished to the Isle of Guernsey, where he continued in patient confinement for more than thirty years.

their eyes, lest they should discover the imposture of these Egyptian sorcerors.

And now Sir, if, after all this injustice and impiety on your parts, you have prosecuted that with the extreamest madness, which you deemed criminal in your enemies, *viz.* To arrogate the supream power to a single person, condemn men without law, execute and proscribe them with as little : imprest for your service, violate your Parliament, dispense with your solemn oaths ; in summe, to mingle Earth and Heaven by your unarbitrary proceedings : all which, not only your printed books, this pretended Plea, but your actions have abundantly declared ; have you not justified the Royal party, and pronounced them the only honest men which have appeared upon the stage, in characters as plain that he which runs may read, whilst yet you persecute them to the death ? "Therefore, thou art inexcusable, O man, that perpetratest these things ; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself ; so seeing thou that judgest doest the same things. But thinkest thou this, O man, that thus judged them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the vengeance of God ? I tell ye nay, but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

Truly, Sir, when I compare these things together, and compare them I do very often, consider the purchases which you have made, and the damnation you have certainly adventured ; the despite you have done to the name of Christ, the laws of common humanity which you have violated, the malice and folly of your proceedings ; in fine, the confusion which you have brought upon the Church, the State, and your selves, I adore the just and righteous judgment of God ; and (howsoever you may possibly emerge, and recover the present rout) had rather be a sufferer amongst those whom you have thus afflicted, and thus censure, then enjoy the pleasures of your sins for that season you are likely to possess them : for if an Angel from Heaven should tell me you had done your duties, I would no more believe him then if he should preach another Gospel then that which has been delivered to us ; because you have blasphemed that holy profession, and done violence to that gracious Spirit by whose sacred dictates you are taught to live in obedience to your superiours, and in charity to one another ;

covering yet all this hydra of impostures with a mask of piety and reformation, whilst you breathe nothing but oppression, and lie in wait to deceive. " But, O God ! how long shall the adversary do this dishonour? how long shall the enemy blaspheme thy name, for ever? They gather them together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood. Lo ! these are the ungodly, these prosper in the world, and these have riches in possession : and I said, then have I cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency. Yea, and I had almost said as they : but lo, then I should have condemned the generation of thy children. Then thought I to understand this, but it was too hard for me, until I went into the sanctuary of God ; then understood I the end of these men. Namely, how thou dost set them in slippery places, castest them down and destroyest them."

O how suddenly do they consume, perish, and come to a fearful end !

We have seen it, indeed Sir, we have seen it, and we cannot but acknowledge it the very finger of God, *mirabile in oculis nostris ;* and is that truly, which even constrains me out of charity to your soul, as well as out of a deep sense of your honour, and the friendship which I otherwise bear you, to beseech you to re-enter into your self, to abandon those false principles, to withdraw your self from the seducers, to repent of what you have done, and save your self from this untoward generation : there is yet a door of repentance open, do not provoke the Majestie of the great God any longer, which yet tenders a reconciliation to you. Remember what was once said over the perishing Jerusalem. " How often would I have gathered you together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not? Behold your house is left unto you desolate." For do not think it impossible, that we should become the most abandon'd and barbarous of all the nations under Heaven. You know who has said it : " he turneth a fruitful land into a wildernesse, for the iniquity of them that inhabit therein." And truly, he that shall seriously consider the sad catastrophe of the Eastern Empire, so flourishing in piety, policy, knowledg, literature, and all the excellencies of a happy and blessed people, would almost think it impossible, that in so few years, and amidst so glorious a light of learning and religion, so suddain and palpable a darknesse, so strange and

horrid a barbarity should over spread them, as now we behold in all that goodly tract of the Turkish dominions. And what was the cause of all this, but the giddinesse of a wanton people, the schism, and the heresies in the Church, and the prosperous successes of a rebellious impostor, whose steps we have pursued in so many pregnant instances, giving countenance to those unheard of impieties and delusions, as if God be not infinitely merciful, must needs involve us under the same disaster? For, whilst there is no order in the Church, no body of Religion agreed upon, no government established, and that every man is abandon'd to his own deceitful heart: whilst learning is decried, and honesty discountenanc'd, rapine defended, and vertue finds no advocate; what can we in reason expect, but the most direful expression of the wrath of God, a universal desolation, when by the industry of Sathan and his crafty emissaries, some desperate enthusiasme, compounded (like that of Mahomet,) of Arian, Socinian, Jew, Anabaptist, and the impurer Gnostick, something, I say, made up of all these heresies shall diffuse it self over the Nation in a universal contagion, and nothing lesse appear then the Christian which we have so ingratefully renounced.

"For this plague is already beginning amongst us, and there is none to take the censer and to stand between the living and the dead, that we be not consumed as in a moment; for there is wrath gone out from the Lord. Let us then depart from the tents of those wicked men (who have brought all this upon us) and touch nothing of theirs, lest we be consumed in all their sins."

But you will say, the King is not to be trusted: judg not of others by your selves; did ever any man observe the least inclination of revenge in his breast? has he not, besides the innate propensity of his own nature to gentlenesse, the strict injunctions of a dying father and a martyr to forgive even greater offenders than you are? Yes, I dare pronounce it with confidence, and avouch it with all assurance, that there is not an individual amongst you, whose crimes are the most crimson, whom he will not be most ready to pardon, and graciously receive upon their repentance; nor any thing that can be desired of him to which he would

not cheerfully accomode, for the stopping of that torrent of blood and extream confusion which has hitherto run, and is yet imminent over us. Do but reason a little with your self, and consider sadly whether a young Prince, mortified by so many afflictions, disciplin'd by so much experience, and instructed by the miscarriages of others, be not the most excellently qualified to govern and reduce a people, who have so succeslesly tried so many governments of old, impious, and crafty foxes, that have exercis'd upon us the most intolerable tyranies that were ever heard of.

But you object further, that he has lived amongst Papists, is vitiously inclin'd, and has wicked men about him: what can be said more unjustly, what more malitious? And can you have the foreheads to tell us he has lived amongst Papists to his prejudice, who have proscrib'd him from Protestants, persecuted him from place to place, as a partridg on the mountains? You may remember who once went to Achich the King of Gath, and changed his behaviour before them, and fain'd him self mad in their hands, had many great infirmities, and was yet a man after God's own heart. Whilst the Catholick King was your allie, you had nothing to do with Papists, it was then no crime: God is not mocked—away with this respect of persons. But where is it that you would have him to be? The Hollander dares not afford him harbour lest you refuse them yours; the French may not give him bread for feare of offending you; and, unlesse he should go to the Indies, or the Turk (where yet your malice would undoubtedly reach him), where can he be safe from your revenge? But suppose him in a Papist countrey, constrained thereto by your incharity to his soul as well as body; would he have condescended to half so much as you have offered for a toleration of the Papists, he needed not now to have made use of this apology, or wanted the assistance of one of the most puissant Princes in Christendome to restore him, of whom he has refused such conditions as in prudence he might have yielded to, and the people would gladly have received; whilst those who know with what persons you have transacted, what truck you have made with the Jesuites, what secret Papists there are amongst you, may easily divine why they have been no forwarder to assist him, and how far distant he is from the least wavering

in his faith. But since you have now declared that you will tollerate all religions, without exception, do not think it a sin in him to gratifie those that shall most oblige him.

For his vertues and morality I provoak the most refined family in this nation to produce me a relation of more piety and moderation; shew me a fraternity more spotlesse in their honour, and freer from the exorbitances of youth then these three brothers, so conspicuous to all the world for their temperance, magnanimity, constancy and understanding; a friendship and humility unparallel'd, and rarely to be found amongst the severest persons, scarcely in a private family. It is the malice of a very black soul, and a virulent renegado (of whom to be commended were the utmost infamy), that has interpreted some compliances to which persons in distress are sometimes engaged with those whom they converse withall, to his Majesties disadvantage; "whilst these filthy dreamers defile the flesh themselves, and thinking it no sin to despise dominion, speak evill of dignities, and of the things which they know not. But woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of Kain, and run greedily after the errour of Balaam for reward, having mens persons in admiration because of advantage."

For the rest, I suppose the same was said of holy David, when in his extream calamity he was constrain'd to fly from Saul, "For every one that was in distresse, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him, and he became Captain over them." And to this retinue have your malice and persecution reduced this excellent Prince; but he that preserv'd him in the wood, and delivered David out of all his troubles, shall likewise, in his appointed time, deliver him also out of these distresses.

I have now answered all your calumnies, and have but a word to add, that I may yet incline you to accept your best interest, and prevent that dreadful ruine which your obstinacy does threaten. Is it not as perspicuous as the sun, that it lies in your power to reform his counsell, introduce your selves, make what composition you can desire, have all the security that mortall man can imagine, and the greatest Princes of Europe to engage in the performance? This were becoming worthy men, and honourable indeed; this ingenuous self-denyall: and it is no

disgrace to reforme a mistake, but to persist in it lyes the shame. The whole nation requires it of you, and the lawes of God command it; you cannot, you must not deferr it. For what can you pretend to that will not then drop into your bosomes? The humble man will have repose, the aspiring and ambitious, honours. The merchant will be secure; trades immediately recover; alliances will be confirmed; the lawes re-flourish; tender consciences consider'd; present purchasers satisfied; the souldier payed, maintained, and provided for; and, what's above all this, Christianity and Charity will revive again amongst us; "Mercy and Truth will meet together; Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other."

But let us now consider, on the other side, the confusion which must of necessity light upon us, if we persist in our rebellion and obstinacy. We are already impoverisht, and consumed with war and the miseries that attend it; you have wasted our treasure, and destroyed the woods, spoyled the trade, and shaken our properties; a universall animosity is in the very bowels of the nation; the parent against the children, and the children against the parents, betraying one another to the death; in summe, if that have any truth which our B. Saviour has himself pronounced, that "a kingdome divided against itself cannot stand," it is impossible we should subsist in the condition we are reduc'd to. Consider we again, how ridiculous our late proceedings have made us to our neighbours round about us. Their Ministers laugh at our extream giddinesse, and we seem to mock at their addresses; for no sooner do their credentialls arrive but, behold, the scean is changed, and the Government is fled; he that now acted King left a fool in his place; and they stand amazed at our buffoonery and madnesse.

What then, may we imagine, will be the product of all these disadvantages, when the nations that deride and hate us shall be united for our destruction, and that the harvest is ripe for the sickle of their fury? Shall we not certainly be a prey to an inevitable ruine, having thus weakned our selves by a brutish civill war, and cut off those glorious heros, the wise and the valiant, whose courage in such an extremity we shall in vain imploar, that would bravely have sacrificed themselves for our delivery? Let us remember how often we have served a forraign

people, and that there is nothing so confident but a provoaked God can overthrow.

For my part, I tremble but to consider what may be the issue of these things, when our iniquities are full, and that God shall make inquisition for the bloud that has been spilt; unlesse we suddainly meet him by an unfained repentance, and turn from all the abominations by which we have provoaked him; and then, it is to be hoped that He who would have compounded with the Father of the Faithfull, had there been but ten righteous men in Sodom, and that spared Nineveh, that populous and great city, will yet have mercy on us, hearken to the prayers, and have regard to the teares, of so many millions of people, who day and night do interceed with him: the priests and ministers of the Lord weeping between the porch and the altar, and saying, "spare thy people, O Lord, spare thy people, and give not thine inheritance to reproach."

And now I have said what was upon my spirit for your sake, when, for the satisfaction of such as (through its effect upon your soule) this addresse of mine may possibly come to, I have religiously declared, that the person who writ it had no unworthy or sinister design of his own to gratifie, much lesse any other party whatever; as being neither courtier, souldier, or churchman, but a plain country gentleman, engag'd on neither side, who has had leisure (through the goodnesse of God) candidly, and without passion, to examine the particulars which he has touched, and expects no other reward in the successe of it then what Christ has promised in the Gospell; the benediction of the peace maker, and which he already feeles in the discharge of his conscience; being, for his own particular, long since resolv'd with himself to persist in his religion and his loyalty to the death, come what will; as being fully perswaded, that all the persecutions, losses, and other accidents, which may arrive him for it here, are not worthy to be compared to that eternall weight of glory which is to be revealed hereafter, and to the inexpressible consolation which it will afford on his death bed, when all these guilded pleasures will disappear, this noise, and empty pompe; when God shall set all our sins in order before us, and when, it is certain, that the humble and the peaceable, the charitable and the meek, shall not lose their reward, nor change their hopes, for all the crownes

and the scepters, the lawrells and the trophies, which ambitious and self-seeking men contend for, with so much tyranie and injustice.

Let them, therefore, no longer deceive you, dear Sir, and as the guise of these vile men is, to tell you they are the Godly party, under which, for the present, they would pass, and courage themselves in their wickedness, stopping their ears and shutting their eyes against all that has been taught and practised by the best of Christians, and holiest of Saints, these sixteen hundred years: "you shall know them by their fruites; do men gather grapes of thornes, or figs of thistles?" But so, being miserably gall'd with the remembrance of their impieties, and the steps by which they have ascended to those fearfull precepices, they seek to allay the secret pangs of a gnawing worme, by adopting the most prodigious of their crimes into a religion fitted for the purpose, and versatile as their giddy interest, till at last, encourag'd by the number of thriving proselytes and successes, they grow seared and confident, swallowing all with ease, and passing from one heresie to another; whilst yet they are still pursued, and shall never be at repose; for conscience will at last awake, and then how frightful, how deplorable, yea, how inexpressibly sad, will that day be unto them! "For these things have they done, and I held my tongue (saith God), and they thought wickedly that I am altogether such a one as themselves; but I will reprove them, and set before them the things that they have done. O consider this, ye that forget God, least he pluck you away, and there be none to deliver you."

And now, Sir, you see the liberty which I have taken, and how farr I have adventured to testifie a friendship which I have ever professed for you; I have indeed been very bold, but it was greatly requisite; and you know that, amongst all men, there are none which more openly use the freedom of reprehension, then those who love most: advices are not rejected by any but such as determine to pursue their evill courses; and the language which I use is not to offend, but to beseech you to return. I conjure you, therefore to re-enter into your self, and not to suffer these mean and dishonourable respects, which are unworthy your nobler spirit, to prompt you to a course so deform'd, and altogether unworthy your education and family. Behold your

friends all deploaring your misfortunes, and your enemies even pitie you; whilst, to gratifie a few mean and desperate persons, you cancell your duty to your Prince, and disband your religion, dishonour your name, and bring ruine and infamy on your posterity.

But when all this shall fail (as God forbid a tittle of it should), I have yet this hope remaining: that when you have been sufficiently sated with this wicked course, wandered from place to place, government to government, sect to sect, in so universal a deluge, and find no repose for the sole of your foot (as it is certain you never shall), you will at last, with the peaceful dove, return to the arke from whence you fled, to your first principles and to sober counsels; or with the repenting Prodigall in the Gospel, to your Father which is in Heaven, and to the Father of your countrey, for in so doing you shall not only rejoice your servant, and all good men, but the very angels which are in Heaven, and who are never said to rejoice indeed, but at the conversion of a sinner.—*Et tu conversus, converte fratres.*

This 27 Octob. 1659.

PSAL. 37.

10. Yet a little while, and the ungodly shall be clean gone, thou shalt look after his place, and he shall be away.

36. I my self have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay-tree.

37. I went by, and, lo! he was gone; I sought him, but his place could no where be found.

38. Keep innocency, and take heed unto the thing that is right: for that shall bring a man peace at the last.

I request the Reader to take notice, that when mentioning the Presbyterians, I have let fall expressions somewhat relishing of more then usual asperity; I do not by any means intend it to the prejudice of many of that judgment who were either men of peaceable spirits from the beginning, or that have late given testimony of the sense of their errour, whilst they were abused by those specious pretences I have reproved; but I do regard them with as much charity and affection as becomes a sincere Christian and their brother.

FINIS.

THE LATE

NEWS FROM BRUSSELS UNMASKED,

AND

HIS MAJESTY VINDICATED

FROM THE

BASE CALUMNY AND SCANDAL THEREIN FIXED ON HIM.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1660.

This extremely rare Tract, from the pen of Evelyn, requires no apology for its introduction in the present Volume. The false and virulent republican invective, to which it is a loyal and bold reply, is also inserted as a note, that the principles and ability of Evelyn may stand yet higher in public estimation, when viewed in contrast with the coarseness and malignity of his adversary.

At the time when this Letter was written, Evelyn was labouring under a severe illness, from 17th Feb. to 15th April, 1660, attended by three physicians, who were doubtful of his recovery; however, he says, in his Memoirs, "I writ and printed a Letter in defence of his Majesty, against a wicked forged paper, pretended to be sent from Bruxells, to defame his Majesty's person and vertues, and render him odious, now when every body was in hope and expectation of the General and Parliament recalling him, and establishing ye Government on its ancient and right basis."

THE LATE

NEWS FROM BRUSSELS UNMASKED.

THE last night came to my view a paper intituled, "News from Brussels, &c*." At the reading whereof I could not but in some measure be astonished, to imagine, that such exquisite malice should still have its continuance and prevalency amongst some people, against that person who should (if they duely considered their duties) be most dear, tender, and sacred to them; such a vein I perceived there was of forged and fictitious stuff, put into a most malitious dress of drollery, running through the whole tenor thereof, and snapping and biting all along as it went, in that sence, as might be sure most to fix calumny and slander upon that royal person whom it chiefly intended to wound, that I could not but contemplate thus with my self: Is it not enough that that innocent Prince, ever since his tender years, hath

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* "*News from* BRUSSELS.† *In a Letter from a neer Attendant on His Majesties Person to a Person of Honour here; which casually became thus publique. Printed in the Year*, 1660. 4*to.*

"HONEST JACK,

Thine, by T. L. our true post-pigeon, and (I would I could not say) only expeditious person, was mine before the morning; and our masters the same minute, who took no small delight therein:

† This singular tract, having so immediate a reference to the foregoing piece, was one of the last efforts of the expiring Commonwealth interest. It is a supposed letter from the exiled Court of Charles to a Cavalier in London, which is calculated to press upon the key most likely to interrupt the general disposition in favour of the Restoration. It represents the temper of Charles and his little Court as exasperated by the long injuries they had sustained, and preparing themselves to avenge them on the present opportunity. It is calculated also to excite the terrors of the Presbyterians, who were at this time anxious to co-operate in the Restoration, by representing the Cavaliers as equally profligate and unforgiving. But the purpose of this stratagem was counteracted by the public declarations of the leading royalists, that they reflected upon their past sufferings as coming from the hand of God, and entertained no thoughts of revenge against the immediate agents, but were satisfied to bury all past injuries in the joy of the happy restoration of the King, Laws, and Constitution.—SCOTT.

been hunted like a partridge upon the mountains from place to place, from one nation to another people, robbed and spoyled of his large and ample patrimony and dominions, and forced to live (as it were) upon the alms and charity of his neighbour Princes, but his bright and shining virtues, most manifest and apparent to the whole world, must still be subject to the reproach and scandal of every lascivious, black, and sooty quill? Wert thou a Christian (base forger), and not a foul fiend rather, clothed with humanity, methinks the consideration of this very particular, should draw tears from thine eyes, or rather blood from thine heart, then such cursed drops of mischievous malice, to issue from thy disloyal and corrupted brain. But if thou call to mind that trandscendently barbarous murder of his most glorious and martyred father, such as no age since Adam ever paralell'd; and the deep stain of that sacred and royall blood (now crying under the altar), which fasten upon thee and thy therein guilty and bespotted soul (for it is more then guessed who thou art); what horrour and trembling should justly seize thy joints, and shake the scribling instrument of such thy traitorously invented mischief, out of thy loathed and bloody hands? After which contemplation, I took a more strict and wary view of the particulars in that scandalous scrole; and having observed what cunning subtility this forger had shewed, and what tools he had made use of to stamp and mint this false and counterfeit coyn, I resolved to publish it, which I am perswaded will not be ingratefull to any, unless such who are of the forgers crew; and of what sort and principles they are, it is well known.

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therein: for he read it thrice, and is resolved (and swore to boot) thou art the first shall kneel under his sacred sword. Sir C. C. has his heart, and at first view he thought of wafting thither, lest he should think his loyalty was slighted: but H. I. and I advised otherwise, and with some adoe diverted that intent, and got him to signifie his Royall pleasure in the inclosed; which, instantly dispatch by Minyard way: F. H. has alwayes passage ready. Sir M. M. two hours after brought good news from his cold country; but Calvin smells too rank for us to venture thither: they first betrayed his Royal Father, and after that his sacred self: nor are our fortunes at that low ebb, to reimbarque our all in that old leaky bottom. Prithee perswade Sam to be silent, tell him it is our master's pleasure. Thinkest thou none knows as well as he who first conjured up this divel, and cursed them that would not curse and fight against His Majesty in Meroz name: yes, we can look through our fingers: this rebellion first bubbled up in Presbyterian pulpits, yet it's impollitick to say so much: we also know tis more for fear of the phanatiques

First, he hath prepared a number of letters, which he would have the reader think to intend the persons now about his Majesty, whose names relate to them. But see, how in *ipso lumine*, he bewrays his own fictitious guilt; for this H. I. which he would have thought to be the *L. Iermain*, this person was known to be elsewhere, far distant from Bruxels, at the time of the date of that piece of forgery. In the next place, it is observable, that before he had wrote five lines, he fixes a notorious lie upon his Majesty, and chargeth him with swareing; a thing it is most manifestly known he is so free from, that all his attendants may be challenged to relate, if they can, whether ever they heard a profane oath to come from him, much less used upon such a ridiculous idle occasion as this forger mentions; it being notorious that he is, and ever hath been, so reserved in bestowing those ready jewels of honour (the only treasure he is or can be unrob'd of), that it is not any way probable he should squander one away for a letter, and less likely that he should publickly say and swear this. Within a few lines after, he talks of his Majesties resolution to waft over into Ireland, for his S. C. C. he would have understood to be meant Sir Charles Coot; a very probable business as he relates it. Pray, Sir, which way should he waft (as you phrase it); it is a sign you have more skill in forgery than in geography, and the situation of places and nations. Next he fains news to arrive out of Scotland, which is the cold country he means; but his two hours mentioned, smells so rank of brass, that it renders it, at first scent, a perfect counterfeit; and what must this news do? only introduce an occasion to abuse and

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then for love to us, they are now so loyal: so also it is our necessity, not choice, that makes us court them. Hug them you cannot, hang at least until you can. Would Lall. had longer lips; I hate to shew the teeth before we bite: we choak our dogs with crusts as well as pins; no curre will eat a pin alone: a blue ribbon and a starr we know will unbecome a rebel's shoulder, but fishes bite at baits; he is an asse that angles and hides not his hooks: how most unhappy is my soveraign Lord, that the impatience of his friends should be as perillous to his fortunes as the pikes of his enemies; we never yet well minded our next work; he's a fooll that thinks when the needle's in, the thread won't follow: set then your helping hand to this, let that alone; procure the cause, and 'tis impossible to separate the effect. But he comes in on terms, and is bound up. Tush! remember that blessed line I marked in Machiavel; he's an oafe that thinks an oath, or any tedder can tame a Prince beyond his pleasure; Zeruiah's sons lived to David's great dislike, but 'twas but till he could kill them more conveniently: and prithee what did Shimei's pardon do

slander his sacred Majesty, and render him odious to those of the Presbyterian tenets, which indeed is the whole scope and tenor of this scurrulous doughty epistle, and to make some persons here think, that there is such a stock of rancour and malice, and such deep thoughts of revenge, harboured in the hearts and minds of all persons attending the King, and in his own Royal heart likewise, that whatever pretences and shews are at present made to the contrary, to compass their ends, yet the issues and effects of this malice and revenge shall in due time so appear and manifest itself, that there is not a man who hath shewed any opposition to him self or his late Royal father, but sooner or later shall feel their sad and direful stroke; and this impress he hath so Machiavelianly, and with such art and cunning, besprinkled and scattered over the whole paper, and in such several subtle and wiley ways, and such seeming real phrases, proper for such persons, who he would fain to be the writer and receiver, that none but his grand tutor and instructer, the Divel himself (and scarce he neither), could possibly outdo him in some parts of this piece of artificial forgery. Others there be which clearly discover the rat by his squeaking; but above all, that bold and impudent lye, in representing that meeke and gentle Prince to have no need of spurs to revenge, but rather a rein to hold him in from it, is such a piece of open and notoriously known falshood, that it is to be wondered at, that he should escape a dart from heaven, into his false and hollow sly heart, whilst he was staining the paper with that most mischievous, malicious expression, it being so known and manifest to all about him, that nothing hath ever been, or

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for him but planch him up: they can't abide to see his house a Round-head hive; 'tis true, 'tis much that any can: are you yet to learn to make necessity a vertue? who doubts but that C. Borgia did his businesse better, by lulling Vitelloz asleep, than to have hazarded all by the incertain chance of fortune: 'tis a romance to think revenge can sleep, but like a dog, to wake at will. 'Tis true, served we a Prince that needed spurs, this humour might be cherished; but alas, we rather use all the art and arguments we can to rein him in; hadst thou but seen his passion when M's. Pedigree came over, thou wouldest have said he had steel enough.... Seal Rob. lips, I Pray thee, for fear it may disserve him at dinner; 'twas, and in some degree is, too publique. There need no record for a rival; yet is it laid (by strict command) next Murrye's manuscript, and will one day be reviewed; till then Plantaginet's in pickle. But I'le retain our (most absolutely necessary) discourse for thy farther satisfaction: canst fancy, that our master can forget he had a father, how he liv'd and died, how he lost both crown and life, and who the cause thereof? never,

is more frequent with him, in his ordinary converse then to express his firm and constant resolution to adhere close to the advertisement of his Royal martyred Father, who, *inter voces extremas* (as it were) left a preceptory advice to the contrary. Of such sort likewise, is this Pasquil of the Pedigree he mentions; false fictions of a son of Belial, which will remain in pickle to arise up against this forger at a tribunal, where the offspring of a Plantagenet, whose most innocent blood he hath sucked, will bring in a record beyond Murryes manuscript, which will fright his guilty soul down to that place of horrour prepared for him and his fellow Regicides, his pin, crust, and dog, dam, and kittlings, and the concealed nuntio and all that sort of ænigmatical and ribbald (yet very significant and malitious) drollery; what is it but the filthy foam of a black and hellish mouth, arising from a viperous and venemous heart, industriously and maliciously set upon doing what cursed mischief lies within the sphere of his cashiered power, in such a conjecture of time as this, when the nations hopes are in a full and just expectation of receiving a perfect cure of those bleeding deep wounds, and wastful and consuming miseries, made and continued by him and his fellow plotters, which they have so long lay panting and groaning under?

The star and blew ribbon he speaks of, will be every way as fit for the shoulder which hath given him and his party such a shove, and as deservedly as a hempen halter will be for this forgers own neck: and 'tis very possible, and probable too, they may both take their difficult effects in due time, though we see what art is used to thrust that

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monarch yet had a memory halfe so bad: ne'r fear't, there's fire enough in his father's ashes (though yet invisible) to burn up every adversary; only our clamourous impatience would have all at once: give time, he ascends most safe that does't *gradatim*; overstraining not onely spends the strength too fast, but does endanger falling more: remember our dread leige Lord (if ever guilty of an error) miscarried here; from what a hope fell he and we, for want of following S. S. advice: all or none's a game not for a Prince to play, but a desperado, whose fortunes rise and set with every sun. The Presbyter will give up the phanatique, a handsome bone to pick at first: I like it better far than all at once; excess brings surfeits: thus half the beard they shave themselves, let us alone with t'other: drown first the kittlings, let the dam that litter'd them alone a little longer. They glory they are orthodox; hear, and hold still thy head, let us alone to find out fresh phanatiques. We know the sectaries had a sire, and whose spurious brood they are; even as the Puritan was the off-set of the Protestant. Spain's attach, revive as oft as well thou

shoulder from its due merit by such the forger subtilties. The romance of his Waldense Dulmano, byting the lip with all the dependent sequel of such a parcel of montebanquery, that it confutes itself in its own relation; as also other his so openly known falsities, insinuated by bits in a subtle way of seeming drollery, but very saw-tooth'd in its sense and signification; and the aim of all is, to catch the common and vulgar apprehensions, and draw them again into such amaze and delusion, as they may yet once more (if possible) fall under the worrying power of him, and such like ravenous beasts of blood, prey, and rapine. Sir, your nets are seen, and your fallacies fail you; the hooks you mention are laid too visibly; the fish you would catch are so far from swallowing, they will not bite at all; you were best therefore go shave your own beard, as you have those in your letter, and your scull too; and if your brain prove not thence more pregnant, 'twill serve (however) to stuffe your powch instead of what such your angels were intended to have holpen you to; and I would wish you also to take this advice from a friend; give over your angling this way, and appear no more in publick at the side of this pool, lest you be tumbled in overhead and ears, and your self become both the bait and prey of those you thus endeavour to catch and delude by such your drolling subtleties.

And now, having done with your forged calumnies, I shall upon this just occasion desire leave to tell you, and those whom they were intended to beguile and work upon, that the Prince and Soveraigne (whom it is so apparent your grand aim by this designe was to wound, though through the fictitious sides of others set up in your own fancy),

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canst; tis a good blind, and propagates our masters interest. Wat came since my last, and will not let our Lord alone, till he sees a lecture up in Court, and Chaplins preach before him, ordained by the Presbytery: and one Waldense is come already. O Jesu, Jack! I want an iron hoop to keep my sides from splitting, to see my poor Prince bite his lips for halfe an hour long, while that Dulmano begs a blessing (as he calls it) as our meech-beggars do their bacon at the farmers doors. G. got behind him yesterday and made mouths, which the puppy by an unhappy turn of his head perceived; but his Majesty, seeing all, prudently anticipated his complaint, and with Royal gravity, not only rebuked G. but immediantly dismissed him his service.

We all made application to the parson to mediate to our master for G. his restoration, which he did: and after much intreaty, his request was granted; but not for G. his sake, but for his, and but on future good behaviour neither. M. H. and J. were in the presence at night, but I thought we should have split our spleens a laughing: but by these means all was healed: and

is one to whom both you and they owe a duty and allegiance, by all the laws of God, nature, and the land. And however you for your part have a minde to forget, and are not pleased to own it, it is (however) not the lesse his due: and it is not altogether impossible, but upon better and due consideration of the horrid guilt you lye under, divine grace may hereafter be so infused into you, and you thereby be made so sensible of your crime, that perhaps you may yet cheerfully return to such your bounden duty, and by your future demeanour wash off those stains wherewith your guilty soul is now so deeply bespotted: which that you may the more readily do, I shall truly, and as knowingly as I believe it is possible for any in this nation, give you this just and due character of that most virtuous and excellent Prince, whom (whatever your thoughts are now) it is possible you may one day esteem it your chief honour to style your dear and dread Lord and Soveraigne; which is truly such, that in the opinion of very many wise and knowing men, it would put the whole Christian world upon some difficulty to find his parallel or equal in all respects. His birth and extraction is known to be so transcendently illustrious, that what Prince is there upon earth that can challenge a greater or more noble and kingly, and for longer continuance, for centuries of years; his person so lovely, amiable and graceful, that it even captivates the eyes of all beholders, and every where generates a noble and generous affection, respect, and clemency, from the chiefest enemies of his ancestors, and of our nation and dominions. His parts and endowments such, that were we free from subjection to him, by all laws, and to make search throughout all nations and people for a complete and well accomplished personage to rule over us, common fame and report could

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henceforward we are commanded to be plaguy-godly. H. bid me hand his service to thee; he swears he hath horned 15 cuckolds within these 14 dayes. Mind the militia most, talk not of disbanding; one pin naturally drives out another. A. B. at parting swore he would see that execrable exit raced out; whom to assist he may not suffer. Let Th. continue his caresses, and bid him not continue such coarse jokes any more. D, F, C, and ... court upon all occasions. If M, M, and ... stand right, we ask no more, city, land, and sea is our own: that reformation likes us rarely well, though we wonder he would hazard all upon such a rash adventure. Bid Phil. and's brother both be close, they now may list and none the wiser: we dared not let the Nuntio see the sun. We hope our friends droop still, and curse him whom most they covet.—Let not thy lady

not but send us to him; so meek, gentle, and sweet of behaviour; so firm, constant, and obliging in his friendships; so milde, modest, and patient in his afflictions and sufferings; yet upon occasion so full of princely courage and magnanimity, so knowing and discerning in his reason and judgement, and by his retirement so fitted and adapted for moderate government. But above all, so firmly and irremoveably fixed to the profession of the true Protestant religion, testifyed many wayes against the cunning arts and subtle attempts and allurements of the most inveterate enemies thereof, that it is an infamy, never to be washed off from this nation (unless the now general vote and desire thereof be hearkened to and take effect in such manner as may in some sort purge the same), that such a Prince as he, so qualified in all respects, and so innocent likewise as to the first cause of difference, and ever since, also saving his desire, and pursuance of his just and undoubted birth-right; a thing which the meanest of us would be condemned for by all, even by our very selves, should we omit, or be negligent of, were it but for a poor cottage; I say that such a Prince as he, together with his illustrious, heroick, and high-born brethren, (all of them, even in this their eclipsed obscurity, the renown and glory of our nation,) should (as is hinted before) be chased from such an ample and splendid patrimony, and large dominions, and that by his own native subjects, and liege people, and suffered to wander, nay, by their means hunted from place to place, from one nation (as is premised) to another people, and forced to live upon the almes and charity (as it

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know our Italian tye, the devil can't track us if we three keep our tongue within our teeth. Fret not, nor afflict thyself nor friend, for we resolve the rogues that left the Rump shall feel the scourge that loyal hearts lash rebels with, as well as others; a Roundhead is a Roundhead; black and white devils all alike to us.—Thinkest thou that we can breath in peace, while we see a little finger left alive that hath been dipt in royal blood? or his adherents? No! a thought of mercy more hateful is than hell; but cooks may be conquerors, and a plate perform equal execution with a pistol, and with less report. Be quiet then, let's use all art to make them take the halter tamely. Press the speedy raising of the City regiments.—And out the rogue at stern: what folly is't to think we can safely ferry while the fleet's phanatique? This done, let our cause miscarry if it can. Maz. met Wat, and gave him sound advice—Get arms, but buy them not in such suspicious numbers; that if all fails, we may repair to them, and cut our passage to the throne through traitors blood. —Farwel.

Brussels, S. V. March 10, 1659.

were) of those who doubtlesse are not without their grand designe upon him and all his dominions, as (it may be feared) time will sooner or later clearly manifest; besides the subjecting him, and that whole royal race, by this means, to the enticements and allurements, and to the stratagems, nets, and entanglements of those Romish rooking gamesters, who are ranging in all parts for their prey, and will be sure to leave no stone unmoved to work their wicked ends, where such a quarry of royal game are to be flown at, and with such advantage (as the case stands with them) to be attempted; that the very contemplation thereof cannot, me thinks, but draw tears from the eyes, and almost blood from the hearts of all pious, loyal Protestant Christians, who have any sence and feeling, as they ought, of that deep dishonour and reproach, which by these very meanes must needs redound to the professors of the true Protestant religion, in all parts and places whatsoever, and no lesse sport and pastime to the great vicar general at Rome, and his court and conclave; but as in the ground where gold grows, nothing (it is said) will thrive but gold, so God hath hitherto preserved this virtuous Prince, most firm, sound, and entire, in the true orthodox faith, and no doubt but will so continue him, and make him not only in title, but really and indeed a most magnanimous defender thereof, against all its adversaries.

And whereas there is either a real or seeming fear in some sort of guilty people (and thereby the desired settlement much disturbed and retarded), that if the old Government take place againe, and the right Pilot come at the head and stern thereof, that there will be such rankor, malice, and revenge put in practice, by the all along adherers to the Royal interest, against such as any time opposed them; and thereby such losse, dammage, and sufferings sustained, with divers other vain and empty fears, jealousies, and conjectures. Now, as the true character of his sacred Majesty himselfe is before very faithfully expressed, so surely it will not seem incongruous and impertinent upon this just occasion likewise, to interpose this sincere and unfeigned protestation, on the behalfe of those adherers to the Royal interest, that as their principles are truly Christian, so they most earnestly desire to pursue

the due practice of them accordingly. And whatsoever is forged in that malicious piece, before at large spoken of that loyal party, especially the main bulk and body of them (who are only considerable in this case, and extravagants and not to be regarded), are so far from any thoughts of rankor, malice, and revenge in that particular, or any aime of making good their losses by the estates of others (a usual vogue raised by our peace-opposers), that they do as fully and unfainedly forgive them, and all sorts of them, as they desire of Heaven the forgivenesse of their own transgressions; and do so far detest the thought of repairing their losses, that way feared, that to see his Majesty restored, and thereby a firm and lasting peace settled, that so it may be conveyed to posterity, they would not only very cheerfully sit down by all their losses and sufferings, but many thousands of them willingly sacrifice much of their present fortunes, and some of them their lives too, as a grateful offertory for such a seasonable and all-healing mercy.

FUMIFUGIUM:

OR THE INCONVENIENCIE OF THE

AER AND SMOAK OF LONDON DISSIPATED.

TOGETHER WITH SOME REMEDIES HUMBLY PROPOSED

By J. E. Esq.

TO HIS SACRED MAJESTY, AND TO THE PARLIAMENT NOW ASSEMBLED.

PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTIES COMMAND.

Carbonúmque gravis vis, atque odor insinuatur
Quam facile in cerebrum! —— Lucret. l. 5

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. GODBID, FOR GABRIEL BEDEL AND THOMAS COLLINS, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT THEIR SHOP AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE GATE, NEER TEMPLE-BAR.

M. DC. LXI.

TO THE

KINGS MOST SACRED MAJESTY*.

SIR,

IT was one day, as I was walking in your Majesties palace at Whitehall (where I have sometimes the honour to refresh my self with the sight of your illustrious presence, which is the joy of your peoples hearts) that a presumptuous smoake issuing from one or two tunnels neer Northumberland-house, and not far from Scotland-yard, did so invade the court, that all the rooms, galleries, and places about it were fill'd and infested with it; and that to such a degree, as men could hardly discern one another for the clowd, and none could support, without manifest inconveniency. It was not this which did first suggest to me what I had long since conceived against this pernicious accident, upon frequent observation; but it was this alone, and the trouble that it must needs procure to your sacred Majesty, as well as hazard to your health, which kindled this indignation of mine against it, and was the occasion of what it has produc'd in these papers.

Your Majesty, who is a lover of noble buildings, gardens, pictures, and all royal magnificences, must needs desire to be freed from this

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* 13th Sept. 1661. "I presented my *Fumifugium*, dedicated to his Maty, who was pleased I should publish it by his special commands, being much pleas'd with it".—Memoirs, vol. I. p. 326.

1 Oct. 1661. During a sailing match from Greenwich to Gravesend and back, between the two yatchts belonging to the King and the Duke of York, for a wager of 100*l.* at which his Majesty was present, attended by Mr. Evelyn and divers noble persons; the King, says he, "was pleas'd to discourse to me about my book, inveighing against the nuisance of the smoke of London, and proposing expedients how by removing those particulars I mentioned, it might be reformed: commanding me to prepare a Bill against the next Session of Parliament, being, as he said, resolv'd to have something don in it."—Idem, vol. I. p. 327.

prodigious annoyance; and, which is so great an enemy to their lustre and beauty, that where it once enters there can nothing remain long in its native splendor and perfection: nor must I here forget that illustrious and divine Princesse, your Majesties only sister, the now Dutchesse of Orleans, who at her highnesse late being in this city, did in my hearing, complain of the effects of this smoake both in her breast and lungs, whilst she was in your Majesties palace. I cannot but greatly apprehend, that your Majesty (who has been so long accustom'd to the excellent aer of other countries) may be as much offended at it, in that regard also; especially since the evil is so epidemicall; indangering as well the health of your subjects, as it sullies the glory of this your imperial seat.

Sir, I prepare in this short discourse, an expedient how this pernicious nuisance may be reformed; and offer at another also, by which the aer may not only be freed from the present inconveniency, but (that remov'd) to render not only your Majesties palace, but the whole city likewise, one of the sweetest and most delicious habitations in the world; and this, with little or no expence; but by improving those plantations which your Majesty so laudably affects, in the moyst depressed, and marshy grounds about the town, to the culture and production of such things, as upon every gentle emission through the aer, should so perfume the adjacent places with their breath, as if, by a certain charm, or innocent magick, they were transferred to that part of Arabia, which is therefore styl'd the Happy, because it is amongst the gums and precious spices. Those who take notice of the scent of the orange-flowers from the rivage of Genöa, and St. Pietro dell' Arena; the blossomes of the rosemary from the Coasts of Spain, many leagues off at sea; or the manifest, and odoriferous waft which flow from Fontenay and Vaugirard, even to Paris in the season of roses, with the contrary effects of those less pleasing smells from other accidents, will easily consent to what I suggest: and, I am able to enumerate a catalogue of native plants, and such as are familiar to our country and clime, whose redolent and agreeable emissions would even ravish our senses, as well as perfectly improve and meliorate the aer about London; and that, without the least prejudice to the owners and proprietors

of the land to be employ'd about it. But because I have treated of this more at large in another curious and noble subject*, which I am preparing to present to your Majesty, as God shall afford me leasure to finish it, and that I give a touch of it in this discourse, I will enlarge my addresses no farther, then to beg pardon for this presumption of

Sir,

Your Majesties ever loyal, most obedient
Subject, and Servant.

J. Evelyn.

TO THE READER.

I have little here to add to implore thy good opinion and approbation, after I have submitted this Essay to his Sacred Majesty: but as it is of universal benefit that I propound it; so I expect a civil entertainment and reception. I have, I confesse, been frequently displeased at the small advance and improvement of Public Works in this nation, wherein it seems to be much inferiour to the countries and kingdomes which are round about it; especially, during these late years of our sad confusions: but now that God has miraculously restor'd to us our prince, a prince of so magnanimous and publick a spirit, we may promise our selves not only a recovery of our former splendor; but also whatever any of our neighbours enjoy of more universal benefit, for health or ornament: in summe, whatever may do honour to a nation so perfectly capable of all advantages.

It is in order to this, that I have presumed to offer these few proposals for the meliorating and refining the Aer of London; being ex-

* Sylva and Terra.

tremely amaz'd, that where there is so great an affluence of all things which may render the people of this vast city the most happy upon earth, the sordid and accursed avarice of some few particular persons, should be suffered to prejudice the health and felicity of so many: that any profit (besides what is of absolute necessity) should render men regardlesse of what chiefly imports them, when it may be purchased upon so easie conditions, and with so great advantages: for it is not happiness to possesse gold, but to enjoy the effects of it, and to know how to live cheerfully and in health, *non est vivere, sed valere vita.* That men whose very being is Aer, should not breath it freely when they may; but (as that tyrant us'd his vassals) condemn themselves to this misery *& fumo præfocari,* is strange stupidity: yet thus we see them walk and converse in London, pursu'd and haunted by that infernal smoake, and the funest accidents which accompany it whersoever they retire.

That this glorious and antient city, which from wood might be rendred brick, and (like another Rome) from brick made stone and marble; which commands the proud ocean to the Indies, and reaches to the farthest Antipodes, should wrap her stately head in clowds of smoake and sulphur, so full of stink and darknesse, I deplore with just indignation. That the buildings should be compos'd of such a congestion of mishapen and extravagant houses; that the streets should be so narrow and incommodious in the very center and busiest places of intercourse; that there should be so ill and uneasie a form of paving under foot, so troublesome and malicious a disposure of the spouts and gutters overhead, are particulars worthy of reproof and reformation; because it is hereby rendred a labyrinth in its principal passages, and a continual wet-day after the storm is over. Add to this the deformity of so frequent wharfes and magazines of wood, coale, boards, and other course materials, most of them imploying the places of the noblest aspect for the situation of palaces towards the goodly river, when they might with far lesse disgrace be removed to the Bank-side, and afterwards disposed with as much facility where the consumption of these commodities lyes; a Key in the mean time so contrived on London-side, as might render it lesse sensible of the reciprocation of the waters, for use

and health infinitely superiour to what it now enjoys. These are the desiderata which this great city labours under, and which we so much deplore. But I see the dawning of a brighter day approach; we have a prince who is resolv'd to be a father to his country; and a Parliament whose decrees and resentiments take their impression from his Majesties great genius, which studies only the publick good. It is from them, therefore, that we augure our future happinesse; since there is nothing which will so much perpetuate their memories, or more justly merit it. Medails and inscriptions have heretofore preserv'd the fame of lesse publick benefits, and for the repairing of a dilapidated bridge, a decaid aquæduct, the paving of a way, or draining a foggy marsh, their elogies and reverses have out-lasted the marbles, and been transmitted to future ages, after so many thousand revolutions: but this is the least of that which we decree to our august Charles, and which is due to his illustrious senators; because they will live in our hearts, and in our records, which are more permanent and lasting.

1 *May*, 1661. FAREWELL.

PREFACE TO THE EDITION OF THIS TRACT,

REPRINTED FOR B. WHITE, IN FLEET STREET, 1772.

THE established reputation of Mr. Evelyn's writings would have prevented the Editor of this very scarce Tract from adding any thing himself, had not time made some alterations that appear worthy of notice.

Our Author expresses himself with proper warmth and indignation against the absurd policy of allowing brewers, dyers, soap-boilers, and lime-burners, to intermix their noisome works amongst the dwelling-houses in the city and suburbs: but since his time we have a great increase of glass-houses, founderies, and sugar-bakers, to add to the black catalogue: at the head of which must be placed the fire-engines of the water-works at London Bridge and York Buildings, which (whilst they are working) leave the astonished spectator at a loss to determine whether they do not tend to poison and destroy more of the inhabitants by their smoke and stench than they supply with their water. Our author also complains that the gardens about London would no longer bear fruit, and gives instances of orchards in Barbican and the Strand that were observed to have a good crop the year in which Newcastle was besieged (1644), because but a small quantity of coals were brought to London that year: by this we may observe how much the evil is increased since the time this treatise was written. It would now puzzle the most skilful gardener to keep fruit trees alive in these places: the complaint at this time would be, not that the trees were without fruit, but that they would not bear even leaves.

Although the proposal of turning all the noxious trades at once out of town may be thought impracticable, as being inconsistent with the general liberty of the subject; yet certainly some very beneficial regulations lie within the power of the present public-spirited and active magistrates, to whom, with deference, the editor submits the following hints.

Till more effectual methods can take place, it would be of great service to oblige all those trades, who make use of large fires, to carry their chimnies much higher into the air than they are at present; this expedient would frequently help to convey the smoke away above the buildings, and in a great measure disperse it into distant parts, without its falling on the houses below.

Workmen should be consulted, and encouraged to make experiments, whether a particular construction of the chimnies would not assist in conveying off the smoke, and in sending it higher into the air before it is dispersed.

A method of charring sea-coal, so as to divest it of its smoke, and yet leave it serviceable for many purposes, should be made the object of a very strict enquiry; and premiums should be given to those that were successful in it. Proper indulgences might be made to such sugar, glass, brewhouses, &c. as should be built at the desired distance from town: and the building of more within the city and suburbs prevented by law. This method vigorously persisted in, would in time remove them all.

The discernment and good sense of the present times are loudly called on to abolish the strange custom of laying the dead to rot amongst the living, by burying in churches and church-yards within the town: this practice has not escaped our author's censure: and foreigners have often exposed the absurdity of the proceeding. But it seems to be left particularly to the magistracy and citizens of London, to set an example to the rest of this kingdom and to Europe, by removing a nuisance which ignorance and superstition have entailed on us hitherto; and which, amongst those that are not well acquainted with our religion, brings a disgrace on Christianity itself. It will be a work of little shew or ostentation, but the benefits arising from it will be very extensive and considerable: in both respects it recommends itself in a particular manner to an opulent and free people*.

* Amongst the remains of old Rome, the grandeur of the Commonwealth shews itself chiefly in works that are either necessary or convenient: on the contrary, the magnificence of Rome, under the Emperors, is seen principally in such works as are rather for ostentation or luxury, than any real usefulness or necessity.—ADDISON.

To confirm what our author has urged against the air of London, the reader is desired to take a view of the Bills of Mortality, and the calculations made from them; and he will find that there is a waste of near ten thousand people, who are drawn every year from the country to supply the room of those that London destroys beyond what it raises. Indeed the supply that the town furnishes towards keeping up its own inhabitants appeared so very small to the ablest calculator and most rational enquirer (Corbyn Morris) into this subject, that he owns he was afraid to publish the result.

But, without the use of calculations, it is evident to every one who looks on the yearly Bill of Mortality, that near half the children that are born and bred in London die under two years of age. Some have attributed this amazing destruction to luxury and spirituous liquors:—these, no doubt, are powerful assistants: but the constant and unremitting poison is communicated by the foul air, which, as the town still grows larger, has made regular and steady advances in its fatal influence.

The ancient Greeks and Romans, even in their greatest state of refinement, were reconciled by habit to the custom of exposing and destroying young children, when parents did not choose to support them: the same practice is familiar among the Chinese at this day. We shudder and are shocked at the barbarity of it, but at the same time are accustomed to read with great composure of the deaths of thousands of infants suffocated every year by smoke and stenches, which good policy might in a great measure remove.

Our author, who had been very instrumental in restoring Charles to his throne, was unfortunate in recommending a work of such consequence to so negligent and dissipated a patron. The editor is encouraged by a more promising appearance of success. He has seen with pleasure many improvements of great importance to the elegance and welfare of this city undertaken and completed in a short time, when Magistrates of less public spirit and perseverance than our present, would have pronounced them to have been impracticable.

London, March 16, 1772.

FUMIFUGIUM*:

OR

THE INCONVENIENCY OF THE SMOAK OF LONDON DISSIPATED, &c.

PART I.

It is not without some considerable analogy, that sundry of the philosophers have nam'd the Aer the vehicle of the soul†, as well as that of the earth, and this frail vessell of ours which contains it; since we all of us finde the benefit which we derive from it, not onely for the necessity of common respiration and functions of the organs; but likewise for the use of the spirits and primigene humors, which doe most neerly approach that divine particle. But we shall not need to insist, or refine much on this sublime subject; and, perhaps it might scandalize scrupulous persons to pursue to the height it may possibly reach (as Diogenes and Anaximenes were wont to deifie it) after we are past the Ætherial, which is a certain aer of Plato's denomination‡, as well as that of the lesse pure, more turbulent and dense, which, for the most part we live and breathe in, and which comes here to be examin'd as it relates to the design in hand, the City of London, and the environs about it.

It would doubtlesse be esteem'd for a strange and extravagant paradox, that one should affirme, that the Aer it selfe is many times a potent and great disposer to rebellion; and that insulary people, and indeed, most of the Septentrion Tracts, where this medium is grosse and heavy, are extremely versatile and obnoxious to change both in religious and

* The reader is referred to an excellent analysis of this Tract in the Journal of Science, Literature and the Arts. Vol. xii. 1822, pp. 343.

† Anima, quasi ἄνεμος.

‡ In Timæo.

secular affaires: plant the foote of your compasses on the very pole, and extend the other limb to 50 degrees of latitude: bring it about 'till it describe the circle, and then reade the histories of those nations inclusively and make the calculation. It must be confess'd, that the aer of those climates, is not so pure and defecate as those which are neerer the tropicks, where the continent is lesse ragged, and the weather more constant and steady, as well as the inclination and temper of the inhabitants.

But it is not here that I pretend to speculate upon these causes, or nicely to examine the discourses of the Stoicks and Peripateticks, whether the aer be in it self generally cold, humid, warm, or exactly temper'd so as best conduces to a materiall principle, of which it is accounted one of the four; because they are altogether physicall notions, and do not come under our cognizance as a pure and sincere element; but as it is particularly inquinated, infected, participating of the various accidents, and inform'd by extrinsical causes, which render it noxious to the inhabitants, who derive and make use of it for life. Nevertheless, for distinction sake, we may yet be allow'd to repute some aers pure, comparatively, *viz.* that which is cleare, open, sweetely ventilated, and put into motion with gentle gales and breezes; not too sharp, but of a temperate constitution. In a word, that we pronounce for good and pure aer, which heat not to sweat and faintnesse; nor cooles to rigidnesse and trembling; nor dries to wrinkles and hardnesse; nor moystens to resolution and over much softnesse. The more hot promotes indeede the witt, but is weak and trifling; and therefore Hippocrates* speaks the Asiatique people *imbelles* and effeminate, though of a more artificial and ingenious spirit. If over cold and keen, it too much abates the heat, but renders the body robust and hardy; as those who are born under the northern bears, are more fierce and stupid, caused by a certain internal antiperistasis and universal impulsion†. The drier aer is generally the more salutary and healthy, so it be not too sweltery and infested with heat or fuliginous vapours, which is by no means a

* Lib. de Aere, Aqu. et Locis.

† That is, the heat of their bodies is condensed and exercised by the coldness of the atmosphere that surrounds them.

friend to health and longævity, as Avicen notes of the Æthiops who seldome arived to any considerable old age. As much to be reproved is the moyst, *viz.* that which is over mix'd with aquous exhalations, equally pernicious and susciptible of putrefaction; notwithstanding does it oftner produce faire and tender skins, and some last a long while in it; but commonly not so healthy as in Aer which is more dry. But the impure and uliginous, as that which proceedes from stagnated places, is of all other, the most vile and pestilent.

Now, that through all these diversities of Aer, *mores hominum* do *corporis temperamentum sequi,* is for the greater part so true an observation, that a volume of instances might be produced, if the common notices did not sufficiently confirme it even to a proverb. The Aer on which we continually prey, perpetually inspiring matter to the animall and vitall spirits, by which they become more or lesse obfuscated, clowded, and rendered obnoxious; and therefore that prince of physitians Hippocrates, wittily calls a sincere and pure Aer "the internunce and interpreter of prudence*." The celestiall influences being so much retarded or assisted, and improv'd through this omnipresent, and, as it were, universal medium: for, though the Aer in its simple substance cannot be vitiated; yet, in its prime qualities it suffers these infinite mutations, both from superiour and inferiour causes, so as its accidentall effects become almost innumerable.

Let it be farther consider'd, what is most evident, that the body feedes upon meats commonly but at certain periods and stated times, be it twice a day or oftner; whereas, upon the Aer, or what accompanies it *(est enim in ipso Aere occultus vitæ cibus)*, it is allwaies preying, sleeping or waking; and therefore, doubtlesse the election of this constant and assiduous food, should something concerne us, I affirme, more then even the very meat we eat, whereof so little and indifferent nourishes and satisfies the most temperate and best educated persons. Besides, Aer that is corrupt insinuates it self into the vital parts immediately; whereas the meats which we take, though never so ill condition'd, require time for the concoction, by which its effects are greatly

* De Morbo Sacro.

mitigated; whereas the other, passing so speedily to the lungs, and virtually to the heart it self, is deriv'd and communicated over the whole masse; in a word, as the lucid and noble Aer, clarifies the blood, subtilizes and excites it, cheering the spirits and promoting digestion; so the dark and grosse (on the contrary) perturbs the body, prohibits necessary transpiration for the resolution and dissipation of ill vapours, even to disturbance of the very rational faculties, which the purer Aer does so far illuminate, as to have rendred some men healthy and wise even to a miracle. And therefore the empoysoning of Aer was ever esteem'd no lesse fatall then the poysoning of water or meate it self, and forborn even amongst barbarians; since (as is said) such infections become more apt to insinuate themselves, and betray the very spirits, to which they have so neer a cognation. Some Aers we know are held to be alexipharmac, and even deleterious to poyson it self, as 'tis reported of that of Ireland. In some we finde carcasses will hardly putrifie, in others again rot and fall to pieces immediately.

From these or the like considerations therefore, it might well proceed, that Vitruvius, and the rest who follow that master Builder*, mention it as a principle, for the accomplishment of their Architect, that being skilfull in the art of Physick, amongst other observations, he sedulously examined the Aer and situation of the places where he designs to build, the inclinations of the heavens, and the climats; *Sine his enim rationibus nulla salubris habitatio fieri potest*†: there is no dwelling can be safe or healthy without it. 'Tis true, he does likewise adde Water also, which is but a kinde of condensed Aer; though he might have observ'd that element to be seldome bad, where the other is good; omitting onely some peculiar fountains and mineral waters, which are percolated through mines and metalique earths less frequent, and very rarely to be encounter'd.

Now whether those who were the antient founders of our goodly metropolis, had considered these particulars (though long before Vitruvius) I can no waies doubt or make question of; since, having respect to the nobleness of the situation of London, we shall every way finde it to

* Lib. 1. cap. 1.

† Aeres Locorum.

have been consulted with all imaginable advantages, not onely in relation to profit, but to health and pleasure; and that, if there be any thing which seems to impeach the two last transcendencies, it will be found to be but something extrinsecal and accidental onely, which naturally does not concern the place at all; but which may very easily be reformed, without any the least inconvenience, as in due time we shall come to demonstrate.

For first, the City of London is built upon a sweet and most agreeable eminency of ground, at the North-side of a goodly and well-condition'd river, towards which it hath an aspect by a gentle and easie declivity, apt to be improv'd to all that may render her palaces, buildings, and avenues usefull, gracefull, and most magnificent: the fumes which exhale from the waters and lower grounds lying South-ward, by which means they are perpetually attracted, carried off, or dissipated by the sun, as soon as they are born and ascend.

Adde to this, that the soil is universally gravell, not onely where the City it self is placed: but for severall miles about the countreys which environ it: that it is plentifully and richly irrigated, and visited with waters which christalize her fountains in every street, and may be conducted to them in such farther plenty, as Rome her self might not more abound in this liquid ornament, for the pleasure and divertisement, as well as for the use and refreshment of her inhabitants. I forbear to enlarge upon the rest of the conveniencies which this august and opulent City enjoies both by sea and land, to accumulate her encomiums, and render her the most considerable that the earth has standing upon her ample bosome; because, it belongs to the Orator and the Poet, and is none of my institution: but I will infer, that if this goodly City justly challenges what is her due, and merits all that can be said to reinforce her praises, and give her title; she is to be reliev'd from that which renders her less healthy, really offends her, and which darkens and eclipses all her other attributes. And what is all this, but that hellish and dismall cloud of sea-coal? which is not only perpetually imminent over her head, for as the Poet,

Conditur in tenebris altum caligine Cœlum *,

* Æneid. 11.

but so universally mixed with the otherwise wholsome and excellent Aer, that her inhabitants breathe nothing but an impure and thick mist, accompanied with a fuliginous and filthy vapour, which renders them obnoxious to a thousand inconveniences, corrupting the lungs, and disordering the entire habits of their bodies; so that cathars, phthisicks, coughs and consumptions rage more in this one City than in the whole earth besides.

I shall not here much descant upon the nature of smoaks, and other exhalations from things burnt, which have obtain'd their severall epithetes, according to the quality of the matter consumed, because they are generally accounted noxious and unwholsome, and I would not have it thought, that I doe here *fumos vendere*, as the word is, or blot paper with insignificant remarks: it was yet haply no inept derivation of that critick, who took our English, or rather Saxon appellative, from the Greek word σμύχω, *corrumpo*, and *exuro*, as most agreeable to its destructive effects, especially of what we doe here so much declaim against, since this is certain, that of all the common and familiar materials which emit it, the immoderate use of, and indulgence to Sea-coale alone in the City of London, exposes it to one of the fowlest inconveniencies and reproches, that can possibly befall so noble, and otherwise incomparable City: and that, not from the culinary fires, which for being weak, and lesse often fed below, is with such ease dispell'd and scatterr'd above, as it is hardly at all discernible, but from some few particular tunnells and issues, belonging only to brewers, diers, lime-burners, salt and sope-boylers, and some other private trades, one of whose spiracles alone does manifestly infect the Aer more then all the chimnies of London put together besides. And that this is not the least hyperbolic, let the best of judges decide it, which I take to be our senses: whilst these are belching it forth their sooty jaws, the City of London resembles the face rather of Mount Etna, the court of Vulcan, Stromboli, or the suburbs of Hell, then an assembly of rational creatures, and the imperial seat of our incomparable Monarch. For when in all other places the Aer is most serene and pure, it is here eclipsed with such a cloud of sulphure, as the Sun it self, which gives day to all the world besides, is hardly able to penetrate and impart it here; and the weary Traveller, at many miles distance, sooner smells

then sees the City to which he repairs. This is that pernicious smoake which sullyes all her glory, superinducing a sooty crust or furr upon all that it lights, spoyling the moveables, tarnishing the plate, gildings, and furniture, and corroding the very iron bars and hardest stones with those piercing and acrimonious spirits which accompany its sulphure; and executing more in one year, then expos'd to the pure Aer of the country it could effect in some hundreds.

——— piceaque gravatum
Fœdat nube diem *;

It is this horrid smoake which obscures our churches, and makes our palaces look old, which fouls our clothes, and corrupts the waters, so as the very rain and refreshing dews which fall in the several seasons precipitate this impure vapour, which, with its black and tenacious quality, spots and contaminates whatsoever is expos'd to it.

——— Calidoque involvitur undique fumo †.

It is this which scatters and strews about those black and smutty atomes upon all things where it comes, insinuating it self into our very secret cabinets, and most precious repositories: finally, it is this which diffuses and spreads a yellownesse upon our choycest pictures and hangings: which does this mischief at home; is Avernus ‡ to fowl, and kills our bees and flowers abroad, suffering nothing in our gardens to bud, display themselves, or ripen; so as our anemonies, and many other choycest flowers, will by no industry be made to blow in London, or the precincts of it, unlesse they be raised on a hot-bed, and govern'd with extraordinary artifice to accellerate their springing, imparting a bitter and ungrateful tast to those few wretched fruits which, never arriving to their desired maturity, seem, like the apples of Sodome, to fall even to dust when they are but touched. Not therefore to be forgotten is that which was by many observ'd, that in the year when

* Claud. de rap. Pros, l. 1. † Ovid.

‡ A lake in Italy, which formerly emitted such noxious fumes, that birds which attempted to fly over it fell in and were suffocated; but it has lost this bad quality for many ages, and is at present well stocked with fish and fowl.

New-castle was besieg'd and blocked up in our late wars, so as through the great dearth and scarcity of coales, those fumous works many of them were either left off, or spent but few coales in comparison to what they now use: divers gardens and orchards planted even in the very heart of London, (as in particular my lord Marquesse of Hertfords * in the Strand, my Lord Bridgewaters †, and some others about Barbican,) were observed to bear such plentiful and infinite quantities of fruits, as they never produced the like either before or since, to their great astonishment: but it was by the owners rightly imputed to the penury of coales, and the little smoake which they took notice to infest them that year: for there is a virtue in the Aer, to penetrate, alter, nourish, yea and to multiply plants and fruits, without which no vegetable could possibly thrive; but as the Poet,

Aret ager: vitio moriens sitit aëris herba ‡:

So as it was not ill said by Paracelsus, that of all things Aer only could be truly affirm'd to have life, seeing to all things it gave life. Argument sufficient to demonstrate how prejudicial it is to the bodies of men; for that can never be Aer fit for them to breath in, where nor fruits nor flowers do ripen, or come to a seasonable perfection.

I have strangely wondred, and not without some just indignation, when the south-wind has been gently breathing, to have sometimes beheld that stately house and garden belonging to my lord of North-

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* Sir William Seymour, Knt. second son of Edward Earl of Hertford, who succeeded his father in his titles and honours in 1618. In 1640, in consideration of his eminent services, he was created Marquess of Hertford, and living to see the restoration of King Charles II. was by a special Act restored to the title of Duke of Somerset. His second marriage was with Lady Frances, daughter of Robert Earl of Essex.

After a careful but fruitless research for the house alluded to in the text, it seems probable, from the matrimonial alliance above-mentioned, that this nobleman was residing in Essex-house at the time referred to by Evelyn.

† The Earls of Bridgewater had a house in the Barbican, called after their title. It was burnt down in 1675, and Lord Brackley, eldest son of the then Earl, and a younger brother, with their tutor, perished in the flames. The site is now called Bridgewater-square, or garden.—*Pennant.*

‡ Georg. 7.

umberland*, even as far as White-hall and Westminster, wrapped in a horrid cloud of this smoake, issuing from a brew-house or two contiguous to that noble palace: so as coming up the river, that part of the City has appear'd a sea where no land was within ken; the same frequently happens from a Lime-kelne † on the bank-side neer the Falcon ‡, which when the wind blowes southern, dilates it self all over that poynt of the Thames, and the opposite part of London, especially about St. Paul's, poysoning the Aer with so dark and thick a fog, as I have been hardly able to pass through it, for the extraordinary stench and halitus it sends forth; and the like is neer Fox-hall § at the farther end of Lambeth.

Now to what funest and deadly accidents the assiduous invasion of the smoak exposes the numerous inhabitants, I have already touch'd, whatsoever some have fondly pretended, not considering that the constant use of the same Aer (be it never so impure) may be consistent with life and a valetudinary state; especially, if the place be native to us, and that we have never lived for any long time out of it; custome, in this, as in all things else, obtaining another nature, and all putrefaction proceeding from certain changes, it becomes, as it were, the form and perfection of that which is contain'd in it: for so (to say nothing of such as by assuefaction have made the rankest poysons their

* Northumberland-house still graces the Strand as a memento of the splendour of our ancient nobility, untouched by the devastating hands of mercenary builders, who have driven from the street every vestige of past times.

† I doe assent, that both lime and sulphur are in some affections specifics for the lungs; but then they are to be so prepared, as nothing save the purest parts be received into the body (for so physicians prescribe *flore sulph.* &c.) and not accompanied with such gross and plainly virulent vapours as these fires send forth: nor are they (as accurately prepar'd as art can render them) to be perpetually used, but at certain periods, in formes, and with due regimen.

‡ The Falcon Stairs were standing upon that spot from the Bank-side, Southwark, lately occupied by the South-east corner of the Albion Mills, and near them stood a very spacious building of wood and plaster, called the Falcon Inn, which, from its appearance, was probably erected long previous to the reign of Elizabeth. From its magnitude, and contiguity to the Bank-side Theatre, it was possibly the resort of Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and other constant visitants of the Globe and Bear-garden. It was in the yard of the Falcon Inn that Sir Christopher Wren erected a house of red bricks, for the constant viewing the progress of St. Paul's and the other City Churches, which he was employed to re-build, and which could be seen from any of its windows.

§ Now known by the name of Vauxhall.

most familiar diet) we read that Epimenides continu'd fifty years in a damp cave, the Eremites dwelt in dens, and divers live now in the fens; some are condemn'd to the mines, and others, that are perpetually conversant about the forges, furnaces of iron, and other smoaky works, are little concern'd with these troublesome accidents: but as it is not (I perswade my self) out of choyce that these men affect them; so nor will any man, I think, commend and celebrate their manner of living. A tabid body might possibly trail out a miserable life of seven or eight years by a sea-coale fire, as 'tis reported the wife of a certain famous Physician did of late by the prescription of her husband; but it is to be considered also, how much longer and happier she might have survived in a better and more noble Aer; and that old Par, who lived in health to an hundred and fifty years of age, was not so much concern'd with the change of diet (as some have affirm'd) as with that of the Aer, which plainly wither'd him, and spoyl'd his digestion in a short time after his arrival at London.

There is, I confesse, a certain *idiosyncrasis** in the composition of some persons, which may fit and dispose them to thrive better in some Aers, then in others. But it is manifest that those who repair to London, no sooner enter into it, but they find a universal alteration in their bodies, which are either dryed up or inflam'd, the humours being exasperated and made apt to putrifie, their sensories and perspiration so exceedingly stopp'd, with the losse of appetite, and a kind of general stupefaction, succeeded with such cathars and distillations, as do never, or very rarely, quit them without some further symptomes of dangerous inconveniency so long as they abide in the place; which yet are immediately restored to their former habit, so soon as they are retired to their homes and enjoy the fresh Aer again. And here I may not omit to mention what a most learned Physician† and one of the Colledge assur'd me, as I remember of a friend of his, who had so strange an antipathy to the Aer of London: that though he were a Merchant, and had frequent businesse in the City, was yet constrained to make his

* A peculiar temperament or disposition.

† Dr. Whistler, F.R.S. and Censor of the College of Physicians, an excellent scholar, and acknowledged by Evelyn as "the most facetious man in nature."

dwelling some miles without it; and when he came to the Exchange, within an hour or two grew so extremely indispos'd, that (as if out of his proper element) he was forced to take horse (which us'd therefore constantly to attend him at the entrance), and ride as far for his life, till he came into the fields, and was returning home again, which is an instance so extraordinary, as not, it may be, to be parallel'd in any place of Europe, save the *Grotto del Cane*, nere Naples, the *Os Plutonium* of Silvius, or some such subterranean habitation. For diseases proceed not from so long a series of causes, as we are apt to conceive; but most times from those obvious and despicable mischiefs, which yet we take lesse notice of because they are familiar. But how frequently do we hear men say (speaking of some deceased neighbour or friend) 'he went up to London, and took a great cold, &c. which he could never afterwards claw off again.'

I report my self to all those who (during these sad confusions) have been compelled to breath the Aer of other countries for some years; if they do not now perceive a manifest alteration in their appetite, and clearness of their spirits; especially such as have liv'd long in France, and the city of Paris; where, to take off that unjust reproch, the plague as seldome domineers as in any part of Europe, which I more impute to the serenity and purity of the Aer about it, then to any other qualities which are frequently assign'd for the cause of it by divers writers. But if it be objected that the purest Aers are soonest infected, it is answered, that they are also the soonest freed again; and that none would therefore choose to live in a corrupt Aer, because of this article. London, 'tis confess'd, is not the only city most obnoxious to the pestilence; but it is yet never clear of this smoake which is a plague so many other ways, and indeed intolerable; because it kills not at once, but always, since still to languish is worse than even death it self. For is there under heaven such coughing and snuffing to be heard, as in the London churches and assemblies of people, where the barking and spitting is incessant and most importunate. What shall I say?

Hinc hominum pecudumque Lues*.—

* Lucan.

And what may be the cause of these troublesome effects, but the inspiration of this infernal vapour, accompanying the Aer, which first heats and sollicits the *aspera arteria*, through one of whose conduits, partly cartilaginous, and partly membranous, it enters by several branches into the very *parenchymo*, and substance of the lungs, violating, in this passage, the *larynx* and *epiglottis*, together with those multiform and curious muscles, the immediate and proper instruments of the voyce, which becoming rough and drye, can neither be contracted or dilated for the due modulation of the voyce; so as by some of my friends (studious in Musick, whereof one is a Doctor of Physick) it has been constantly observ'd, that coming out of the country into London, they lost three whole notes in the compasse of their voice, which they never recover'd again till their retreat; *adeo enim animantes** (to use the Orators words) *aspiratione Aeris sustinentur, ipseque Aer nobiscum videt, nobiscum audit, nobiscum sonat.* In summe, we perform nothing without it.

Whether the head and the brain (as some have imagined) take in the ambient Aer, nay the very arteries through the skin universally over the whole body, is greatly controverted; but if so, of what consequence the goodnesse and purity of the Aer is, will to every one appear: sure we are, how much the respiration is perturb'd, and concern'd, when the lungs are prepossessed with these grosse and dense vapours, brought along in the Aer; which on the other side being pure and fitly qualified, and so conducted to them, is there commixed with the circulating blood, insinuating itself into the left ventricle of the heart by the *arteria venosa*, to rarifie and subtilize that precious vehicle of the spirits and vital flame. The *vena arteriosa*, and *arteria venosa*, disposing themselves into many branches through the pulmonique lobes, for its convoy, the Aer (as we sayd) being first brought into them out of the *bronchia* (together with the returning blood) to the very heart it self; so as we are not at all to wonder at the suddain and prodigious effects of a poysonous or lesse wholesome Aer, when it comes to invade such noble parts, vessells, spirits, and humours, as it visits and attaques, through those subtile and curious passages. But this is not all.

What if there appear to be an arsenical vapour, as well as sulphur,

* Cic. de Nat. Deor.

breathing sometimes from this intemperate use of sea-cole, in great cities? That there is, what does plainly stupifie, is evident to those who sit long by it; and that which fortun'd to the Dutchmen who winter'd in Nova Zembla, was by all Physicians attributed to such a deleterious quality in the like fuell, as well as to the inspissation of the Aer, which they thought only to have attemper'd, as is by most esteem'd to be the reason of the same dangerous halitus of char-cole, not fully enkendl'd. But to come neerer yet.

New Castle cole, as an expert Physician* affirms, causeth consumptions, phthisicks, and the indisposition of the lungs, not only by the suffocating abundance of smoake, but also by its virulency: for all subterrany fuel hath a kind of virulent or arsenical vapour rising from it; which, as it speedily destroys those who dig it in the mines, so does it by little and little, those who use it here above them. Therefore those diseases (saith this Doctor) most afflict about London, where the very iron is sooner consum'd by the smoake thereof, then where this fire is not used.

And, if indeed there be such a venemous quality latent, and sometimes breathing from this fuell, we are lesse to trouble ourselves for the finding out of the cause of those pestilential and epidemical sicknesses (*epidemiorum causa enim in Aere*, says Galen) which at divers periods have so terribly infested and wasted us: or, that it should be so susceptible of infection, all manner of diseases having so universal a vehicle as is that of the smoake, which perpetually invests this city: but this is also noted by the learned Sir Kenelme Digby, † in confirmation of the doctrine of atomical effluvias and emanations, wafted, mixed and communicated by the Aer, where he well observes, that from the materials of our London fires, there results a great quantity of volatile salts, which being very sharp and dissipated by the smoakes, doth infect the Aer, and so incorporated with it, that, though the very bodies of those corrosive particles escape our perception, yet we soon find their effects, by the destruction which they induce upon all things that they do but touch; spoyling and destroying their beautiful colours, with their fuli-

* Arnold Boetius a Boot, a Physician well versed in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac languages, who died in 1653. † In his Discourse of sympathetick powder.

ginous qualities: yea, though a chamber be never so closely locked up, men find at their return, all things that are in it even covered with a black thin soot, and all the rest of the furniture as full of it, as if it were in the house of some miller, or a bakers shop, where the flower gets into the cupboards and boxes, though never so close and accurately shut.

This coale, says Sir K. flies abroad, fowling the clothes that are expos'd drying upon the hedges; and in the spring-time (as but now we mentioned) besoots all the leaves, so as there is nothing free from its universal contamination, and it is for this that the bleachers about Harlaem prohibit by an express law (as I am told) the use of these coles, for some miles about that town; and how curious the diers and weavers of dammask, and other precious silks are at Florence, of the least ingresse of any smoaky vapour, whilst their loomes are at work, I shall shew upon some other occasion: but in the mean time being thus incorporated with the very Aer which ministers to the necessary respiration of our lungs, the inhabitants of London, and such as frequent it, find it in all their expectorations; the spittle, and other excrements which proceed from them, being for the most part of a blackish and fuliginous colour: besides, this acrimonious soot produces another sad effect, by rendring the people obnoxious to inflammations, and comes (in time) to exulcerate the lungs, which is a mischief so incurable, that it carries away multitudes by languishing and deep consumptions, as the Bills of Mortality do weekly inform us. And these are those *endemii morbi*, vernaculous and proper to London. So corrosive is this smoake about the city, that if one would hang up gammons of bacon, beefe, or other flesh to fume, and prepare it in the chimnies, as the good house-wifes do in the country, where they make use of sweeter fuell, it will so mummifie, drye up, waste and burn it, that it suddainly crumbles away, consumes and comes to nothing.

The consequences then of all this is, that (as was said) almost one half of them who perish in London, dye of phthisical and pulmonic distempers; that the inhabitants are never free from coughs and importunate rheumatisms, spitting of impostumated and corrupt matter: for remedy whereof, there is none so infallible, as that, in time, the patient

change his Aer, and remove into the country: such as repair to Paris (where it is excellent) and other like places, perfectly recovering of their health; which is a demonstration sufficient to confirm what we have asserted concerning the perniciousnesse of that about this City, produced only from this exitial and intolerable accident.

But I hear it now objected by some, that in publishing this invective against the smoake of London, I hazard the engaging of a whole faculty against me, and particularly, that the Colledge of Physicians esteem it rather a preservation against infections, then otherwise any cause of the sad effects which I have enumerated. But as I have, upon several encounters, found the most able and learned amongst them, to renounce this opinion, and heartily wish for a universal purgation of the Aer by the expedients I propose; so I cannot believe that any of that learned society should think themselves so far concern'd, as to be offended with me for that, which (as well for their sakes, as the rest who derive benefit from it) I wish were at farther distance; since it is certain, that so many of their patients are driven away from the City, upon the least indisposition which attaques them, on this sole consideration; as esteeming it lesse dangerous to put themselves into the hands of some country doctor or empiric, then to abide the Aer of London, with all its other advantages. For the rest, that pretend to that honourable profession; if any shall find themselves agreev'd, and think good to contend, I shall easily allow him as much smoake as he desires, and much good may it do him. But it is to be suspected, and the answer is made (by as many as have ever suggested the objection to me), that there be some whom I must expect to plead for that which makes so much work for the chimney-sweeper: since I am secure of the learned and ingenuous, and whose fortunes are not built on smoake, or raised by a universal calamity: such as I esteem to be the nuisances I have here reproved: I do not hence infer, that I shall be any way impatient of a just and civil reply, which I shall rather esteem for an honour done me, because I know that a witty and a learned man is able to discourse upon any subject whatsoever; some of them having with praise, written even of the praise of Diseases themselves; for so Favorinus of old, and Menapius since, commended a quartan ague; Pirckhemierus the gout; Gutherius

celebrated blindnesse, Hiensius the louse; and to come nearer our theam, Majoragius the nasty dirt: not, I suppose, that they affected these pleasant things, but, as A. Gellius * has it, *exercendi gratia*, and to shew their wits: for as the Poet,

Sunt etiam musis sua ludicra, mista camœnis
Otia sunt:——

But to proceed, I do farther affirm, that it is not the dust and ordure which is daily cast out of their houses, much lesse what is brought in by the feet of men and horses; or the want of more frequent and better conveyances, which renders the streets of London dirty even to a proverb: but chiefly this continual smoake, which ascending in the day-time, is, by the descending dew and cold, precipitated again at night: and this is manifest, if a peice of clean linnen be spread all night in any court or garden, the least infested as to appearance; but especially if it happen to rain, which carries it down in greater portion, not only upon the earth, but upon the water also, where it leaves a thin web, or pellicule of dust, dancing upon the surface of it; as those who go to bathe in the Thames (though at some miles distance from the City) do easily discern and bring home upon their bodies: How it sticks on the hands, faces, and linnen of our fair ladies, and nicer dames, who reside constantly in London (especially during winter), the prodigious wast of almond-powder for the one, soap and wearing out of the other, do sufficiently manifest.

Let it be considered what a fuliginous crust is yearly contracted, and adheres to the sides of our ordinary chymnies where this grosse fuell is used; and then imagine, if there were a solid tentorium, or canopy over London, what a masse of soote would then stick to it, which now (as was said) comes down every night in the streets, on our houses, the waters, and is taken into our bodies.

And may this much suffice concerning the causes and effects of this evill, and to discover to all the world how pernicious this smoake is to our inhabitants of London, to decrie it, and to introduce some happy expedient, whereby they may for the future hope to be freed from so intolerable an inconvenience, if what I shall be able to produce and offer next may in some measure contribute to it.

* De materiis infamibus quas Græci ἀδόξους appellant. Noct. Att. L. 17. c. 12.

PART II.

We know (as the proverb commonly speaks) that, 'as there is no smoake without fire; so neither is there hardly any fire without smoake,' and that the ἄκαπνα ξύλα, materials which burn clear are very few, and but comparatively so tearmed. That to talk of serving this vast City (though Paris as great, be so supplied) with wood *, were madnesse; and yet doubtlesse it were possible, that much larger proportions of wood might be brought to London, and sold at easier rates, if that were diligently observed, which both our Laws enjoyn, as faisible and practised in other places more remote, by planting and preserving of woods and copses, and by what might by sea be brought out of the Northern countries, where it so greatly abounds, and seems inexhaustible. But the remedy which I would propose, has nothing in it of this difficulty, requiring only the removal of such trades, as are manifest nuisances to the City, which I would have placed at farther distances; especially, such as in their works and fournaces use great quantities of sea-cole, the sole and only cause of those prodigious clouds of smoake which so universally and so fatally infest the Aer, and would in no city of Europe be permitted, where men had either respect to health or ornament. Such we named to be brewers, diers, sope and salt-boylers, lime-burners, and the like: these I affirm, together with some few others of the same classe removed at competent distance, would produce so considerable (though but partial) a cure, as men would even be found to breath a new life as it were, as well as London appear a new city, delivered from that which alone renders it one of the most pernicious and insupportable abodes in the world, as subjecting her inhabitants to so infamous an Aer, otherwise sweet and very healthful: for, (as we said) the culinary fires (and which charking would greatly reform) contribute little or nothing in comparison to these foul mouth'd issues, and curles of smoake, which (as the Poet has it) do *cœlum subtexere fumo* †, and

* This project of supplying London with wood fires, was certainly very humane; but, from the destruction of the woods, even in Evelyn's days, was as little practicable as it would be at present.

† Virgil.

draw a sable curtain over heaven. Let any man observe it upon a Sunday, or such time as these spiracles cease, that the fires are generally extinguished, and he shall sensibly conclude, by the clearnesse of the skie, and universal serenity of the aer about it, that all the chimnies in London do not darken and poyson it so much as one or two of those tunnels of smoake; and, that, because the most imperceptible transpirations which they send forth are ventilated and dispersed with the least breath which is stirring, whereas the columns and clowds of smoake which are belched forth from the sooty throates of those works, are so thick and plentiful, that rushing out with great impetuosity, they are capable even to resist the fiercest winds, and being extremely surcharg'd with a fuliginous body, fall down upon the City, before they can be dissipated, as the more thin and weak is; so as two or three of these *fumid vortices* *, are able to whirle it about the whole City, rendering it in a few moments like the picture of Troy sacked by the Greeks, or the approches of Mount-Hecla.

I propose therefore, that by an Act of this present Parliament, this infernal nuisance be reformed; enjoyning, that all those works be removed five or six miles distant from London below the river of Thames; I say, five or six miles, or at the least so far as to stand behind that promontory jetting out, and securing Greenwich † from the pestilent Aer of Plumstead-marshes: because, being placed at any lesser interval beneath the City, it would not only prodigiously infect that his Majesties royal seat (and as Barclay calls it) *pervetusta Regum Britannicorum domus;* but during our nine months Etesians (for so we may justly name our tedious Western-winds) utterly darken and confound one of the most princely, and magnificent ‡ prospects that the world has to shew: whereas, being seated behind that mountain, and which seems to have been thus industriously elevated; no winds, or other accident whatever can force it through that solid obstacle; and I am perswaded that the heat of these works, mixing with the too cold and uliginous

* Pliny. † Or Woolledge.

‡ Memorabilis amoenitas pene citius animum quam oculos diffudit, aspectu non Britannia tantum, sed fortasse tota Europa pulcherrimo, &c. Sed pulcherrimum spectaculum præbet ipsa urbs inter eximias Europæ celebrata, &c. Jo. Barcl. Euphor. Sat. part. 4. c. 2.

vapours which perpetually ascend from these fenny grounds, might be a means of rendring that Aer far more healthy then now it is; because it seems to stand in need of some powerful drier; but which London, by reason of its excellent scituation, does not all require. And if it shall be objected that the brakishnesse of the spring-tides, happening hereabout at some periods, may render the waters lesse useful for some purposes: it is an extraordinary accident, which, appearing rarely, is cured again at the reversion of the next tide: or if it only concern the brewer, I know no inconveniency, if even some of them were prescrib'd, as far as any fresh-waters are found dissemboguing into the Thames; since the commodiousnesse of the passage may bring up their wares with so great ease. He that considers what quantities are transported from Dantzick, Lubeck, Hamborough, and other remote places into Holland, cannot think this an unreasonable proposition: but if their fondnesse to be nearer London, procure indulgence for some of them, the towne of Bowe, in regard of its scituation from our continual winds, may serve for the expedient, and a partial cure: but the rest of those banish'd to the utmost extreme propounded on the river.

At least by this means thousands of able watermen may be employed in bringing commodities into the City, to certain magazines & wharfs, commodiously situated to dispense them by carrs or rather sleds, into the several parts of the town; all which may be effected with much facility, and small expense; but, with such conveniency and benefit to the inhabitants otherwise, as were altogether inestimable; and therefore, to be vallu'd beyond all other trifling objections of sordid and avaricious persons whatsoever. Nor, indeed, could there at all the lest detriment ensue upon this reformation, since, the places and houses deserted (which commonly take up a great space of ground) might be converted into tenements, and some of them into noble houses for use and pleasure, respecting the Thames to their no small advantage. Add to this, that it would be a means to prevent the danger of fireing, those sad calamities, for the most part, proceeding from some accident or other, which takes beginning from places where such great and exorbitant fires are perpetually kept going.

Nor were this a thing yet so extravagant, and without all president of former times; since even the smoake and burning of lesse fœtid and noxious fuell produc'd an inconvenience so universal in some countries of this nation: not to mention the complaint which I have heard some parts even of France it self lying South-west of England, did formerly make of being infested with smoakes driven from our maritime coasts, which injur'd their vines in flower *, that it was thought expedient an Act of Parliament should be made purposely to reform it, in the seventh year of the reign of his Majesties grandfather that now is, which, to take off all prejudice, I shall here recite, as it remains upon record.

Anno vii Jacobi Regis.

An Act against burning of Ling, and Heath, and other Moor-burning in the Counties of Yorke, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, Darbie, Nottingham, and Leicester, at unseasonable times of the year.

Whereas, many inconveniencies are observed to happen in divers counties of this realm, by moore-burnings, and by raising of fires in moorish grounds and mountaneous countries, for burning of ling, heath, hather, furres, gorsse, turffe, fearn, whinnes, broom, and the like, in the spring time, and summer-times: For as much as thereby happeneth

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* An elegant French writer, since our author's time, describes the effects of our sea-coal thus:

Aspicis effosso terris carbone Britanni
Quam malè dissolvunt frigus, quam ducitur ægrè
Spiritus; infesto nisi tabescentibus igne
Monspeliensis opem tulerit pulmonibus aër.
* * * * *
Ægra salutifero potiatur ut aëre tecum
Gallia, quæ foculos uno carbone Britannûm
Mox struet ad ritum, ligno caritura; gravesque
Hauriet et fumos, et anheli semina morbi;
Ni caveant quibus est nemorum mandata potestas.

JAC. VANIERII PRÆD. RUST. 12mo. *Par.* 1765, p. 23.

yearly a great destruction of the brood of wild-fowle and moor-game, and by the multitude of grosse vapours, and clouds arising from those great fires, the Aer is so distemper'd, and such unseasonable and unnatural storms are ingendred, as that the corn, and the fruites of the earth are thereby in divers places blasted, and greatly hindered in their due course of ripening and reaping. As also, for that sometimes it hath happened, that by the violence of those fires driven with the wind, great fields of corn growing, have been consumed, and meadows spoyl'd, to the great hurt and dammage of his Majesties subjects; which moor-burnings, neverthelesse, may be used, and practised at some other convenient times, without such eminent danger or prejudice.

Be it therefore enacted by our Soveraign Lord the Kings most excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; that from and after the last day of July next ensuing the end of this present Session of Parliament, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever, in the months of April, May, June, July, August, and September, nor in any of them, to raise, kindle, or begin, or to cause or practise to be raised, kindled, or begun, any fires or moor-burnings in the said counties of York, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, Darby, Nottingham, and Leicester, or in any of them, for burning of ling, heath, hather, furs, gorsse, turffes, fearne, whinnes, broome or the like; neither to assist, further, nourish or continue the same; and that all and every person or persons which, from and after the said last day of July, shall offend contrary to the true intent and meaning of this statute, the same offence being proved by confession of the party, or by the testimonies of two sufficient witnesses upon oath, before one or more Justices of the Peace of the same county, city, or town corporate, where the offence shall be committed; or the person or persons offending, apprehended, shall be by the said Justice or Justices of the Peace for every such offence, committed to the common goale of the county, city, or town corporate, where the offence shall be committed, or the person or persons apprehended, there to remain for the space of one month without bail or main-prise.

And further, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all, and every person or persons, which shall be so convicted and imprisoned as aforesaid shall not be enlarged from their said imprisonment; but shall there remain after the said month is expired, without bail or mainprise, untill such time as every such offender respectively shall pay, or cause to be paid to the churchwardens, or unto the overseers of the poor of the parish or place where the same offence shall be committed, or the offender or offenders apprehended, or unto some of them, to the use of the poor of the said parish or place where the same offence shall be committed, the summe of twenty shillings for every such offence committed or done contrary to this Act. This Act to continue until the end of the first Session of the next Parliament.

So far the Act. And here you see was care taken for the fowl and the game, as well as for the fruits, corn, and grasse, which were universally incommoded by these unwholsome vapours, that distempered the Aer,* to the very raising of storms and tempests; upon which a Philosopher might amply discourse. And if such care was taken for the country, where the more aereall parts predominate, and are in comparison free; how much greater ought there to be for the city, where are such multitudes of inhabitants concern'd? and surely it was so of old, when (to obviate all that can be replied against it) even for the very service of God, the sacrifices were to be burnt without the camp; amongst the Jews; as (of old) amongst the Romans, *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.* That men should burn or bury the dead within the city walls, was expresly prohibited by a law of the XII tables; and truely, I am perswaded, that the frequency of churchyards and charnel-houses contaminate the Aer in many parts of this town, as well as the pumps and waters which are any thing near unto them, so that those pipes and conveyances which passe through them (obnoxious tomany dangerous accidents) ought either to be directed some other way, or very carefully to be looked after.

We might add to these, chandlers and butchers, because of those horrid stinks, niderous and unwholsome smells which proceed from the

* See Hipp. de Flatibus, & Gal. l. Cib. boni & mali succi, instancing in corn and water, poyson'd by ill Aer.

tallow and corrupted blood: at least should no cattel be kill'd within the city (to this day observ'd in the Spanish great towns of America*) since the flesh and candles might so easily be brought to the shambles and shops from other places lesse remote then the former; by which means also might be avoided the driving of cattel through the streets, which is a very great inconvenience and some danger. The same might be affirm'd of fishmongers, so wittily perstringed by Erasmus†, *per salsamentarios nempe, inquinari Civitatem, infici terram, flumina, aerem & ignem, & si quod aliud est elementum.* Then for the butcher; that the *lex carnaria* of the Romans forbad them to kill, or have their slaughter-houses within the walls; that they had a certain station assign'd them without; *ne si passim vivant, totam urbem reddant pestilentem.* So, as were the people to choose, *malunt* (says he) *habere vicinos decem lenones, quam unum lanionem;* they would rather dwell neer ten bawds, then one butcher. But this is *insulsus salsamentarius*, a quibble of the fishmongers. I could yet wish that our nasty prisons and common goales might bear them company; since I affirm they might all be remov'd to some distant places neer the river, the situation whereof does so invite, and rarely contribute to the effecting of it. But if the avarice of the men of this age, be so far deplorable, that we may not hope for so absolute a cure of all that is offensive; at least let such whose works are upon the margent of the Thames, and which are indeed the most intollerable, be banished further off, and not once dare to approach that silver channel (but at the distance prescrib'd) which glides by her stately palaces, and irrigates her welcome banks.

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* This is also the custom in Paris, as will be seen in the following extract from Planta's New Picture of Paris, 1822:—"The slaughter-houses, which are considered the nuisance and disgrace of the English metropolis, are placed in the outskirts of Paris, and under the inspection of the police. The slaughter-house of Montmartre, at the end of Rue Rochechouart, rivals many of the public buildings in its external appearance. It is no less than 1,074 feet in length, and 384 in depth, and is watered by sluices from the Ourcq. On entering it, the stranger perceives no disagreeable smell; he witnesses no disgusting sight; and often he would not suspect the purpose to which the building is devoted. The slaughter-house of Pepincourt, or Menilmontant, Rue des Amandiers, almost rivals that at Montmartre. The other slaughter-houses are, Abattoir de Grenelle, near the Barrière de Sèvres; du Roule or de Mouceaux, faubourg du Roule; and de Ville Juif, or d'Ivry, boulevard de l'Hôpital."

† Ἰχθυοφαγία.

What a new spirit would these easie remedies create among the inhabitants of London? what another genius infuse in the face of things? and, there is none but observes, and feels in himself the change which a serene and clear day produces; how heavy and lesse dispos'd to motion. Yea, even to good humour and friendly inclinations, we many times find ourselves when the Heavens are clowded, and discomposed? when the south winds blow, and the humours are fluid, for what we are when the skie is fair, and the aer in good temper? And there is reason, that we, who are compos'd of the elements, should participate of their qualities: for as the humours have their sourse from the elements; so have our passions from the humors, and the soul which is united to this body of ours, cannot but be affected with its inclinations. The very dumb creatures themselves being sensible of the alteration of the Aer, though not by ratiocination, yet by many notorious symptomes.

But I forbear to philosophise farther upon this subject, capable of very large and noble reflections; having with my promis'd brevity, endeavoured to shew the inconveniencies and the remedies of what does so universally offend, and obscure the glory of this our renowned metropolis; and which, I hope, may produce some effects towards the reforming of so publick a nuisance. At least, let the continual sejourn of our illustrious Charles, who is the very breath of our nostrils, in whose health all our happinesse consists, be precious in our eyes, and make our noble patriots, now assembled in Parliament, consult for the speedy removal of this universal grievance.

It is certainly of far greater concernment (however light and aery it may appear to some) then the drayning of a fen, or beautifying an aqueduct, for which some have received such publick honours, statues, and inscriptions; and will (if ever any thing did) deserve the like acknowledgments both of the present and future ages. You, therefore, that have houses in the city, you that bring up your wives and families from their sweet habitations in the country; that educate your children here; that have offices at court; that study the laws: in fine, all that are ὁμόκαπνοι, *& ad eundem fumum degentes*, bear a part in this request of mine, which concerns the universal benefit; and the

rather, for that having neither habitation, office, nor being in the city, I cannot be suspected to oblige any particular. The elegant ladies and nicer dames; all that are in health, and would continue so; that are infirm or convalescent, and would be perfect; that affect the glory of our court and city, health or beauty, are concerned in this petition; and it will become our wise Senators, and we earnestly expect it, that they would consult as well the state of the natural, as the politick body of this great nation, so considerable a part whereof are inhabitants of this august city; since, without their mutual harmony and well-being there can nothing prosper, or arrive to its desired perfection.

PART III.

AN OFFER AT THE IMPROVEMENT AND MELIORATION OF THE AER OF LONDON, BY WAY OF PLANTATIONS, &c.

THERE goes a pleasant tale of a certain Sr Politick, that in the last great plague projected, how by a vessel fraight with peel'd onions, which should passe along the Thames by the city, when the wind sate in a favourable quarter, to attract the pollution of the aer, and sail away with the infection to the sea: transportation of diseases we sometimes read of amongst the magneticall, or rather magical cures; but never before of this way of transfretation: but, however this excellent conceit has often afforded good mirth on the stage, and I now mention to prevent the application to what I here propound; there is yet another expedient, which I have here to offer (were this of the poisonous and filthy smoak remov'd) by which the city and environs about it might be rendered one of the most pleasant and agreeable places in the world. In order to this I propose *,

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* If the reader should find himself disposed to smile when he sees the author gravely proposing to counteract the offensive smells of London by rows of trees, and borders of fragrant shrubs, and aromatic herbs; he should remember that this scheme, visionary as it may appear, was the foible of a writer whose enthusiasm for planting has proved of singular service to this kingdom; productive of noble plantations, ornamental to the country, and useful to the community.

That all low grounds circumjacent to the city, especially east and south-west, be cast and contriv'd into square plots, or fields of twenty, thirty, and forty akers, or more, separated from each other by fences of double palisads, or contr'spaliars, which should enclose a plantation of an hundred and fifty, or more, feet deep, about each field; not much unlike to what His Majesty has already begun by the wall from old Spring Garden to St. James's in that park; and is somewhat resembled in the new Spring Garden at Lambeth *. That these palisads be elegantly planted, diligently kept and supply'd, with such shrubs as yield the most fragrant and odoriferous flowers, and are aptest to tinge the Aer upon every gentle emission at a great distance: such as are (for instance amongst many others) the sweet-brier, all the periclymena's and woodbinds; the common white and yellow jessamine, both the syringa's or pipe trees; the guelder rose, the musk, and all other roses; genista hispanica: to these may be added the rubus odoratus, bayes, juniper, lignum-vitæ, lavender: but above all, rosemary, the flowers whereof are credibly reported to give their scent above thirty leagues off at sea, upon the coasts of Spain: and at some distance towards the meadow side, vines; yea, hops.

——— Et arbuta passim,
Et glaucas salices, casiamque crocumque rubentem,
Et pinguem tiliam, & ferrugineos hyacinthos, &c †.

For there is a sweet smelling sally ‡, and the blossoms of the tilia

* M. Monconys, in his "*Voyage d'Angleterre,*" made in May 1663, has the following interesting passage concerning these Gardens which he visited. After having seen Westminster Abbey, he continues—"Au sortir, nous fûmes dans un Bot de l'autre côté de la Tamise voir deux Jardins, où tout le monde se peut aller promener, & faire collation dans des cabaret qui y font: ou dans les cabinets du jardin. On les nomme *Springer Gaerden*, c'est a dire, Jardins du Printemps, dont celui qu'on nomme le *Nouveau* est plus beau de beaucoup que l'autre. J'y admirai la beauté des allées de gazons, et la politesse de celles qui sont sablées. Il est divisé en une grande quantité de quarrez de 20 ou 30 pas en quarré, clos par des hayes de groselliers, et tous ces quarrés sont plantés aussi de framboisiers, de rosiers et d'autres arbrisseaux, comme aussi d'herbages, et de legumes, comme pois, feves, asperges, fraises, &c. Toutes les allées sont bordées ou de jonquilles, ou de geroflées, ou de lis." P. 29. *Par.* 1695. 12mo.

† Virgil.

‡ Sallow or willow.

or lime-tree*, are incomparably fragrant; in brief, whatsoever is odoriferous and refreshing.

That the spaces or area between these palisads and fences, be employ'd in beds and bordures of pinks, carnations, clove, stock-gilly-flower, primroses, auriculas, violets, not forgetting the white, which are in flower twice a year, April and August: cowslips, lillies, narcissus, strawberries, whose very leaves as well as fruit emit a cardiaque, and most refreshing halitus: also parietaria lutea, musk, lemmon, and mastick, thyme, spike, cammomile, balm, mint, marjoram, pempernel, and serpillum, &c. which, upon the least pressure and cutting, breathe out and betray their ravishing odors.

That the fields, and crofts within these closures, or invironing gardens, be some of them planted with wild thyme, and others reserved for plots of beans, pease (not cabbages, whose rotten and perishing stalks have a very noisom and unhealthy smell, and therefore by Hyppocrates utterly condemned near great cities) but such blossom-bearing brain as send forth their virtue at farthest distance, and are all of them marketable at London; by which means, the aer and winds perpetually fann'd from so many circling and encompassing hedges, fragrant shrubs, trees and flowers, (the amputation and prunings of whose superfluities may in winter, on some occasions of weather and winds, be burnt, to visit the city with a more benign smoak,) not onely all that did approach the region which is properly design'd to be flowery; but even the whole City would be sensible of the sweet and ravishing varieties of the perfumes, as well as of the most delightful and pleasant objects and places of recreation for the inhabitants; yielding also a prospect of a noble and masculine majesty, by reason of the frequent plantations of trees, and nurseries for ornament, profit, and security. The remainder of the fields included yielding the same, and better shelter, and pasture for sheep and cattel then now; that they lie bleak, expos'd and abandon'd to the winds, which perpetually invade them.

That, to this end, the gardiners (which now cultivate the upper, more drie, and ungrateful soil,) be encouraged to begin plantations in such

* It has been conjectured that probably the lime-trees in St. James's Park were planted in consequence of this suggestion.

places onely: and the farther exorbitant encrease of tenements, poor and nasty cottages near the City, be prohibited, which disgrace and take off from the sweetness and amœnity of the environs of London, and are already become a great eye-sore in the grounds opposite to his Majesty's Palace of White-hall; which being converted to this use, might yield a diversion inferior to none that could be imagin'd for health, profit, and beauty, which are the three transcendencies that render a place without all exception. And this is what (in short) I had to offer, for the improvement and melioration of the Aer about London, and with which I shall conclude this discourse.

SCULPTURA:

OR

THE HISTORY AND ART OF CHALCOGRAPHY

AND

ENGRAVING IN COPPER.

WITH AN AMPLE ENUMERATION OF THE MOST RENOWNED MASTERS, AND THEIR WORKS.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

A NEW MANNER OF ENGRAVING, OR MEZZO TINTO,

COMMUNICATED BY HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE RUPERT TO THE AUTHOR OF THIS TREATISE.

Implevi eum Spiritu Dei, Sapientia, et Intelligentia, et Scientia in omni Opere, &c.
XXXI. EXOD. XXXV.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. C. FOR G. BEEDLE AND T. COLLINS, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE GATE, AND J. CROOK, IN ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD. 1662.

TO THE

HONOURABLE AND LEARNED GENTLEMAN,

ROBERT BOYLE*, Esq.

Sir,

Having, upon your reiterated instances (which are ever commands with me) prepared this treatise concerning the history of Chalcography, &c. I thought my self engag'd to signifie to the rest that may possibly receive satisfaction or benefit from it, to whom they are obliged for the publication of it. The truth is, as it respects the pains which I have taken, it bears not the least proportion with my ambition of serving you; but as you are pleased to judge it useful for the encouragement of the gentlemen of our nation, who sometimes please themselves with these innocent diversions (collections worthy of them for divers respects) and, especially, that such as are addicted to the more noble Mathematical Sciences, may draw and engrave their schemes with delight and assurance, I have been induc'd to think it more worthy your patronage, and of my small adventure, who professe to have nothing so much in my desires, and which I more avow the pursuite of, then to employ the whole remainder of the life which God shall assigne me, and that I can redeem from its impertinencies, in contributing to that great and august designe, which your illustrious and happy genius do's prompt you to, of cultivating the sciences, and advancing of useful knowledge, emancipated from the strong contentions and little fruit of the former; envy, and imposture of the latter ages.

Sir, this is not in the least to flatter you, nor can I have other aime in it, then that by your great example, I might excite such as (like you) have parts and faculties, to things that are glorious, and worthy of them. Your studies are so mature and universal, your travels so

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* "Jan. 16, 1661. I went to the *Philosophic Club*, where was examined the Torricellian experiment. I presented my Circle of Mechanical Trades, and had recommended to me ye publishing what I had written of *Calcography*."—*Diary*, vol. I. p. 316.

"10th June, 1662. I presented my *History of Calcographie* (dedicated to Mr. Boyle) to our Society."—*Diary*, vol. I. p. 336.

highly improv'd, and your experience so well establish'd, that, after I have celebrated the conversation which results from all these perfections, it is from you alone that I might describe the character of an accomplish'd genius, great and worthy our emulation. But though your modesty do's not permit me to run through all those transcendencies; yet the world is sufficiently instructed by what you cannot conceal, that I say nothing of servile, and which will not abide the test; so as I have been often heard to exult in the felicity of this conjuncture of ours, which (since those prodigies of virtue, the illustrious Ticho, Bacon, Gilbert, Harvey, Digby, Galileo, Peireske, Des Cartes, Gassendi, Bernier, his disciple now in Persia, and the late incomparable Jacomo Maria Favi, &c.) has produc'd us nothing which will support the comparison with you, when I shall pronounce you (and as indeed your merits do challenge it) the Phœnix of this latter age.

And now that I mention'd Signor Favi, I will not conceal with what extasie and joy I lately found his memory (which I have so much and so often heard mention'd abroad, by such as had the happiness to know him intimately) consecrated by the eloquent pen of Monsieur Sorbiere, in a discourse of his to Monsieur Vitre, concerning the utility of great travel and forreign voyages; because it approaches so neer to the idea which I have propos'd, and may serve as an encouragement and example to the gentlemen of our nation, who for the most part wander, and spend their time abroad, in the pursuit of those vain and lower pleasures, fruitless, and altogether intollerable. But, Sir, I will crowd no more into this Epistle (already too prolixe) which was only design'd to accompany this piece, and some other usefull and more liberal diversions of this nature, which I cannot yet produce. But every thing has its time; and when I would redeem it to the best advantage, it is by entertaining it with something that may best declare to all the world how greatly I account the honour of being esteem'd

Sir, Your most humble
and most obedient Servant,

Sayes-Court,
5 *April,* 1662.

J. Evelyn.

AN ACCOUNT OF SIGNOR GIACOMO FAVI,

BY

MONSIEUR SORBIERE.

GIACOMO MARIA FAVI, of the house of the Marescotti of Boulonia, died above thirty-five years of age, neer fifteen years since, in the city of Paris. It is a history worthy of record, and that all the world should take notice of this incomparable person, as that great wit and polite philosopher Monsieur Sorbiere does describe him: For as much (sayes he) as it seems to be a very great reproch, that neither prince nor state have hitherto had the consideration or the courage to undertake what one particular person alone did resolve upon, for the universal benefit and good of the publick: for it was upon this designe that he engaged himself expressly, making the most exact observations, and collecting the crayons, prints, designes, models and faithful copies of whatsoever could be encountered through the whole circle of the arts and sciences, the laws, and the customs practised, wherever he arrived. He had already acquired by study a thousand worthy and curious particulars; he design'd excellently well, understood the mathematicks, had penetrated into the most curious parts of medicine, and was yet so far from the least pedantry, that he would (when so dispos'd) play the gallant as handsomely as any man, and which indeed he was able to do, enjoying a plentiful revenue of neer three thousand pounds sterling a year, which he ordered to be paid him by Bills of Exchange, wheresoever his curiosity should invite him. But otherwise, truly his equipage was very simple, and his train reduced to only one servant, which he was wont to take in every town where he made any stay. He had already visited Italy, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Holland and England, from whence he came into France, to go into Spain. Finally, he arrived at Paris in Anno 1645, with one Bourdoni, a Sculptor, dwelling neer the Thuyleries, where he no sooner appear'd, but he was immediately found out, and known by all the Virtuosi, and as soon

inform'd himself of all that were extraordinary and conspicuous for all sorts of curiosities, whereof he carefully took notice; but especially he made an intimate acquintance with one Monsieur Petit, a very rare and curious person, and indeed greatly resembling the genius of this noble Gentleman, as being one who for these fifty years past, discover'd a wonderful ardor for the sciences, and a diligence so indefatigable in the research of all estimable and worthy inventions, as that it is a thousand pities (and a thing not to be conceived indeed without infinite regret) that this age of ours could never yet approch him. So laudable and worthy of praise has his expenses been upon divers machines and experiments, beyond the forces of a private person, that had he been supported (as at first he was by the French King, and the great Cardinal de Richlieu, under whom he enjoyed divers honourable and handsome employments, he had perhaps, amongst all the Arts through which he run, found out some abridgements and perfection, new and altogether stupendious; and as indeed he has already done to admiration so far at least, as his discretion and his affairs would give him leave.

But to return to our new Democritus, Signor Favi; he had made provision of sundry huge volumes, which were no other then the designes of all sorts of instruments and machines that he had seen and perused; besides a world more which he had sent away into Italy: For this curious person neglected nothing, but went on collecting with a most insuperable diligence all that the mechanics had invented for Agriculture, Architecture, and the fabric of all sorts of works, belonging to sports, and to cloathes, for use and for magnificence. There was nothing so small, and to appearance trifling, which he did not cast his eyes upon, and which he had not some hand in, or improv'd even to the least minutiæ; whether it were a device of some haspe, the latch of a door, a simple lock, the cover or patin of a cup, a dress, &c. even to a very tooth-picker*: so as he shewed no less then two hundred toyes for children to play withall; fourty several wayes of plowing the ground, a world of forges, and mills for various uses. He visited all the

* Let not the reader despise this condescention of so great a person, for——*inest sua gratia parvis.*

excellent workemen and artisans, and took samples, and patterns of all their rare inventions, and something of their making. Then for receits and secrets, he possess'd an infinite number of all kinds the most rare and excellent; some whereof he purchas'd at great prices, and others he procur'd by exchange. He learned the tongues wherever he came, with extraordinary felicity; and sometimes would frequent the recreations and exercises of the places where he sojourned, which he used to performe with a facillity and address so gentile and natural, as if he had yet been but a very youth: For by this means he found, that he gained the easier and more free accesse into the best companies, so extreamely noble, disinterested and agreable was his fashion and manner of conversation: and though in sundry encounters and courts of princes, he had been frequently regal'd with very considerable presents, yet would he never receive any from great persons; as chains of gold, and medailles, diamonds and jewels that were offered him, unless happly it were some title of honour and prerogative; as the permission to bear an eagle or a fleur de lis in his coat of armes, or the like: and when he had thus exhausted a kingdom or a place of all that was curious, and made acquaintance with all the persons of merit in a state, he travell'd presently into another; so as there was hardly a court to be found, where he had not finished his harvest in three or four months, till he arriv'd at Paris, where indeed he was infinitly supriz'd, and busied among such an innumerable many of able and curious persons of all kinds. He had four lodgings in several parts of Paris, that so he might be neer a retreat in whatsoever quarter he should happen to be in pursuite of curiosities; for he us'd to go much on foot, and alone, because he would not be troubl'd nor observ'd by impertinent servants: but, in fine, purposing from hence to travell shortly for China by means of the Portugal, he took so much pains about describing and observing the magnificent preparations which were made for the marriage of the Queen of Poland, that he fell sick of a fever and dyed, to the universal regret and sorrow of all that had ever so much as heard of him. And no sooner did this sad accident come to the ears of the king, but he sent diligently to search out all his four lodgings, to see if, by any means, ought of his collection could be

retriev'd; but they were all immediately dispers'd, and it was never found what became of them.

The Count Marescotti, his kinsman, then at Paris, recover'd only that single volume wherein was contained the names, armes, and devises of the hands of all the Princes of Europe, whom he had had the honour to approach: but his intention was, as I have been credibly inform'd by one that did often converse with him (though Monsieur Sorbiere is silent of it) after he had travelled over all the world (for his designe was no lesse ample) at returne into his native country, to compile, and publish a compleat Cycle and History of Trades, with whatsoever else he should judge of use and benefit to mankind: but this had been a charity and a blessing too great for the world, because it do's not depart from its vices and impertinences, and cherish such persons, and the virtues which should render it worthy of them.

A TABLE OF THE TITLES OF THE CHAPTERS,

AND THEIR SEVERAL CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

OF SCULPTURE, HOW DERIV'D, AND DISTINGUISHED, WITH THE STYLES AND INSTRUMENTS BELONGING TO IT.

THE CONTENTS.

SCULPTURA and *Cælatura* how they differ 258
Tomicæ, Desectores what *ib.*
Plaistice, 258, The Mother of Sculpture 269
Paradigmatice, what 258
Gypsochi, Colaptice, Lithoxoi, Glyphice, what *ib.*
Agogice, what *ib.*
Anaglyphice, 258, its antiquity 269
Diaglyphice, Encolaptice, what 259
Toreutice 258
Encaustic Art, how it occasioned the invention of Brass Prints *ib.*
Proplastic Art, *Protypus, Modulus, Diatretice*, and *Calices diatreti*, what 259
Argentum asperum et pustulatum *ib.*
Ebur Pingue *ib.*
Dimidiæ eminentiæ the same with *Basso Relievo*, and *Mezzo Relievo* *ib.*
Scalptus, Scaptus, Scalpturatus *ib.*
Scalpo, Sculpo, deriv'd *ib.*
Cœlum Τόρνος what, and whence deriv'd 260
Tori, χοῖλος 260
Ulysses shield, *Ancæsa Vasa*, what *ib.*
Cavatores, what, *Graphatores*, whence our English Gravers, Sculpture defin'd 261
Instruments of Graving. Style what. Why sometimes made of bone. *Scalprum. Cælum, Cœles, Cœltes.* Allusions in Job 19 to all kinds of antient Writing and Graving 262
Graphium, γλυφὶς, ἐνκολαπτὴρ, ὑπαγωγεὺς, γλαρὶς, Σμίλη *ib.*
Punction, Polisher, Point *ib.*
Graving Instruments sometimes fatal weapons *ib.*
Cassianus martyr'd, and *Erixion* slain with a Graving Style *ib.*
Arare campum cereum, Cerei pugillares, and *stylum vertere*, what *ib.*
Taille douce, Burin, Intaglia, Bolino, and the difference 'twixt Graving and Etching *ib.*
Βοῦλλα a conjecture of the moderne name of a seal, χαράσσω the same with *Charath* *ib.*

CHAP. II.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF SCULPTURE.

THE CONTENTS.

Adam the first inventor of Sculpture 263
Books written by Adam *ib.*
The fall of Adam did not impair his infused habits 264
Sculpture long before the universal Flood *ib.*
Of the Antediluvian Patriarchs 264
Sculpture in stone and brick at Joppa *ib.*
The Celestial Sciences first engraven where, and how long continuing *ib.*
The books of Seth and Enoch *ib.*

Of Cham 264
Zoroaster, when he flourished, his learning, curiosity and engraving of the Liberal Arts *ib.*
Picus Mirandula's pretence of the books of Zoroaster, the Magi, &c. 265
Sculpture after the Flood *ib.*
Sculpture propagated by Noah. Sculpture before Moses *ib.*
Objections answered 266. 268
Mercurius Trismegistus engraved in stone many mysterious things 265
Obelisks erected by Misra 400 years before Moses *ib.*
How many transported to Rome 266
The Tables of Stone engraven by the Finger of God. Sculpture honoured by God *ib.*
Sculpture abus'd to Idolatry no rational prejudice *ib.*
Sculpture elder then Idolatry *ib.*
Teraphim and *Penates*, what *ib.*
Sculpture preserv'd the memory of the dead *ib.*
Bezaleel and Aholiab Sculptors *ib.*
The Sacerdotal Pectoral *ib.*
Graving us'd by the Ægyptians before they invented Letters *ib.*
Hieroglyphics, what *ib.*
By whom interpreted *ib.*
Amongst the Danes 273
And *Acadiæ* 275
Horapollinis notæ 266
Letters, by whom invented, and the contest about it 266
How they were derived to the several Nations 267
Typographical art mistaken by Peter Calaber *ib.*
Sculpture and Letters Coevous *ib.*
Columns erected by Seth *ib.*
Writing with ink in paper a novelty in respect of Parchment *ib.*
Sculpture on Marbles, Slates, writing on Bark, Leaves, Tablets of Wood, Paper, Linnen, Wax, Ivory and Silk *ib.*
Book, our English name for *Liber*, whence deriv'd *ib.*
Laws, divine and humane how consign'd of old 268
Hieronicæ, and where preserv'd *ib.*
Writings before Homer's not known to the Greeks *ib.*
Tatian, when he flourished *ib.*
A passage cited out of him proving the Antiquity of recording by Sculpture *ib.*
Hesiod's Poems engraven in Lead *ib.*
Grecians, when they had Sculpture first, and where it was in its highest perfection *ib.*
Achilles and Hercules shields engraven 269
The Chariot of the Sun, and *Vehicula Cælata* *ib.*
Enoch's prophecy *ib.*
Rings engraven, their use and dignity *ib.*
Intaglias in Iron, Gold, Stones, &c. *ib.*
Talismans and Constellated Sculptures *ib.*

CHAP. III.

OF THE REPUTATION AND PROGRESS OF SCULPTURE AMONGST THE GREEKS AND ROMANS DOWN TO THE MIDDLE AGES; WITH SOME PRETENTIONS TO THE INVENTION OF COPPER CUTS, AND THEIR IMPRESSIONS.

THE CONTENTS.

SCULPTURE where, and when in its ascendent 270, 272
Statues, to what head reducible 270
Sculptores Marmoris, Metal. in Gypsum, &c. *ib.*
Signa at Rhodes, Athens, and other places in what prodigious numbers *ib.*
Statues, almost as many as of men *ib.*
The contest betwixt Art and Nature, in point of fertility *ib.*
Statues, improveable to a politiq, as well as expencefull magnificency *ib.*
Αποσφραγίσματα 271

Pyrgoteles only permitted to engrave the Effigies of Alexander the Great 271
The Pictures of Queen Elizabeth and other Princes, how profan'd and abus'd *ib.*
Augustus would have his figure cut only by Dioscorides, and why *ib.*
Sculpture, in what materials most eminent *ib.*
Dipoenus, Prometheus, Ideocus, Eucirapus, Lysistratus, Demophilus, Dædalus, Leochares, Policarmus, Myrmecides, all famous Sculptors *ib.*
Figulina vasa Cælata, why broken by Cotys 272
Hydriæ engraven, and Bread *ib.*
Gold seldom engraven, and why *ib.*
Mentor, his curious works *ib.*
Acragus, his works *ib.*
Boethus's Masterpieces *ib.*
The works of Calamis, Antipater, Stratonicus Tauriscus, Aristeus, Eunicus, Hecates, Praxiteles, Posidonius, Ledus, Zopyrus, Pytheus *ib.*
Medalists, who most excellent, and in what Emperor's times the best were cut; when they degenerated 273
Sculpture, when it degenerated in Greece, and Rome *ib.*
And whence its decay proceeded 273
Sculpture, when it arrived at Rome 273
Sculpture and Writing when first among the Danes and Norvegians *ib.*
Runic Characters *ib.*
Græf-sæx, what *ib.*
Vice and Avarice, the occasion why Sculpture degenerated, and is not since arrived to the perfection of the Ancients 274
By what means it may recover *ib.*
Alexander Magnus, Augustus, Francis I. Cosimo di Medices, and Charles the V. celebrated for their affection to Arts *ib.*
Time and leisure required to bring a work to perfection *ib.*
Sculpture and Chalcography antient in China, on what materials, and how wrought 275
Letters in Europe first cut in wood *ib.*
The Ink-maker for the press dignified amongst the Chinese with a liberal salary, and priviledges, and not accounted a Mechanic *ib.*
Sculpture found in Mexico, and other parts of America *ib.*
Typography not found out by the Greeks and Romans to be much wondered at, and why *ib.*

CHAP. IV.

OF THE INVENTION AND PROGRESSE OF CHALCOGRAPHY IN PARTICULAR; TOGETHER WITH AN AMPLE ENUMERATION OF THE MOST RENOWNED MASTERS AND THEIR WORKS.

THE CONTENTS.

ENGRAVING on Plates of Brass for Prints, when first appearing 276
Typography, when first produc'd in Europe *ib.*
Prints, in the infancy of this Art *ib.*
The Devil at Monochrom *ib.*
M. M. C. what they import *ib.*
What Sculptors added the year of our Lord to their works *ib.*
Who were the first Gravers of Prints *ib.*
Martin Schoen, The Todesco } of the first Print-gravers *ib.*
The Italian Gravers and their works 277
Maso Finiguerra, the first Print-graver in Italy *ib.*
Enamelling gave the first hint for the engraving of Prints *ib.*

The Graving of Prints, from how mean a commencement, arrived to this perfection 277
Baccio Baldini, his works, and countersign ib.
Albert Durer, when he flourished, his incomparable works; contest with Lucas, and Mark Antonio, and how pretious his works ib.
Lucas Van Leyden, his works, emulation of Durer 278
Mark Antonio, when he flourish'd, his works, contestation with Albert, &c. ib.
For what vile prints reproved 281
Raphael Urbin, how he honoured the gravings of M. Antonio 279
Martine of Antwerp, his works, how esteem'd by Michael Angelo 277
R. S. what it signifies 280
Marco di Ravenna, his works ib.
A. V. I. what it imports ib.
Giovanni Battista Mantuano, his works 281
I. B. M. whose name it signifies 282
Sebastiano da Reggio's works ib.
Georgio Mantuano's works ib.
Etching in Aqua Fortis when first produced ib.
Damascus Symeters ib.
Ugo da carpi, his new manner of cutting for divers colours, and his works ib.
The works of Baldassare Peruzzi, Francisco Parmegiano, Beccafumi, Baptista Vicentino, Del Moro, Girolamo Cocu 282. 283
Giacomo del Cavaglio his works both in copper and stones 283
Eneas Vico de Parma, his Medails and other Gravings ib.
The works of Lamberto Suave, Gio Battista de Cavaglieri ib.
The works of Antonio Lanferri, Tomaso Barlacchi, Antonio Labbaco, Titian, Giulio Buonasoni, Battista Franco, Renato, Luca Penni, Francisco Marcolini 283-4
The works of Gabriel Giolito, Christophero Coriolano, Antonio Salamanca, Andrea Mantegna, Propertia de Rossi (a sculptress) 284-5
Martin Rota, Jacomo Palma, And: Mantuana, Augustino and Annibal Carracci 285
The works of Francisco Villamena 286
Giovanni Maggi, Leonardo, Isabella and Bernardino Parasol 287
Cutting and Engraving in Wood how difficult, and different from Chalcography ib.
The works of Antonio Tempesta, Cherubino Alberti ib.
Horatio Borgiani, Raphäel Guido, Jovanni Batt. della Marca, Camillo Graffico, Cavalier Salimbene, Anna Vaïana 288
Steffano della Bella ib.
Chart and Map-gravers 309
Medaile Gravers, and Gravers in metal and pretious stones, &c. 289
The Diamond, by whom first engraven 290
Medails, the knowledge of them how noble and profitable, and by what means to attain it effectually, Gentleman of note skilful Medallists ib.
The German and Flemish Chalcographers, and their works ib.
The works of Albert Durer 277, &c.
Aldegrave and his cypher, Hans Sibald Beham his mark, 291. Jerom Cock, Francis Floris, Cornelius Cort, 292. Justus, Jo. Ægid, Giles and Raphael Sadelers, 292. Herman Muller, 293. Sim. Frisius, Matthew Miriam, ib. Hans Holbein, Justus Ammannus Tigur, 294. Holtzhusen, Hans Brossehaemer, Virgilius Solis, whose eyes were put out for his lewd gravings; Hen. Goltzius, Geor. Nouvolstell, Matt. and Fred. Greuter, Saenredamus, Cor. Galle, Count Goudt, Swanevelt, Pandern, Bronchorst, P. Brill, Matham, Nieulant, Boëtius, Londerselius, Van Velde, N. de Bruyn, Æg. Coninxlogensis, 294, 295. Stradanus, Mallery, Bolswert, P. Pontius, Swannenbourg, Nesse, Vosterman, Vorst, 296. Chr. Jegher 297
Van Vorst, Sir Anthony Van Dyke ib.
Sir P. P. Rubens celebrated ib.
The works of P. de Jode, Collaert in steel; Suyderhoef, Jo. Baur, Vander Thulden, Abr. and Corn. Blomaert, Natalis, 298. Ferdinand, Uriesse, Verdin, Winegard, W. Hondius, Van Kessell, Caukern, Lucas

Kilianus, Cor. Vischer, Vovillemont, 299. Nolp, Lombart, Hertocks, Rembrandt, Wincesl. Hollar, 300. Hevelius celebrated, Anna Maria à Schurman celebrated, Breughel, Ostade, Clock, Queborne, Custos, Le Delfe, Dors, Falck, Gerard, Moestuer, Grebber, Geldorp, Hopfer, Gerard, Chein, Ach, d'Egmont, De Vinghe, Heins, Ditmer, Cronis, Lindoven, Mirevel, Kager, Coccien, Maubease, Venius, Firens, Pierets, Quelinus, Stachade, Schut, Soutman, Vanulch, Broon, Valdet, Loggan, Biscop, Druefken, P. Van Aelst, Swart Jan Van Groennighen, L. Cranach, Jos. Ammanus, Hub. Goltzius 301; 302

The French Chalcographers and their works: when they began to be in reputation 303 *ad* 309

The works of P. Bernard, Nic. Beatrice, Phil. Thomasinus, Crispinus, Magdalen, and Simon de Pas, 303. Claudius Melan, Mauperch, La Pautre, Morin, N. Chaperon, Fra. Perrier, Audran, Couvay, Perelle, 304. Chauveau, Poilly, Heince, Begnon, Huret, Bernard, Rognesson, Rousselet, Bellange, Richet, L'Alman, Quesnel, Soulet, Bunel, Boucher, Briot, Boulange, Bois, Champagne, Charpignon, Corneille, Caron, Cl. de Lorain, Audran, Moutier, Rabel, Denisot, L'Aune, De la Rame, Hayes, Herbin, David de Bie, Villemont, Marot, Toutin, Grand-homme, Cereau, Trochel, Langot du Loir, L'Enfant, Gaultier, D'Origni, Prevost, De Son, Perei, Nacret, Perret, Daret, Scalberge, Vibert, Ragot, Boissart, Terelin, De Leu, Mauperch, L'Asne, Huret 305

Calligraphers *ib.*

The works of La Hyre, Goyrand, Colignon, Cochin, Isr. Sylvester, Rob. Nantëuil, 306. Jaq. Callot, 307. Abr. Bosse 309

Chart Gravers: Cordier Riviers, Peroni, Bleau, Gomboust *ib.*

The English Chalcographers and their works, *viz.* Paine, Cecil, Wright, Faithorne, Barlow, Gaywood, Lightfoot, Glover, J. Fellian, Switzer, 309, 310

Medaile Gravers, and for Intaglias, Simon, Rawlins, Restrick, Johnson 310

Calligraphers, Coker, Gray, Gething, Billingly, &c. *ib.*

An Invitation to the English Chalcographers to publish his Majesties collection; the benefit and honour of it *ib.*

The Landskips, Views, Palaces, of England, Levantine parts, Indies, &c. together with the Cities, Isles, Trees, Plants, Flowers, and Animals, to be cut in Copper and reformed, were a most acceptable and useful work 311

Painters encouraged to set their hands to the Graver *ib.*

The use of this Collection *ib.*

CHAP. V.

OF DRAWING, AND DESIGNE PREVIOUS TO THE ART OF CHALCOGRAPHY; AND OF THE USE OF PICTURES IN ORDER TO THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

THE CONTENTS.

MEASURE and proportion have Influence on all our Actions 312

A saying of Thomas Earle of Arundel and Surrey *ib.*

Drawing, of what consequence to the Art of Graving 313

Designe the basis of Sculpture, and of many other free and noble Sciences *ib.*

Original Drawings esteem'd, and for what 313
Antiquity, of what effect *ib.*
Designe and Drawing defin'd, and distinguish'd, its antiquity, and invention *ib.*
Accident and chance fruitful mothers 314
Drawing with crayon, pen, &c. the method, and how to be performed with successe *ib.*
Hatching, what and how attained by imitating good Masters, and by what method *ib.*
Overmuch exactness and finishing, a fault in Drawing, and why : Polycletus's Cannon 315
Accurate Designes with the pen not esteem'd, and why, 315. Who yet excelled in them to admiration 316
Vander Douse, Francis and John Cleyn, Francis Carter, &c. celebrated *ib.*
Colours, the production of a middle colour wrought on two extreams *ib.*
Rubens, and Van Dykes first studies in Italy 317
Drawing, how necessary *ib.*
Academies erected for the Virtuosi, by whom *ib.*
For what purpose, and how furnished *ib.*
Greeks, and Romans, how they cherish'd and enobled men of Art *ib.*
Sculptors and Painters chief of the Court and retinue to the Emperour of Japan *ib.*
Courts of great Princes, how formerly composed 318
How the antient and most renowned Sculptors were some encouraged, and others obscured *ib.*
Painters should sometimes draw with the pen 319
What Painters made use of prints *ib.*
And caused their works to be published *ib.*
How to express the sensation of the Relievo or Extancie of objects, by the Hatches in Graving 320
What shadows are most graceful 323
And what Artists works best to imitate *ib.*
Of Counter-Hatches *ib.*
One colour, the use, and effect of it *ib.*
Zeuxis used but one colour *ib.*
What other Painters were Monochromists, and who introduced the rest of the colours *ib.*
Lights and shades, their stupendous effects 323
Colorè, what it means *ib.*
The invention of Chevalier Woolson to Blazon bearings in coate-armour by hatches without letters *ib.*
Tonus, what it imports in Graving 324
Of copying after designes and painting *ib.*
What Prints are to be called excellent *ib.*
How to detect the copy of a Print from an Original print *ib.*
Aqua Fortis, for what Gravings most proper 325
His Highness Prince Rupert celebrated, and the Gravings by him published *ib.*
The French King an Engraver *ib.*
Earle of Sandwich dextrous at Graving *ib.*
What Emperours, Philosophers, Poets, and other of the noble Greeks and Romans excelled in painting and Graving *ib.*
Never any of the Antients excelled in these Arts, but what were Gentlemen 326
A Slave might not be taught to Grave or Paint, and why *ib.*
Graving accounted one of the Liberal Arts by Pliny and Galen *ib.*
Children instructed in the Graphical arts for what Oeconomick consideration *ib.*
Martia, the daughter of Varro, the Princesse Louise, and Anna Schurman celebrated *ib.*
Great scholars of late skilfull in the art of Graving, &c. *ib.*
How far the art of Drawing conduces to the Sciences Mathematical *ib.*
Dr. Ch. Wren, Blagrave, Hevelius, &c. celebrated 327
An Orator ought to be skilled in these Arts, and why *ib.*
Of what great use and benefit the art of Graving may be to the Education of Children, superiour to all other inventions, 326, and how 329
The Abbot de Marolles, his singular affection to, and prodigious collections of Prints 327
Prints more estimable than Paintings, and why 328
What Gentlemen of quality are the greatest collectors of prints in France *ib.*

At how high rates the Prints of the most famous Masters are now sold 328
Collections of Prints recommended to Princes and great persons, and why 329
An Hieroglyphical Grammar *ib.*
By whom Draughts and Prints are celebrated for the Institution of Youth *ib.*
LaMartelay taught all the Sciences by cuts alone *ib.*
Commenius his *Orbis sensualium pictus* celebrated 330
The Universal Language, how to be most probably accomplished *ib.*
Passions expressible by the art of Designe 331
An useful caution for the Lovers of these Arts 332

CHAP. VI.

OF THE NEW WAY OF ENGRAVING, OR MEZZO TINTO, INVENTED AND COMMUNICATED BY HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE RUPERT, &c.

THE CONTENTS.

An advantageous Commutation for omitting the description of the Mechanical part of the vulgar Graving 333
A paradoxical Graving without Burin, Points or Aqua Fortis *ib.*
The new Mezzo Tinto, invented by his Highness P. Rupert, ænigmatically described, and why 334

*** *The additions within* [ ] *are taken from the margin of the Author's printed Copy, communicated by Sir John Evelyn, Bart. and were prefixed to the second edition, printed in* 1755.

AUTHORS AND BOOKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED FOR THIS TREATISE.

Ælianus.
Alberti Leon.
Angelus Rocca.
Aquinas.
Aristotle.
S. Augustinus.
Ausonius.
L. Baptista Alberti.
Biblia Sacra.
Bibliander.
Bosse A.
Caneparius.
Cassianus.
Cedrenus.
Cicero.
Comenius.
Crinitus.
Curtius.
Cyprianus.
Diodorus.
Diomedes.
Donatus.
Durer, Alb.
Epiphanius.
Eusebius.
Gaffarell.
Galenus.
Gorlæus.
Guarinus.
Greuter.
Herodotus.
Hesiodus.
Homerus.
Horatius.
Josephus.
Junius F.
Juvenalis.
Kircherus.
Laet, Joh. de.
Libanius.
Licetus.
Littleton, Adam.
Livius.
Lubinus.
Lucanus.
Luitprandus.
Maimonides.
Manutius.
Marolles.
Martialis.
Mirandula Picus.
Nazianzen Greg.
Origines.
Ovidius.
Pancirollus.
Petronius.
Philo.
Philostratus.
Pietro Santo.
Plato.
Plinius.
Plutarchus.
Pois, Ant. le.
Pollux, Jul.
Pomponius Lætus.
Prudentius.
Quintilianus.
Rhodiginus Cæl.
Rue, Ch. de la.
Sabinus.
Salmasius.
Scaliger, Jos.
Semedo.
Seneca.
Solinus.
Statius.
Suetonius.
Suidas
Tacitus.
Tatianus.
Tertullianus.
Theocritus.
Trallianus.
Trismegistus.
Thucydides.
Varenius.
Varro.
Vassari.
Vatablus.
Vermander, Car.
Verulamius.
Virgilius.
Vitruvius.
Vopiscus.
Vossius.
Wormius.
Wotton, Sir H.

SCULPTURA;

OR

THE HISTORY AND ART OF CHALCOGRAPHY.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

OF SCULPTURE, HOW DERIV'D, AND DISTINGUISH'D WITH THE STYLES, AND INSTRUMENTS BELONGING TO IT.

THOSE who have most refined and criticiz'd upon Technical notions, seem to distinguish what we commonly name SCULPTURE into three several arts; and to attribute specifical differences to them all: for there is, besides *Sculptura* (as it relates to Chalcography) *Scalptura* (so Diomedes*) and *Cœlatura;* both which, according to Quintilian †, differ from the first *ratione materiæ.* For to make but a brief enumeration only: it was apply'd to several things; as to working in wood, or ivory, *tomice,* the artists, *desectores:* in clay, *plastice, plastæ:* in playster, *paradigmatice,* the workmen *gypsochi.* In stone cutting *colaptice,* the artists *lithoxoi;* and lastly, in metals *glyphice;* which again is two-fold; for if wax be us'd, *agogice;* if the figure be of cast-work, *chemice; anaglyphice,* when the image was prominent; *diaglyphice,* when hollow, as in seales and intaglias; *encolaptice,* when lesse deep, as in plates of brasse for lawes and monumental inscriptions: then the *toreutice* ‡; and the *encaustic* for a kind of enamel; *proplastice* forming the future work, *ex creta,* or some such matter, as

* Lib. 1. † Lib. 2. c. 21. 9. ‡ Cæl. Rodig. Antiq. Lect. l. 29. c. 24.

the *protypus* was of wax for *efformation*, and the *modulus* of wood; not to omit the antient *diatretice*, which seems to have been a work upon chrystal, and the *calices diatreti* (of which somewhere the Poet Martial) * whether emboss'd or engraven, as now with the point of a diamond, &c.; for I can onely name them briefly: the field would be too luxurious to discourse upon them severally; and as they rather concern the statuary art, fusile and plastic head, which would serve better to adorne some designe of architecture, or merit an expresse treatise, then become the present, which does only touch the metalls, and such other materials as had not the figure finished through all its dimensions; though we might yet safely I think admit some of the Greek anaglyptics: *argentum asperum et pustulatum*, and, as the Latines terme it, *ebur pingue:* for so the Poet, *Expositumque altè pingue poposcit ebur, &c.* † Manutius calls them *dimidiæ eminentiæ*, and the Italians do well interpret by *basso* and *mezzo-relievo;* hence the figure is said *stare*, or *exstare:* for so Mart. *stat caper*, and Juvenal, *stantem extra pocula caprum.* As from the similitude and perfection of the work, *vivere, spirare, calere*, it seemed to breath, and be living, as Virgil expresses it,

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.—Æn. vi. 848.

And Horace,

Et ungues
Exprimet, & molles imitabitur ære capillos.—Ars Poet. 32.

Ludit Acidalio, sed non manus aspera, nodo
Candida non tacita respondet imagine Lygdos.—Martial, l. 6. 13.

For in this manner they us'd to celebrate those rare pieces of art, distinct from the *diagliphice* and *encolaptice*, more properly according with our purpose; and which may happly be as well express'd by *cælatura*, and from the signification made a derivative ἀπὸ τῦ σκάπτειν to dig, or make incision. I think Varro may have *scaptus* for *cælatus*; as Cicero *scalptus*, and Plinie *scalpturatus;* yet we rather follow them who derive *scalpo, sculpo*, from γλάφω and γλύφω; because the best origination is to preserve the foundation in the antienter languages, if the mutation of letters be warranted, as here in γράφω *scribo.* The

* Lib. xiv. Epig. 94. edit. Schrevelii, L. Bat. 1670.

† Mart. Epig. Lib. ix. 60.

word in the Holy tongue פתח, which imports an opening (because the plate, stone, or whatever else material they used, *aperitur aliqua sui parte*, somewhere opened when any thing is engraven upon it) attests rather to the former etymon and signification, then to any other material affinity; besides that 'tis also transferable to those who carve with the chissel, or work in bosse with the puntion, as our statuaries, goldsmiths and repairers do. In the glosse we meet with *cælum* τορνος, &c. which though some admit not so freely in this sence; yet Martial,* speaking of emboss'd cups, more then once calls them *toreumata.*

Miratus fueris cum prisca toreumata multum.

And why may not the *tori*, brawn, or collops of fat be expressed by these raised figures, and they *torosæ*, plump, and (as the French has it) *en bon point*, as well as fusil and fictile ones? some round chissel or lathe perhaps it was; but we dare only conjecture. Others *cælum*, *à cædo*, which is to beat, strike, cut or dig; but by what parallel authority of such a derivative we know not: Varro † yet *e cælo* heaven it self, reaching its original from the very stars. Χοῖλος is another, more consonant and harmonious with the antient קלע *kalangh*, which imports to excavate and make hollow, as it is frequently interpreted, particularly 1 Reg. 6. 32, 35, where, what the vulgar Latine renders *sculpsit*, Vatablus makes *cælavit*, and Junius *incidit*, best of all corresponding with our purpose; and so in the famous wrought shield which Ulysses purchased by his eloquence, Quintilian ‡ applies the word, *In cælatura clypei Achillis et lites sunt et actiones*: for so it seems to have been much used on their harnesse. Livy reports of two famous armies so represented §: or as more allusive yet to our plate, where 'tis said, *cælatura rumpit tenuem laminam*, if the question be not rather, whether these works, like the *ancæsa vasa*, were not rais'd and emboss'd, those expressions of Plinie so much favouring their eminency, where he tells us, speaking of this very art, *ita exolevit, ut sola jam vetustate censeatur, usque adeo attritis cælaturis, ne figura discerni possit*, time and age had so greatly defac'd them.

But this may suffice for the division and denomination of the art in

* Lib. viii. 6. † Varro l. 4. de Ling. Lat. ‡ Lib. 2. c. 18. § Liv. hist. l. 9.

general; since the title which we have made choice of is universally applicable: for so *loquendi consuetudine*, in ordinary discourse, *Sculptura* and *Scalptura* import but one and the same thing, as Salmasius has well noted on Solinus; and therefore those who wrought any of these hollow cut-works were by some call'd *Cavatores* and *Graphatores*, sayes that learned person, whence doubtless our Gravers may have deriv'd their appellation.

By this then it will not be difficult for any to define what the art it self is; whether consider'd in the most general and comprehensive acceptation; or, as it concernes that of Chalcography chiefly, and such as have most affinity with it; since (as well as the rest) it may be describ'd to be an art which takes away all that is superfluous of the subject matter, reducing it to that forme or body which was design'd in the idea of the artist: and this, as sufficiently universal; unless in favour of the *plastic* (which yet does not come under our cognizance) we will rather receive the distinction which Michael Angelo was us'd to observe between them, that this last was made by apposition, which is quite the contrary. But indeed neither the *paradigmatic*, *agogic*, or any of the *plastic*, can genuinely, and in propriety of speech be call'd Sculpture, without a catachresis and some violence; since, *nullum simile est idem*, whether applied to the matter or the tools. And now we speak of instruments we shall find that there has been little less controversie amongst the grammarians, touching them also, then concerning the very art itself: as whether the γλύφιον *stylus*, or *scalprum*, is to be call'd *cælum*, *cæles*, *or cæltes;* noted by the critics from that text in 19 Job. *Quis mihi det, ut exarentur in libro stylo ferreo, aut plumbi lamina, vel cælte sculpantur in silice?* (where by the way, 'tis obsery'd, that this verse comprehends and alludes to almost all the sorts of ancient writing and engraving: books, plates, stone, and stile,) and from an old inscription out of Aldus and Gruter. Martial, Ausonius, and the poet Statius use *cælum* frequently.

———Laboriferi vivant quæ marmora cælo
Praxitelis, &c. *

But we will be sparing. Γλυφὶς, γλυφεῖον, γλύφανον, as Junius: also

* Sylv. lib. 4. vi. 26.

ἐγκολαπτὴρ, ὑπαγωγεὺς, λαξευτήριον, as much as σιδήριον λιθουργὸν*; so is γλαφὶς and λεῖον in Pollux. *Scalprum* is κοπεὺς, ζυστὴρ; with the same Junius *graphium*. Lastly, *stylus* γραφεῖον, στύλος, σμίλη; in Suidas; ἐγκεντρὶς; the same Pollux. Call them point, stile, graver, punction, polisher, or what else you please, we will contend no farther about it; for these instruments (as despicable as they appear) have sometimes proved fatal and dangerous weapons; as the blessed Cassianus found by sad experience, whose cruel martyrdom with these *stiles* is gloriously celebrated by Prudentius, περὶ στεφάνων, Hymn. ix. And thus was also Erixion slain, for his unnatural affection, by the enraged people, with other examples to be produc'd out of Seneca, Plutarch, Suetonius, and others: for when, upon several of those disorders, σιδηροφορεῖν (or the carrying about them any weapons of iron) was made capital, they did mischief with these instruments, till, like children's knives, they were converted into bone, which did only serve them to write withall, and *arare campum cereum*, to plough up their superinduced tables, and *cerei pugillares;* not much unlike to our etching with points and needles on the vernish, in shape and use resembling them, save where the obtuser end was made more delitive, apt to put out, and obliterate, when they would *stylum vertere*, which our burnisher (another tool us'd by Chalcographers) and polisher performes. But to descend to the modern names both of the art and instrument: the French call it in particular *taille douce*, sweet, or tender cut; whither wrought with the *burin* (for so they tearm the instrument which we the graver) or with aqua fortis; the Italians, *intaglia*, or stamp, without adjunct, and *bolino*, which is doubtless the more antient and warantable, as prompting the use both of the point, needle, and etching in aqua fortis, by some so happily executed, as hardly to be discern'd from the *bolio* or graver it self: but the main difference is this, that with the *burine* one cuts the peice all at once out of the plate, immediately; whereas, with the point or stile, we only cut the varnish, razing, and scalping as it were, the superficies of the plate a little, which afterwards the aqua fortis corrodes and finishes: a rare invention, new, expeditious, and wholly unknown to the past antiquity. *Burine* then from *bolino;* and why not? yea (doubtless, this from Βοῦλλα, the modern name of a seal, and instru-

* Theocr. Thucyd.

ment of making seals. To this we might also add חוש cheret: and we find *charasch* and *charath* of the same import with χαράσσω and χαράττω in the Greek, as Mr. Adam Littleton has acutely observ'd, in his complexion of roots. But least too much of this stuffe should, as Theocritus (on another occasion) stiles it, γλυφάνου προστόζειν smell of the Burine, we will here make an end of hard names (the pedantrie and various acceptions of the words), and in the chapters following endeavour to investigate the original of the art it self, and discourse somewhat of the progress it has made to arrive at this perfection; for it is not to shew how diligently we have weeded the Calepines and Lexicons (amongst all which there is none over fertill upon these arts, or so well furnish'd as we could have wish'd,) but the result of much diligent collection, produc'd out of sundry Authors to meet in this chapter, for the ease and instruction of such as may possibly encounter with difficulties in the course of their reading such books as treat of the mechanical or more liberal subjects; and, that there might be nothing of deficient as to our institution, seeing it behoov'd him that would deduce an history *ab origine*, to let nothing escape that was in the least or usefull, or instructive.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF SCULPTURE IN GENERAL.

We shall not, with Epigenes in Pliny*, depose that this art had its being from eternity, because it is not sence, and would contradict its invention; but, if that may passe which St. Augustine affirmes, that the protoplast our father Adam†, or (as others) his good genius the angel Raziel, were the first inventor of letters, Sculpture may derive its pedigree from the infancy of the world, and contend for its preeminence with most of the antiquities which it so much celebrates. For, that there went several books about (some whereof had been long since read in the Primitive Church) bearing his venerable name, as that which Epiphanius and others cite, *ex libro Behu, de Pœnitentia Adæ*,

* L. 7. c. 6.

† L. 18. Civit. Dei. c. 3.

Adæ Revelatio, &c. we have no reason to contradict: and Tho. Aquinas, in his Treatise *de Ente et Essentia*, speaks of a volume of plants described by Adam; and there are traditions of a whole Natural History, with several other works of this most learned of all men living, as Suidas doubts not to call him; nor do we think that his unhappy fall did so much concern his rare and infus'd habits, as not to leave him the most accomplished, and perfectly instructed in all those arts which were so highly necessary, and therefore thus early invented; though whether these books of his were so miraculously found out and preserv'd by the renowned Trismegistus, we leave to the more credulous. But that Letters, and consequently Sculpture, was long before the Flood, we make no scruple of. Suidas, whom but now we mention'd, is peremtory, ascribing (as was affirm'd) both Letters, and all the rest of the Sciences, to Adam, τοῦτου πάντα εὑρήματα, &c. We shall not add hereunto what the Rabbins assert he compos'd of the præcepts given him in Paradise, with the like trash; but pass from these conjectures to others of the Antediluvian Patriarchs mention'd by Josephus, Cedrenus, and some other authors, concerning the Sculptures in stone and brick erected at Joppa, containing (as some depose) the sideral and celestial Sciences, proofe against the two most devouring and subverting elements, and lasting some thousands of years after the Universal Cataclysm. The Æthiopians are said at this day to glory much in possessing the books of Seth and Enoch, as those who have lately written of the Abyssines relate. Origen, St. Augustine, and Hierom have likewise made honourable mention of them; and Tertullian plainly reproves those who (in his time) thought they could not be preserved*, Noah being himself one of the great nephews of Seth; and the probability that these antient men of renoun would transmit to posterity the glorious actions and atchievements which they had perform'd; especially Cham (that is Zoroaster), a spirit so universally curious, and flourishing above an hundred years before this publick calamity. But to apply this to the honour now of Chalcography, and justifie our design. The Author of the Scholastical History upon Genesis speaks

* Turtul. de habit. mulier.

of this Zoroaster's engraving the Liberal Arts on fourteen columns, seven whereof he affirms to have been of brasse, and the rest of brick; the same is also reported by Serenus*, where he adds *diversorum metallorum laminis*, together with some other inscriptions thus preserved, and which the noble and learned Earl of Mirandula, in a certain Epistle of his to Marsilius Ficinus, boasts to have the possession of: his words are these, *Chaldaici hi libri sunt, si libri sunt, et non thesauri: Audi inscriptiones: Patris Ezræ, Zoroastris, et Melchior Magorum Oracula; in quibus et illa quoque quæ apud Græcos mendosa et mutila circumferuntur, leguntur integra et absoluta, &c.* The books (saith Picus), if books it be lawful to call them, and not rather most inestimable treasures, are all in the Chaldy tongue: observe their titles: The Oracles of those famous Magi, Ezra, Zoroaster, and Melchior; in which those particulars also which have been carried about by the Greeks, maim'd and miserably corrupted, are here to be read perfect and intire.

Concerning the Art of Sculpture immediately after the Flood, there are few we suppose make any considerable question, as that it might not be propagated by Noah to his posterity; though some there be that indeed admit of none before Moses; but what then shall we think of that Book of the Warres of the Lord, which this sacred Author mentions Num. 21? not to insist upon the 88 and 109 Psalmes, by many ascrib'd to some of the Patriarchs his predecessours. The above mention'd Mercurius Trismegistus, three hundred years after the Flood, and long before Moses engrav'd his secret and mysterious things in stone, as himself reports, reforming what had been depraved by the wicked Cham; some in letters, some in figures and enigmatical characters; such happly as were those contain'd in the magnificent and stupendous obelisks erected by Misra, the first Ægyptian Pharoah, which being at least four hundred years before Moses (as the most indefatigable Kircher has computed), does greatly presage their antiquity to have been before that holy prophet†. But not to put too much stresse upon superannuated tradition, this we are sure is of faith, and without

* Apud Cassianum.

† Obeliscus Phamphilius.

controversy; that in Moses we have the tables of stone engraven by the finger of God himself:° where the commandement is expresse, even against the abuse of this very Art, as well as an instance of the antiquity of Idolatry attesting that of Sculpture: THOU SHALT NOT MAKE TO THYSELF ANY GRAVEN IMAGE*. But this which is indeed the first writing that we have Scripture to vouch for, does yet presuppose Engraving to have been of much greater antiquity. What else were the Teraphim? What the Penates of Laban stolen by Rachel? The Idols of Terah? or the Ægyptian? &c. But we forbear to expatiate, onely that which is by Ben. Syrac somewhere in Ecclesiasticus † delivered, that the original of Idolatry was from images to preserve the memory of the dead‡, as in processe of time by the flatterers of great men it was turn'd to be an object of adoration, plainly inferrs, Graving to have been elder then Idolatry.

But now to recover its esteem again beyond all prejudice (how ever by others abus'd, as indeed many of the best things have been,) it was, we know, imputed for a spiritual talent in Bezaleel and Aholiah §, who made Intaglias to adorne the High Priests pectoral. And we have said how the Ægyptians reverenced it, as seeming to have us'd it before letters; or rather their hieroglyphics (importing sacred Sculpture) were those elements by which they transmitted to posterity what they esteem'd most worthy of record; and not (as some have imagin'd) wrapped up in those enigmatical figures, the secrets of their arts both divine and secular: For

> Nondum Flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
> Noverat; et Saxis tantum volucrisque feræque,
> Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia Linguas ||.

Whence Tacitus calls them *Antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa Saxis.* Such as were also the *Horapollinis notæ*, and all those other venerable antiquities of this nature, transported to Rome out of Ægypt, in no less then two and forty prodigious obelisks, of late interpreted by the industrious Kircher before cited. Suidas attributes the invention to the Father of the Faithful; others to Theut or Hermes,

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* Exod. xx. † c. xiv. ‡ Sc. Sap. c. 16. § 31 Exod. || Lucanus, lib. 3.

some to Cadmus and the Phœnicians. Bibliander will have Letters and Sculpture from Adam; Josephus from Henoch; Philo from Abraham; Eusebius from Moses; Cyprian from Saturne, where, by the way, because 'tis said he did *Litteras imprimere*, Peter Calaber (who much affects to call himself *Pomponius Lætus*) foolishly deduces, that even the Typographical Art* was known in the age of this hero; but thence, as we said, it descended to the Ægyptians by Misraim, and so was communicated to the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, thence to the Greeks, and finally to the Romans, from whom it was deriv'd to us, as Peter Crinitus in his 17th book †, *de Honestâ Disciplinâ*, out of a very antient MS. *Bibliothecæ Septimianæ*, seems to deduce, and thus summe them up together.

Moyses primus Hebraicas exaravit Literas.
Mente Phœnices sagaci condiderunt Atticas.
Quas Latini scriptitamus, edidit Nicostrata.
Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas.
Isis arte non minore protulit Ægyptiacas.
Gulfila promsit Getarum quas videmus Literas.

Now, should all this but relate to the several characters only, it shall yet serve our purpose; since whoever was the inventor of Letters, was also doubtless the father of Sculpture, as is apparent, if not by the former columns erected by Seth (one whereof Angelus Roccha in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana* presumes to have been of brasse), by several other instances; the writing with ink, on paper or parchment, being altogether a novelty in comparison to the more antient formes and materials, such as were the slitstones, or slates which succeeded the stately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark, and tablets of wood, which, from the German *bucher*, signifying the *fagus* or beech-tree, (whose fruit does still with us retain the name of *buch-mast*) were called books, to whatever voluble or folding matter applyed: for before the invention of paper, they us'd the leaves of Palmes, as Varro *de Sibylla;* then the rinds of trees; afterwards sheets of lead, linnen, wax, and ivory, as Plinie and Vopiscus tell us. They writ in silk amongst the Persians and Chineses; and lastly, were

* Vossius in Art. Hist. † Cap. 1.

invented parchment and paper. But whether in all these, or whatever the subject were (some few latter excepted), it was still by insculping, scarrifying, and making a kind of incision into it; especially intending to consign to posterity their lawes, divine and humane, Roman, Ægyptian, or Hebrew: for so of old

——— verba minantia fixo
Ære ligabantur *,

according to the Poet. Thus were the Hieronicæ preserv'd in the temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman Consuls in the Capitol; and as by those innumerable inscriptions of irrefragable and undeniable antiquitie does appear.

We have already computed how probable it is that Sculpture was in use in Ægypt somewhat before, or at least as soon as the Patriarch Abraham set his foot there: but the lesse discerning Greeks who receiv'd it from the Ægyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before Homer, if we will give ear to Josephus, before that of Tatian (a learned Assyrian, and contemporary with Justin Martyr) where he affirmes, οὐκ τῶν Ὁμήρου μόνον πρεσβύτερος ἔστιν, ὁ Μουσῆς ἔτι δὲ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφιων, Λίνου, φιλάμμωνος, Θαμύριδος, Ἀμφίωνος μουσαίου, Ὀρφέως, Δημοδόκου, Φημίου, Σιβύλλης, Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ κρητὸς, ὅστις εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο Αριστέα τοῦ Γροκοινησιού τοῦ τὰ Ἀριμασπία συγγράψαντος, Ἀσβόλου τε τοῦ Κενταύρου, καὶ Ἰσάτιδος Δρυμῶνος τε καὶ Ἐυμήλου τοῦ Κυπρίου, καὶ Ὥρου τοῦ Σαμίου καὶ Προσταντίδου τοῦ Ἀσθηναίου, &c. Where we have no lesse then seventeen Græcians nam'd elder then Homer. There are also enumerated the names of twenty Argive Kings from Inachus to Agamemnon, which strongly infers the means of recording by Sculpture and Writing to have been very antient. For so we read that the poems of Hesiod were engraven in lead. Aristotle mentions Daphne, a certain devotresse of Apollo; Sabinus and Diodorus many others. But when, or whoever it were, thence (as we said) it travelled into Greece, that theater of the Arts, where it soon arriv'd to the supreamest height of perfection, when being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of those, and the succeeding ages. Homer tells us of

* Ovid, Metam. 1.

the engraving in the shield of Achilles *; Hesiod that of Hercules; not to mention the Sculptures upon the charriot of the Sun, described by the Poet, because it is fictitious, though extreamly ingenious, and whence happly they might have their *Vehicula Cælata* mention'd by Q. Curtius †. But whether now these antient and famous pieces were hollow, like those of our burine, or the work of our chissel and repair'd embossments, might seem a difficulty to resolve, from the frequent interpretations we attributed to the verbe in the former chapter; if what we have here attested concerning the antiquity of letters, and consequently of flat incisions, pronounce not for its preheminence, however this may appear to the more judicious. Add to it, that both *Plastica*, (whatever others may fancy) unless we will ascend to the divine figuration of the first breathing Statue that was ever form'd (and with Pliny, derive it to be before, and the Mother of Sculpture), and the *Anaglyptic* Art, (not produc'd in the world 'till about the time of Belus, and the beginning of Gentilisme), were not 'till long after the use of letters; if Enoch's prophesy were not preserved by unwritten tradition, and the former apocryphal monuments have other foundation then the wit of the Rabbins, which we can by no means assent to in the generall. Besides, if we apply it to intaglias in stone, seals, and the like, for having been almost coevous with rings, (what was else the signet which Judah left with his daughter Tamar ‡?) it questionless derives its original before any history at present extant in the world, divine or humane, was committed to writing. Of which he who has a thirst to satisfie his curiosity farther, may consult Gorlæus, or Fortun. Licetus *de Annulis Antiquorum;* where also concerning their Sculpture, first in iron, then in gold, other metals and stones; and of which might very much be added, both touching their dignity, signification, and how they came at length to be worne so universally. Something we might here likewise insert of their constellated figures, or talismans, long since engraven upon certain instants and periods of the sun's ingresse into such and such particular signes of the Zodiac, treated of by Francis Rueus the physitian, Tralianus, and, *instar omnium*, by the learned Gaffarel at large; but we hasten to that which followes.

* Iliad, 3. Metam. l. 3. † L. 3. c. 3. ‡ Gen. xxxviii. 18.

CHAP. III.

OF THE REPUTATION AND PROGRESSE OF SCULPTURE AMONGST THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, DOWN TO THE MIDDLE-AGES; WITH SOME PRETENSIONS TO THE INVENTION OF COPPER-CUTS, AND THEIR IMPRESSIONS.

We have now done with the original, and will next endeavour to investigate what progress it has made amongst those glorious and universal monarchs, when Sculpture and all other noble arts were in their ascendent and highest reputation; I mean the Greeks and the Romans; for to the first does Herodotus appropriate the perfection of this art, not admitting it to have arriv'd at the latter till about the time of Spurius Cassius, when Baptist Alberti ascribes it to his countrymen the Tuscans.

Those who have well surveied the natural history of Pliny, will easily commute for the omission, if, out of pure indulgence to their eyes only, we forbear the transcribing of at least three or four intire chapters, industriously baulking those ample and luxurious fields of statues, as under the fusile and plaistic head *; because it suites not with our present design and institution: for to passe over the figures in metal, those of gypsum and other materials, the *Sculptores Marmoris* were so many, and the Greeks so extravagantly fond of their works, that at Rhodes alone, that small island, were no less than 73,000 *signa;* nor were there fewer at Athens, Olympia, Delphi, and several other cities, whereof whole armies of them were transferred to Rome, after Achaia had been conquered by L. Mummius, at which period the Greek arts began to rise, and be in such reputation amongst them; and this to so high an excesse, as Pliny records of his age, that there were almost as many statues as men, by a kind of noble contention (sayes Sr. H. Wotton†) in point of fertility 'twixt art and nature, and which he and my Lord Bacon improves to a politique as well as altogether an expenceful magnificency. It shall then suffice that we be sparing in these instances, and keep ourselves to those workes and intaglias only, which do nearest approach our design; of which sort

* l. 33. c. 8. l. 34. c. 12. l. 36. c. 6.

† Element. Architect. Instaurat. Scient.

may be esteemed those ἀποσφραγίσματα mentioned by Pliny, in which art that famous Pyrgoteles did so excell, as made Alexander the Great ordain that none should presume to carve his effigies save him only; to paint or cast him, besides Apelles and Lysippus,

> Edicto vetuit, ne quis se, præter Apellem,
> Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra
> Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia*.

Had Queen Elizabeth been thus circumspect, there had not been so many vile copies multiplyed from an ill painting; as being called in, and brought to Essex-house†, did for several years furnish the pastry-men with peels for the use of their ovens.

We wish the same might please his Majesty, and that none save such as for their excellent tallent had particular indulgence, might any more dare to represent his sacred person in painting or carving, then in his coyne and royal signature; for it is seriously a reproachfull thing only to behold how it is profan'd by the hand of so many vile and wretched bunglers (they deserve not the name of workmen) as blush not daily to expose their own shame, in so precious and rever'd a subject; and that the heads of kings and heroes should be permitted to hang for signes, among cats and owles, dogs and asses, at the pleasure of every tavern and tippling-house, we have frequently stood in admiration of. But so did not that of Alexander, as we noted; nor would Augustus make himself cheaper then that great master of his time, Dioscorides, pleas'd, whom he particularly chose to preserve and derive his divine effigies to the after ages, and to the honour of his memory, by what he left in those signets and other stones which he cut for that renown'd Emperour. Thus Sculpture began to be most eminent in stones and gemms, *auro, argento, ære, ferro, ligno, ebore, marmore, vitro*, &c. as this author affirms, where, discoursing of the famous works which were left by the masters of note upon record in his time, he seems to ascribe the invention to one Dipoenus and Scyllis; for we shall not here ascend so high as Prometheus, or speak much of Ideocus, Eucirapus, Lysistratus, Demophilus, Dedalus, Leochares, Policarmus, Myrmecides, and innumerable others. It would

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* Hor. E. Epist. 2.

† Where my L. of Leicester then lived.

be tedious (as we said) to transcribe the names but of the peices only of all those renowned men whom he there celebrates for their engravings on armour, cups, rings, glass, even to the very *Figulina Vasa cœlata*, such as Cotys brake of purpose, lest some other unexpected accident or mischance might put him into passion, as Plutarch tells the story*. *Hydriæ* and water-pots were thus wrought, and Pliny speaks of the engraving even of bread. 'Tis yet observable, that very few were found who took any pleasure to engrave in gold (as we conceive), being too soft a metall: but multitudes that wrought in silver, especially the famous Mentor, of whose work Varro affirmes he had a piece in his possession, which he infinitely valued; for, it seems, he had never finished above eight, which were most of them lost. Two more of his cups had L. Crassus the orator, priz'd at C. HS.† *Confessus est tamen se nunquam his uti, propter verecundiam ausum;* so rich, it seems, and magnificent they were, that even this great person professed he never durst make use of them out of pure modesty, and to avoid the censure of being thought too luxurious. Martial describes another, where a lizard was so lively represented, men were afraid it would bite.

Inserta Phialæ Mentoris manu ducta
Lacerta vivit, et timetur argentum.

Next to Mentor was Acragus, Boethus, and Mys, whose master-piece was expos'd at Rhodes; especially those glorious vasas and goblets of the Bacchanalia, engraven by the foremention'd Acragus, and of boscage, chases, and hunting. Famous also were Calamis, Antipater, and Stratonicus, who engraved the Satyr sleeping, a stupendous piece of art. Then there flourished Tauriscus, of Cizicum; Aristus and Eunicus, both of them Mitylenians; likewise Hecates, and the renowned Praxiteles, about the time of Pompey; Posidonius of Ephesus, and Ledus, famous for representing of battails, &c. To be brief (for their works are endless), Zopirus who engrav'd the court of the Areopagi in a cup, and the trial of Orestes. After him lived Pytheus, and several others too long here to recite. Nor were all these Gravers in flat, but, as we said, in relievo some of them, and more approaching to the Statuary. Besides

* Plut. in Apotheg.

† "An hundred sesterces, about 800l."

such as were excellent medaillists, from Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, &c. down to the reigns of Commodus and Pertinax; for from Severus it greatly decay'd, and the most tollerable engravings of the former lasted but to Nerva, the best being those which were cut and stamped in the time of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, about which period Sculpture beginning to degenerate in Greece, it travell'd and came to Rome, now opulent and victorious. But after these, and the formerly recorded by Pliny, there were not many who left either name or work famous to posterity; for, besides that the monarchy was soon broken and disorder'd, the later Emperors became less curious, rich, and magnificent; so as even in the time of the Great Constantine it self, arts began manifestly to degenerate: but, when afterwards the Goths and Saracens had broken in upon the Roman empire, and made those horrid devastations, they were in a manner utterly lost, as the reliques which they left in Statuary, Sculpture, Architecture, Letters, and all other good arts, do yet testifie. It is true, that the ruder Danes and Norvegians had in these times their Runic writings, or engraven letters, as in their Rimstoc or Primstaf, some square or long piece of board, or staff, having an almanac carved on it. So they engrav'd their letters on bones, either whole or sliced, and bound up together, like our tallies; also upon jaw-bones of the greater fishes taken on their coasts; and *Wormius* in *Fasti Danici L.* 1. *chap.* 18. mentions Danish hieroglyphics, on the tombs of their old heroes; lyons, bears, horses, dogs, dragons, snakes, &c. wrought on the hardest rocks, together with Runic characters; so as these nations seldom travell'd without their *græf*, or *græf-sex*, a kind of point or stiletto, with which they us'd to carve out letters and other figures upon occasion; but it was yet so rude, and their gusto so deprav'd, that they demolish'd and ruin'd all those goodly fabricks and excellent works wherever they became masters, introducing their lame and wretched manner in all those arts which they pretended to restore, even when now they became a little more civiliz'd by the conversation of the more polish'd and flourishing countries; for it was not any general and imaginary decay, which some have conceited to be diffus'd upon the universal face of nature, that the succeeding periods did not emerge or attain to the excellency of the former ages, antient masters, and renowned

workes; but to the universal decay of noble and heroic genius's to encourage them. *Priscis enim temporibus,* (saies Petronius)* *cum adhuc nuda virtus placeret, vigebant artes ingenuæ, summumque certamen inter homines erat, ne quid profuturum sæculis diu lateret. Itaque, Hercules! herbarum omnium succos* Democritus *expressit; et, ne lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem inter experimenta consumpsit:* Eudoxus *quidem in cacumine excelsissimi montis consenuit, ut astrorum cœlique motus deprehenderet: et* Chrysippus *ut ad inventionem sufficeret, ter helleboro animum detersit. Verum, ut ad plastas convertar,* (which comes nearest our instance) Lysippum, *statuæ unius lineamentis inhærentem, inopia extinxit; et* Myron, *qui pæne hominum animas, ferarumque, ære comprehendit, non invenit heredem. At nos, vino scortisque demersi, ne paratas quidem artes audemus cognoscere; sed, accusatores antiquitatis, vitia tantum docemus et discimus, &c.* He concludes; *Nolito ergo mirari, si pictura deficit, cum omnibus diis hominibusque formosior videatur massa auri, quam quicquid Apelles, Phidiasue, Græculi delirantes, fecerunt.*

And if thus, even in the greatest height and perfection of the sciences, the eloquent satyrist could find just reason to deplore their decadence, and censure the vices of that age; what shall we say of ours, so miserably declining, and prodigiously degenerate? We want Alexanders, Augustus's, such as Francis the 1. Cosimo di Medices, Charles the V.; those fathers and Mecænas's of the arts, who by their liberality and affection to virtue may stimulate and provoke men to gallant exploits; and that being thereby once at their ease from the penurie and necessities which depresse the noblest mindes, they might work for glory, and not for those trifling and illiberal rewards which hardly would find them bread, should they employ but half that time upon their studies, which were requisite to bring their labours to the supremest perfection; since, according to that saying, οὐδείν τῶν μεγάλων ἄφνω γίνεται; *nothing which is great can be done without leasure.* If a quarter of that which is thrown away upon cards, dice, dogs, mistresses, base and vitious gallanteries, and impertinent follies, were employ'd to

* Petronii Arb. Satyricon. Cap. 88.

the encouragement of arts, and promotion of science, how illustrious and magnificent would that age be; how glorious and infinitely happy? We complain of the times present, 'tis *we* that make them bad; we admire the former, 'tis the effect of our ignorance only; and which is yet more criminal, in that we have had their examples to instruct, and have made them to reproch us. Pardon this indignation of ours, O ye that love vertue and cultivate the sciences!

To returne to our institution again: Sculpture and Chalcography seem to have been of much antienter date in China then with us; where all their writings and printed records were engraven either on copper plates or cut in tablets of wood, of which some we possesse, and have seen more, representing (in ill pictures) landskips, stories, and the like. Josephus Scaliger affirmes that our first letters in Europe were thus cut upon wood, before they invented the *typos æneos;* instancing in a certain *Horologium B. Mariæ,** which he sayes he had seen printed upon parchment a great while since: but Semedo would make the world believe that the foremention'd Chinezes have been possess'd of this invention about sixteen hundred years, some others affirme 3700. However, that they were really masters of it long before us, is universally agreed upon; and is yet in such esteem amongst them, that the very artizan who compounds the ink for the presse, is not accounted amongst the mechanic professors; but is dignify'd with a liberal salary, and particular priviledges. They also engrave upon stone, and imprint with it; but with this difference in the working-off, that the paper being black the Sculpture remains white. More admirable is that which they attest was found in Mexico and other places of the new world, where they hieroglyphiz'd both their thoughts, histories, and inventions to posterity, not much unlike to the Egyptians, though in lesse durable and permanent matter †: the same likewise Jo. Laet affirmes of the Sculpture among the Acadiæ, and those of Nova Francia; so natural (it seems) and useful was this art, even to the least civiliz'd amongst the Heathens. And there is indeed nothing at which

* Hist. Chin. part. 1. cap. 7.

† Several curious specimens are engraved in the "Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland." Folio. Paris, 1810.

we more admire, and deplore, then that this facile and obvious invention; and which would have transmitted to us so many rare and admirable things, was never hit upon among the Greeks and inventive Romans, who engrav'd so many inscriptions both in brasse and marble; impressed and publish'd so many thousands of medails and coynes as are in the hands and collections of the virtuosi, and the bowels of the earth, wherever their conquests extended themselves, or eagles display'd their wings.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE INVENTION AND PROGRESSE OF CHALCOGRAPHY IN PARTICULAR, TOGETHER WITH AN AMPLE ENUMERATION OF THE MOST RENOWNED MASTERS, AND THEIR WORKES.

THE Art of Engraving and working off from plates of copper, which we call Prints, was not yet appearing or born with us till about the year 1490, which was near upon 50 years after Typography had been found out by John Guittemberg; or whoever that lucky person were (for 'tis exceedingly controverted) that first produc'd the invention. There is a collection of antient Offices adorned with several Sculptures (if so we may terme those wretched Gravings in the infancy of this Art) where the Devil is but one great blot (as indeed he is the foulest of the Creation) and the rest of the figures monochroms as ridiculous and extravagant; though still as the invention grew older, refining and improving upon it. One of the antientest Gravings which we have seen, to which any mark is oppos'd, hath M. 3. and M. C. in one of the corners of the plates; and it was long that they used the initial letters of their names only, and sometimes but one, as in those of Lucas. Albert Durer did frequently add the year of the Lord, and his own age from ten to fourteen, &c. performing such things as might shame most of the best masters, for the true and steady design, the incomparable proportion, and stroke of his graver. But Israel, Martin Schoen, and the Todesco (who is by some sirnamed the Master of the Candlestick, because of the foulnesse of his ink) were of the very first, as far as we can collect, who published any works of this kind under

their names, wrought off by the rolling-presse, and whose slender attempts gave encouragement to those who have succeeded.

George Vasari, who has been exceedingly curious in this enquiry, attributes the first invention of this art to one Maso Finiguerra, a Florentine, about anno 1460, which exceeds our former computation by thirty years; but then we are to consider by what progresse and degrees, for it was first only in silver, to fill with a certain encaustic or black enamel, which it seems gave him the first hint how to improve it in plates of brass, which having engraved, he did onely fume, taking off the impression with a moyst paper and a rolling pin. This mean commencement was yet afterwards pursu'd by Baccio Baldini, a Goldsmith, his country-man, whose works coming to the sight of Andrea Mantegna in Rome, invited that great painter to give him some designes of his own for his encouragement; and from thence it travell'd into Flanders to one Martine of Antwerp, whose works (as we observ'd) were usually countersign'd with M. the first whereof were the *Five wise and five foolish Virgins*, and a *Crucifix*, which was so well cut that Gerardo, a Florentine Painter, would needs copy it. After this he published his *Four Evangelists; our Saviour* and the *Twelve Apostles;* a *Veronica, S. George, Christ before Pilate*, and *Assumption of the B. Virgin*, one of the rarest that ever he did; besides that *St. Anthonies Temptation*, which was so well performed that Michael Angelo (exceedingly ravished with it) would needs wash it over with his own hands.

The next that appeared of note was the formerly mention'd and renowned Albert Durer, who flourished about the year 1503, and who had performed wonders both in copper and wood, had he once fortun'd upon the least notion of that excellent manner which came afterwards to be in vogue, of giving things their natural distances and agreeable sweetnesse, the defect of which Sir H. Wotton does worthily perstringe both in him and some others*. But to proceed; Albert being very young, set forth *Our Lady;* some designes of *Horses after the life;* the *Prodigal; S. Sebastian*, in little; a *Nymph ravished by a Monster;* a *Woman on Horseback; Diana chastising a Nymph who flies*

* Elements of Architecture. 4to. 1624.

to a Satyr for protection, in which he discovered his admirable talent and skill in expressing nudities; a *Countryman and Woman playing on Bagpipes, with Poultry, &c.* about them; *Venus or the Temptation of the Stove;* his *two St. Christophers*, rare cuts. After that, he engraved several stamps in wood, proof whereof he gave in the decollation of *St. Jo. Baptist* with *Herodias; Pope Sixtus; St. Stephen; Lazarus; St. George;* a *Passion* in great; the *Last Supper; Christ's apprehension in the Garden; Descent into Limbo, and Resurrection;* with eight more prints of this subject, which are held to be spurious. All these he published anno 1510. The year following he set forth the *Life of Our Lady*, in twenty sheets, rarely conducted; the *Apocalyps* in fifteen sheets, of which the Painters have made sufficient use; *Christ bemoaning our sins.* Then applying himself to grave in copper again, he published his *Melancholia*, three different *Madonas*, with thirty pieces besides concerning the *Passion;* and which being afterwards imitated by that rare Artist Marco Antonio (who had procur'd them at Venice) and published for originals (so exactly it seems they were perform'd) did so insense Albert, that he made a journey to Venice expresly to complain of the injury to the Senate, and obtain'd at last, that M. Antonio should no more be permitted to set his mark or plagia, which was all he could procure of them. Another emulator of Albert's was Lucas van Leyden, whom at his returne into Germany, he found had well neer overtaken him for the sweetnesse of his burine, though something inferiour of design: such were a *Christ bearing the Crosse*, and another of his *Crucifixion; Sampson; David on a Horse; Martyrdome of S. Peter; Saul and David;* the *Slaughter of Goliah;* the *Famous Piper; Virgil's*, and some other heads; all which works did so inflame his antagonist Albert, that in a laudable revenge he publish'd his *Arm'd Cavalier*, or *Dream*, in which the brightnesse and lustre of the armour and horse is rarely conducted. Then in the year 1512 he set forth six other small stories of the *Passion*, which Lucas also imitated, though hardly reach'd. Then a *S. George; Solomon's Idolatry;* the *Baptisme of our Lord; Pyramus and Thisbie; Ahasuerus and Hester, &c.* These again incited Albert to publish that *Temperantia*, whom he elevates above the clouds, *S. Eustathius and*

the Hart, a most incomparable cut; his *Death's Head in a Scutcheon*, and several *German Coates* full of rare mantlings and invention. Also *S. Hierom*, a *Christ and twelve Apostles* in small: *anno* 1523, many heads, as that of *Erasmus*, *Cardinal Albert*, the *Imperial Elector's*, and his own, with divers other.

Lucas again, in emulation of these, set forth his *Joseph and four Evangelists;* the *Angels appearing to Abraham; Susanna; David praying; Mordecay triumphing; Lot;* the *Creation of Adam and Eve;* the *Story of Cain and Abel, anno* 1529. But what procur'd him immortal glory was his great *Crucifix; Ecce Homo*, and *Conversion of Saint Paul;* in which he exceeded himself both for the work and ordonance; the distances being better conducted then Albert's, and indeed so well observ'd, as gave light even to some of the best painters that succeeded him; so much are they oblig'd to this art, and to this rare workman. He graved also several *Madonas*, our blessed *Saviour* and *Apostles;* together with divers *Saints*, *Armes* and *Mantlings*, a *Mountebanc*, and many more.

But to returne now into Italy, from whence we first sallied. In the time of Raphael Urbine flourished the renouned Marco Antonio, who graved after those incomparible pieces of that famous painter to whom he was so dear, that the honour he has done him to posterity will appear as long as that School of Raphael remains in the Pope's chamber at the Vatican, or any memorial of it lasts; though, to speak truth, even of this rare graver, the pieces which he hath published seem to be more estimable yet for the choice and imitation, then for any other perfection of the burine; as forming most of his figures and touches of too equal force, and by no means well observing the distances, according to the rules of perspective, that tendernesse and, as the Italians terme it, *Morbidezza* in the hatchings, which is absolutely requisite to render a piece accomplish'd and without reproch.

We have recited above what he coppied after Albert Durer; but being at Rome, and applying himself to Raphael, he cut that rare *Lucretia* of his, which he perform'd so much to satisfaction, that divers excellent painters desir'd him to publish many of their works. This produc'd Urbine's *Judgment of Paris*, at which the city was so ravish'd, that

they decreed the golden apple to Antonio before the fair goddesse. Then he set forth the *Slaughter of the Innocents, Neptune,* the *Rape of Helena,* all of them of Raphael's designing: also the *Martyrdome of St. Felix in the boyling oyl,* which purchas'd him so much fame and credit; but this excellent painter would alwayes from that time forwards have one of his servants to attend only M. Antonio's rolling-press, and to work off his plates, which then began to be marked with R. S. for Raphael Sancio, which was the name of Urbine, and with M. F. for Marco Fecit. Of these there is a *Venus* design'd by Raphael, *Abraham and his Handmaid.* After this he graved all those round designes painted in the Vatican by the same hand; likewise the *Caliope, Providentia, Justitia, the Muses, Apollo, Parnassus, the Poets, Æneas and Anchises,* the famous *Galatea,* all of them after Raphael: also the three *Theological Vertues* and four *Moral, Pax, Christ and the Twelve;* several *Madonas, St. Hierome, Tobit, St. John Baptist,* and divers other saints; besides many prints after the *Cartoons* of Raphael, which had been design'd to be wrought in tapestry and arras; as the stories of *St. Peter, Paul, Stephen, John, St. Catharine,* and sundry heads to the life, &c. especially that incomparable one of *Pietro Aretino* the poet. Some things likewise being sent by Albert Durer out of Germany to Raphael, were, upon his recommendation, afterwards cut by M. Antonio, together with the *Innocents,* a *Cœnaculum,* and *St. Cecilia's Martyrdom* of Raphael's invention: then he publish'd his *Twelve Apostles* in little, and divers Saints for the help of painters, as *St. Hierome;* the *naked Woman and the Lion,* after Raphael; *Aurora,* and from the antique the *Three Graces.*

Marco di Ravenna was one of Antonio's schollars, who had also, together with Augustino Venetiano, the honour to dignifie his gravings with Raphael's cypher; though the latter often us'd A. V.I. his own initial letters; of both their cutting are a *Madona,* with a *Christus mortuus;* and in a large sheet the *B. Virgin praying,* and a *Nativity* in great also: the *Metamorphoses of Lycaon; a Perfumer; Alexander magnus and Roxana; a Cœna Domini;* the *Annuntiation,* all design'd by Raphael. Besides these were set forth two stories of the *Marriage of Psyche*; and indeed there was hardly any thing which

ever Raphael either painted or design'd, but what were graven by one or both of these workmen; besides divers other things after Julio Romano, viz. all that he painted in Raphael's Lodge, or gallery of the Vatican; some whereof are signed with M. R. and others with A. V. to shew they had been imitated by others, as was the *Creation;* the *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel; Noah; Abraham;* the *Passage over the Red Sea;* the *Promulgation of the Law;* the *Fall of Manna; David and Goliah,* which also M. Antonio had published before; as likewise the *Temple of Solomon;* his *Judgment on the Harlots;* the *Queen of Sheba's Visit,* and many other histories collected out of the Old Testament, all of which were published before Raphael's decease: for after that Augustino wrought with Baccio Bandinelli, a sculptor of Florence, who caus'd him to grave his *Antonius and Cleopatra,* very rare things, with divers other designs; as the *Slaughter of the Innocents,* divers *Nudities,* and *Clad Figures*; not to omit those excellent and incomparable drawings and paintings of Andrea del Sarto, after which he graved; though in the *Christo mortuo* not altogether succeeding so well as had been wished.

But to come again to Marco Antonio, because there is not a paper of his to be lost. After Raphael's death did Julio Romano publish some of his own designes in print. I say after his death, for before, though he were an excellent painter, yet durst he never take the boldness upon him. Such were the *Duel of Horses;* a *Venus,* which he had formerly painted; the *Penance of Mary Magdalen;* the *Four Evangelists;* and some *bassi relievi,* with many things that Raphael had design'd for the Corridor of the Vatican, and which were afterwards retouched by Tomaso Barlacchi. We will not contaminate this discourse with those twenty vile designes of Julio, cut by M. Antonio, and celebrated with the impure verses of Peter Aretino, by which he so dishonour'd this excellent art, as well as himself, because it deserved a severer animadversion and chastisement then was inflicted upon him for it; though to commute for this extravagancy, he publish'd the *Martyrdom of St. Laurence,* in which he also reformed those designes of Baccio Bandinelli to the great reputation of the art of Chalcography.

About the same time flourish'd Giouanni Battista Mantuano, disciple

of Julio Romano, who published a *Madona*, his *armed Mars and Venus*; the *Burning of Troy*, an extraordinary piece (his prints are usually sign'd I.B.M.); also his *three sheets of Battails*, cut by some other hand, a *Physitian applying of Cupping-glasses to a Woman*; *Christ's Journey into Ægypt*; *Romulus and Rhemus*; the *Stories of Pluto, Jupiter and Neptune*; the *Miseries of Imprisonment*; *Interview of the Armies of Scipio and Hannibal*; *St. John Baptist's Nativity*, cut by Sebastiano de Reggio, all after Julio Romano.

Giorgio Mantuano set forth the Facciata of the Pope's chappel; M. Angelo's *Judgement*; *St. Peter's Martyrdome*; the *Conversion of St. Paul*, &c.; and some plates were sent abroad about the year 1530, eaten with *aqua fortis* after Parmesano; for, as *ab ære, deventum ad Tabulas ceratas* in writing, the use of the *Palimpsestus*, table books, *plumbæ lamellæ* and the like; so happened it also in this art of Chalcography; and etching with corrosive waters began by some to be attempted with laudable success, as in this recital we shall frequently have occasion to remember: but whether those symeters and blades brought us from Damascus, and out of Syria, and wrought with these strong waters, might give any light to this expeditious and useful invention, we are not yet inform'd; and the effect was sufficiently obvious after that of the burine had been well considered.

Ugo da Carpi did things in stamp which appear'd as tender as any drawings, and in a new way of chiaro-scuro, or mezzo-tinto, by the help of two plates, exactly conter-calked, one serving for the shadow, the other for the heightning; and of this he publish'd a Sybilla after Raphael, which succeeded so rarely well, that he improv'd the curiosity to three colours; as his *Æneas and Anchises*, *Descent from the Cross*, story of *Symon Magus*, a *David* after the same Urbin, and a *Venus*, do testifie. This occasioned many others to imitate him, as in particular, Baldassare Peruzzi, who graved the *Hercules*, *Parnassus*, and the *Muses*; and Francisco Parmegiano, who having set out *Diogenes* in this guise, a very rare print, instructed Antonio di Trento in the art, who published his *Peter* and *Paul* in chiaro-obscuro, the *Tyburtine Sybill*, and a *Madona*; but none was there who exceeded those of Bec-

cafumi, especially his two *Apostles* in wood, and the *Alchemist* in aqua fortis.

Fran. Parmegiano (whom we already mentioned) may be esteemed for one of the first that brought the use of aqua-fortis into reputation; so tender and gracefull were some of his etchings, as appears in that rare *Descent of the Cross*, *Nativity*, and several other pieces.

Baptista Vicentino and Del Moro set forth many curious landskips.

Girolamo Cocu, *the Liberal Sciences*, &c.

Giacomo del Cavaglio cut many things after Rosso Fiorentino, as the *Metamorphosis of Saturn into a Horse; the Rape of Proserpine; Antoninus and the Swan;* some of the *Herculean Labours;* a book of the *Gods* and their *Transformations*, whereof part are after Perino del Vaga; also the *Rape of the Sabines*, an incomparable print, had it been perfect; but the city of Rome happening at that time to be in some disorder, the plates were lost. He graved likewise for Parmegiano the *Espousals of our Lady*, and a rare *Nativity* after Titian; not to conceal his admirable talent in cutting of onixes, christals, and other estimable stones.

Eneas Vico de Parma engraved the *Rape of Helena* after old Rosso; a *Vulcan* with some *Cupids* about him; *Leda* after Mich. Angelo; the *Annuntiation* designed by Titian; the story of *Judith*, the portrait of *Cosimo di Medices*, &c.; also the *Contest 'twixt Cupid and Apollo before the Gods;* the *Conversion of St. Paul* in great, a very rare stamp; the head of *Jovanni di Medici, Charles the V.* and some rare medails which are extant in the hands of the curious. He also published *St. George;* several *Habits of Countries;* the *Stemmata*, or trees *of the Emperours*, and divers other famous pedigrees.

Lamberto Suave set forth 13 prints of *Christ and his Disciples*, far better graved than design'd; also the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, and a *St. Paul*, which are skilfully and very laudably handled.

Gio. Battista de Cavaglieri has cut the *Descent from the Cross*, a *Madona*, and many others.

Antonio Lanferri and Tomaso Barlacchi graved divers things after Michael Angelo, and procured so many as were almost numberlesse: but what they publish'd of better use were divers grotescos, antiquities,

and pieces serving to architecture, taken out of the old buildings and ruines yet extant; which afterwards Sebastiano Serlio refining upon, compos'd the better part of that excellent book of his: and of this nature are the things published by Antonio Labbaco and Barozzo da Vignola.

The famous Titian himself left some rare things graven with his own hand in wood, besides his *Pharo* in the great *Cartoons*, divers *Landskips*, a *Nativity*, *St. Hierom*, *St. Francis*; and in copper, a *Tantalus*, *Adonis*; also in box, *the Triumph of Faith*, *Patriarchs*, *Sybills*, *Innocents*, *Apostles*, *Martyres*, with our *Saviour borne up in a Chariot by the four Evangelists*, *Doctors*, and *Confessors*; also the *B. Virgin*, a *St. Anna*, which he first painted in chiaro-oscuro on the sepulcher of Luigi Trivisano, in St. Giovanni e paola at Venice; *Samson and Dallila*; some *Shepheards* and *Animals*; three *Bertucci* sitting, and encompassed with serpents like the *Läocoon*; not to mention what were published by Giulio Buonasoni, and those which were cut after Raphael, Giulo Romano, Parmegiano, and several others.

Baptista Franco, a Venetian painter, has shewed both his dexterity in the graver and aqua-fortis also; by the *Nativity*, *Adoration of the the Magi*, *Predication of St. Peter*, some *Acts of the Apostles*, *Histories of the Old Testament*, after several excellent masters.

Renato did divers rare things after Rosso, as in that of *Francis the First his passing to the Temple of Jupiter*; *the Salutation of the B. Virgin*; and a *Dance of Ten Women*, with several others.

Luca Penni published his two *Satyrs whipping of Bacchus*; a *Leda*, *Susanna*, and some things after Primaticcio: also the *Judgement of Paris*; *Isaac upon the Altar*; a *Christ*; a *Madona espousing of St. Catharine*; *the Metamorphosis of Calista*, *Concilium Deorum*, *Penelope*, and some others in wood. Who does not with admiration and even extasie behold the works of Francesco Marcolini? especially his *Garden of Thoughts*; *Fate*, *Envy*, *Calamity*, *Fear*, *Praise*, so incomparably cut in wood.

Nor lesse worthy of commendation are the gravings of Gabrielle Giolito, in the *Orlando* of Ariosto; as also those eleven pieces of *Anatomie* made for Andrea Vessalino, design'd by Calcare the Fleming, an excellent painter, and which were afterwards engraven in copper by Valverde in little.

Christophero Coriolano graved the heads in Vasari's Lives of the Painters, being after the designes of the same Vasari; they are in wood, and rarely done.

Antonio Salamanca did put forth some very good things.

Andrea Mantegna, that admirable painter, engraved (from the paintings now at Hampton Court) his *Triumphs of Cæsar* with great art; as likewise *Baccanalias*, and *Sea-Gods*; a *Christ taken from the Cross, his Burial*, and *Resurrection*; which being done both in brass and wood, were conducted with that skill, as for the softness and tendernesse of the lights, they appeared as if they had been painted in miniature.

Nor may we here omit to celebrate, for the glory of the sex, Propertia de Rossi, a Florentine sculptress, who having cut stupendous things in marble, put forth also some rare things in *Stampi* to be encountred amongst the collections of the curious.

And about this age, or a little after, flourished Martin Rota, famous for his *Judgment* after Michael Angelo in a small volume, much to be preferred to that which is commonly sold at Rome in so many sheets; likewise his *St. Anthony*, and divers more. Jacomo Palma has, besides his excellent book of drawing, set forth many rare pieces, very much esteemed.

Andrea Mantuana graved both in wood and copper: of his were the *Triumph of our Saviour*, after Titian, and some things in chiaro-oscuro after Gio: di Bologna and Domenico Beccafumi, whom but now we mentioned; also the *Roman Triumphs* in imitation of Mantegna; a *Christus mortuus* after Alexand. Casolini, &c.

Finally, towards the end of this century appeared Augustino and Annibal Carracci, most rare Painters and exquisite Engravers; for, indeed, when these two arts go together, then it is, and then only, that we may expect to see the utmost efforts and excellency of the *Bolino*. Amongst the famous pieces communicated to us by these masters, we may esteem the *Monelli*, *Æneas* of Barrochio's invention, and *St. Hierom.* After *Tintoret*, the large and famous *Crucifix* of three sheets in S. Rocco's school, which so ravished the painter; *Mercury and the Graces; Sapientia; Pax; Abundantia chasing Mars away;* the *Ecce Homo* of Correggio; *St. Francis* of Cavalier Vanni; a *Venus* in little, with a *Satyr*, and some other *Nudities*, with something a too luxurious

graver; S. Giustina's *Martyrdom of Paulo Veroneze; St. Catharine;* and that renown'd *St. Hierom* of Correggio: also in aqua-fortis his brother Annibal etched another *Venus;* the *Woman of Samaria at the Well;* a *Christ* in little; and a *Madona with the Bambino,* and *St. John;* the famous *St. Roch;* and the *spiteful Coronation with Thornes;* the *Christus mortuus* bewailed by the devout sex, the original painting whereof hangs in the D. of Parma's palace at Caprarvola, and is in the cut one of the tenderest and rarest things that can be imagined, abating the vileness of the plate, which was most unfortunately chosen, though through that accident rendered inimitable, and never to be counterfeited. There is likewise his *Magdalen,* and a *Landskip,* touch'd with the graver a little; likewise a *Sylenus,* all of them incomparably design'd; nor, indeed, did any of the fore-celebrated artists exceed the Carracci, especially Annibal, for the noblenesse and freedom of his postures, bodies, and limbs, which he express'd in greatest perfection. We may not omit the *Purification* which he grav'd; and *Villamena,* made in large; nor the *St. Anthony,* the original whereof is in the palace of Signior Francisco della Vigna, at Venice; nor, lastly, the *Resurrection,* and the two *Cœnaculæ.*

In the time of Sixtus Quintus, and since, lived Francisco Villamena, a rare workman, whether consider'd for the equality of his hatches, which he conducted with a liberty and agreeableness suitable to the perfection of his design (as is sufficiently apparent in that famous plate which he engrav'd after Paulo Veroneze, representing *Christ in the Temple),* or in those things after the Vatican paintings by Raphael, some whereof being never finished, came into a private hand. The *Triumphant Venus on the Sea; Moses;* some cuts after Frederick Barroccio in aqua-fortis; divers *Catafalcos* of excellent architecture; *Ignatius Loyola;* the story of *Psyche,* containing many sheets; a *Combate of Men* casting stones at one another; and, lastly, that laborious and usefull book, comprehending the *Historical Columne of Trajan,* design'd by Julio Romano and Girolamo Mutiano, which at my being at Rome (then quite out of print) I procur'd of his widow, who was then living, but would not part with the plates out of her sight.

Giovanni Maggi was an excellent painter and etcher, as he has suffi-

ciently discovered in his rare *Perspectives, Landskips,* and his *Roma* in the larger *Cartoon;* likewise in the *Nine priviledg'd and stationary Churches;* with the three *Magi,* who offer presents to our *Saviour,* in allusion to his name.

Leonardo, Isabella, and Bernardino Parasol, that we may furnish all the sorts of art in this kind, cut exquisitively in wood, which is a graving much more difficult, because all the work is to be abated and cut hollow, which is to appear white; so that (by a seeming paradox) as the matter diminishes the forme increases; as one wastes, the other growes perfect. These all flourished about the year 1560, and left us three little histories of the *Salutation, Visitation,* and *St. John Baptist:* also *Christ's Washing his Disciples feet;* and the cuts to Castor Durante's *Herbal.* Isabella, who was his (Leonardo's) wife, publish'd a book of all the sorts of *Points, Laces,* and *Embroderies,* with other curious works for the ladies, being all of her own invention (except the frontis-piece only, which is Vilamena's), and the *Plants* in the Herbal of the Prince Cesi d'Aquasporte, a learned person of that age. Lastly, the son did also put forth some few things of his work; but was a far better painter in fresco.

Antonio Tempesta was a most exact and rare designer, for which his works are much more estimable then for the excellency of his points and needles. He has left us of his essayes in aqua-fortis, the *Histories of the Fathers;* the *Twelve Moneths of the Year; Roma,* in a very large volume; an incomparable book of *Horses,* another of *Hunting,* the plates now worn out and retouch'd with the *Bolino; St. Hierom,* and a *Judgement:* the *Wars of Charles the Fifth,* rarely perform'd; the *Metamorphoses of Ovid;* the *Battails of the Jewes,* especially that of the *Amalakites* in great; the *Creation* and *Old Testament;* Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalemma Liberata*; the *Birds* and *Falconry* in Pietro Olina's book; with divers others well known, and much esteemed by the Virtuosi.

Cherubino Alberti has celebrated his incomparable graver in that *Presentation of our Lord in the Temple;* the *Adam expulsed out of Paradise:* in the *Puti,* divers *Vasas,* and other pieces, which he wrought

after Polydoro de Caravaggio and Michael Angelo, commonly sold at Rome, and universally collected.

Horatio Borgiani cut the *History of the Bible* in the Peristyle of Raphael at the Vatican, so often made mention of, and out of which, as from a school of the noblest science, most of the great painters of the world have since taken forth their lessons. He likewise published some things in chiar-oscuro, which were rarely heightned.

Raphael Guido, a Tuscane, engraved many pieces after Cavalier Arpino, as the *Flagellation*, *Romulus*, *Icarus*, the *Angelus Custos*, *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, a *Christus mortuus*, and *St. Andrew the Apostle*, after Barrocio.

Jovanni Baptista della Marca put forth many devices of *Shields*, *Armours*, *Busts*, and *Trophies* cut in wood.

To these we might add those excellent things of Camillo Graffico, and Cavalier Salimbene, Anna Vaiana, with innumerable more; but we have yet other fruitful countries to visit, to whose praises we must be just; only we may not forget the incomparable Stephano Della Bella, a Florentine painter now or lately living, whose intire collection in aqua-fortis is deservedly admir'd, and here in particular to be celebrated by me, in acknowledgement of some obligation I have for his civilities abroad; and of this artist's works, flowing and most luxurious for invention, are those things which in imitation of Callot he did in little, being yet very young; as the *Scenes* and *Dances of the Horses at the Marriage of the Duke of Tuscany; Compartimenti*, *Cartells*, *Ornaments* and *Capricios* for carvers and embroiderers; a book of *Gobbi*, and divers *Vasas*, *Landskips* in rounds and others; a book of *Beasts*, done exceedingly to the natural; the principles of *Designe*, *Heads*, and other touches, very rare and full of spirit; several pieces of our *Lady*, *Christ*, *St. Joseph*, &c.; *Jacob's Descent into Egypt*; the *Procession and Exposure of the Sacrament*, where there is an altar of curious architecture enriched with festival ornaments; the *Cavalcado of the Polonian Embassadour into Rome*, with divers other proceedings, pieces of *Polonians*, *Persians*, and *Moores on Horseback*, breathing a rich and noble fancy: also *Sieges*, *Engines* for war, with *Skirmishes*, *Land*

and Sea Fights; the *Metamorphoses of Ovid;* the *Sultana and her Son taken by the Knights of Malta;* and, to conclude (for there is no end of his industry), the *Prospect of the Pont Neuf at Paris,* than which there is not certainly extant a more lively representation of the busie genius of that mercurial nation; nor a piece of greater variety, as to all encounters and accidents which one can imagine may happen amongst so numerous a people and concourse of mankind.

Lastly (for they were likewise some of them gravers in copper and very rare chalcographers), we must not omit to make honourable mention here of those incomparable sculptors and cutters of medails, whether in gems or metals; such as were (besides those we touch'd in the former chapter) Vittor, Gambello, Giovanni dal Cavino the Padouan, and a son of his; Benevento Cellini, Leone Aretino, Jacopo da Tresso, Fred. Bonzagna; and, above all, Gio. Jacopo, who have almost exceeded, at least approach'd, the antients. To these may we add Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, Matteo dal Nasaro, Giovanni dal Cornivole, Domenica Milaneze, Pietro Maria de Pescia, Marmita, and Ludovico his son, Valeria Vincentino, who had been in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and left a sardonix which he cut [which Jerome Lennier shewed me, and, I think, is now in his Majesty's cabinet], representing the head of that famous heroine, inferiour to none of the antients. There was likewise Michelino, who, with the above-named Ludovico and Vincentino, had so accurately counterfeited the antient medails, that the most knowing antiquaries were often at a loss to distinguish them. Such were also Luigi Arichini, Alessandro Cæsari, called the Greek, so much celebrated for that stupendous medalion of *Paul the Third,* and the head of *Photius the Athenian,* which he cut in an onix, comparable, by the universal suffrages, to any of the antients. We could reckon up the works also of many of the rest, but it is not requisite, after we have given this taste, and would merit an express treatise. Likewise those of Antonio de Rossi, Cosimo da Trezzo, Philippo Negarolo, Gaspar and Girolamo Misuroni, Pietro Paulo Galcotto, Pastorino di Sienna, not omitting that famous Pharodoxus of Milan, Fran. Furnius, and Severus of Ravenna, &c. whose works were in gold, silver, copper, steel, achates, cornelians, onixes, christal, jasper, heliotrope, lazuli,

amethysts, &c.; yea, and to shew how much some of those modern masters exceeded the antients, even the diamond, that hitherto insuperable gemme, was subdu'd by the famous Treccia of Milan, who, with stupendous successe cutting the King of Spain's armes in a noble table, was the first that ever engrav'd or made impression into that obdurate stone. It will become such to be well acquainted with these masters labours, and their manner, who aspire to be knowing, and to improve their judgment in medaills and intaglias, that necessary, ornamental, and noble piece of learning; and not only to be well skill'd in their way of design, but to be able also to perform something in the art themselves: for such were those ingenious and illustrious spirits, Geo. Battista Sozini of Sienna, and Rosso de Giugni of Florence, gentlemen of note; and such, with us, is our noble and worthy friend, Elias Ashmole, Esq.* whose learning and other excellent qualities deserve a more glorious inscription.

Finally, that excellent medalist Mounsieur Roti, now entertain'd by his Majesty for the Mint, and a rare workman as well for Intaglias in stone, as metal, is not to be here omitted.

We shall speak in the next of those Germans and Flemmings who excell'd in the art of Chalcography, not that they have exceeded some of the French, but, because they were before them, and universally admired; of these, the *antesignani*, were the fore-mention'd Albert Durer; that prodigie of science, whose works we have already recounted upon occasion of Marco Antonio, and therefore shall here forbear the repetition; as also those of Lucas; whose works (consisting in all of about lxx sheets, and which I have known sold for near an hundred pounds sterling, to one† that as well understood the value of money, as of that rare collection, he being one of the greatest merchants of books in Europe) are to be taken blind fold as they say; provided the impressions be black, well conserved, of equal force, and not counterfeit, as there are several of them which be discernable only by the curious and accurately skilfull; for such (amongst others of Durers) are the

* Founder of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and author of the "Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter," folio, 1672; also "Antiquities of Berkshire," 3 vols. 8vo. 1719.

† Master Bleau, of Amsterdam.

Creation of Adam; the *Story of Lot*; *Susanna*; *The Crucifix*, which he cut in a small round plate of gold for the Emperours sword, and is fixed on the pummel, not before mention'd; his *armed Cavalier and Satyre*; and, indeed, almost all that ever he or Lucas graved and set forth.

The works of Aldegrave, who came very near Albert, and flourish'd about the same age, are worthy the collection. His pieces are distinguish'd by the cypher of his initial letters A in imitation of Durer, as likewise the author of the *Septem opera misericordiæ*, *stories of the Book of the Kings*, *Artemisia*, &c. whose gravings are countersign'd with G. P. I. B. publish'd the *Four Evangelists*, *Adam*, a *Country Fellow*, a *Bishop*, a *Cardinal*, *Satyrs*, &c. M. the *Prodigal Son*, the *Evangelists*, &c. some whereof are copies after Albert, and most of their works done in small plates.

Hans Sibald Beme [Beham] hath done wonders in those *small figures, stories, and nakeds*, which he publish'd; it shall not be requisite to recite here the catalogue, because his mark H.S.B. (HSB) is fixed to most of his works, though now and then profan'd by the hands of others.

Jerome Cock, a Flemming, cut a *Moses*, 32 sheets of the *story of Psyche*, design'd by one Michael a painter of the same country, very rarely conducted: also *Dalila and Samson*; the *Destruction of the Philistines*; the *Creation of Adam, &c.*; 27 *stories of the Old Testament*, nobly design'd by Martino, and as well graved: also the *History of Susanna*; another book of the *Old and New Testament*; the *Triumph of Patience*, a rare cut; the *Heart on the anvile*, and divers *Emblems* full of curious figures; many *sacred Triumphs*; *Fraud*; *Avarice*; a *Bacchanalia*; and a *Moses*, after Bronzini, in emulation whereof Gio. Mantuano publish'd his *Nativity*, an incomparable print; after which Jerome graved for the inventor, twelve great sheets of *Sorceresses*, the *Battails of Charles the V.*; and for Uries, a painter, the *Perspectives* which pass under his name, with 20 leaves of several buildings; besides the *St. Martine* in a book full of devils. For Girol. Bos, the *Alchemist*, the *Seven deadly Sins*; the *last Judgment*; a *Carnival*; and after Francis Floris, ten pieces of *Hercules' Labours*; the *Duel of the Horatii and Curatii*; the *Combate of the Pigmies*

and Hercules; Cain and Abel; Abraham; the *Decision of Solomon between the two Harlots;* and, in summe, all the actions of human life.

And now that we mention'd Francis Floris of Antwerp, the rare things which he publish'd in stamp, purchas'd him the name of the Flemmish Michael Angelo.

Of the same country was that incomparable Cornelius Cort. We will commence with the *Judgment* of Michael Angelo which he cut in little: most of his things were after Frederic Zucchero, and some few of Raphael's, besides his landskips and other gravings, after Girolamo Mutiano, which are very excellent: also *John the Baptist, St. Hierom, St. Francis, Mary Magdalen, St. Eustachius,* the *Lapidation of S. Stephen* design'd by Marco Venusto the Mantuan; a *Nativity* after Thadeo Zucchero, *St. Anne, &c.*; also a *Nativity* in great, after Polydore; the *Transfiguration;* the *School at Athens;* the *Battail of Elephants;* some gravings after Don Julio Clovio, and Titian, which, had they been accompanied with that tenderness and due observation of the distances that accomplish'd the succeeding gravers, had render'd him immortal, so sweet, even, and bold, was his work and design in all other considerations. We mention'd Titian; for about 1570, Cor. Cort did use to work in that famous painter's house, and graved for him that *Paradise* he made for the Emperour; *St. Lazarus's Martyrdom; Calista and the Nymphs; Prometheus; Andromeda,* the fore-nam'd *Magdalen in the desart,* and *St. Hierom,* all of them of Titian's invention.

We come now to Justus, John, Ægidius (Giles), and Ralph Sadelers, who lived in the time of the Emperour Rodulphus, and publish'd their almost numberless labours; we can therefore instance but in some of the most rare; such as were that book divided into three parts; 1. *Imago bonitatis;* 2. *Boni et mali scientiæ;* 3. *Bonorum et malorum Consensio,* design'd by Martin de Vos; the *Vestigia of Rome,* tenderly and finely touch'd, in fifty sheets: the *Twelve Roman Emperours and Empresses* after Titian, rarely graved by Giles; a *Madona, with our Saviour* and *St. Joseph,* after Raphael; *Christus Flagellatus;* and the *Head of Rodulphus II.* with various *capriccios* and inventions about

it; as also that of the *Emperour Mathias*, adorn'd with the chaplet of Medails; the *calling of S. Andrew*, by John and Giles in brotherly emulation; four books of *Eremites* admirably conducted by Raphael; a *Cœna Domini* after Tintoret; and another *Flagellation* of Arpino's; divers *Landskips*; the *Twelve Moneths*; the *great Hall at Prague*; the *Effigies of Martin de Vos*, by Ægidius; the *Emperour and Empress* in their robes of State; an *Adoration of the Magi* after Zucchero; *Adonis and Venus* after Titian; a *Crucifix* after Jac. Palma; a *Resurrection* in great; the *rich Epulo*; *St. Stephen's Lapidation*, the original whereof is at Friuli; a *S. Sebastian*; these by Giles. John engrav'd after M. de Vos, a scholar of Tintoret's already mentioned, the *Creation*, and many *Histories out of Genesis*; Ralph cut also the *Life of Christ*, and the *Credo*, by way of embleme. In summe (for their whole collection is not to be crouded into this catalogue) they have all of them published such incomparable gravings, that 'tis the greatest pitty in the world they had not flourished in the time of the great Raphael, and the good masters; for they were not only accurate and punctual imitators, but gave to their works that softnesse, life, and colore (as artists terme it), which accomplishes all the rest; especially John and Raphael, in what they graved after Mich. de Vos, Bassano, and others, whose rusticities they set forth: those of Ægidius in great, being a *Descent from the Crosse*, of Barroccio's invention, the other a *Flagellation*, design'd by Josepho Pin [q. Gioseppino?] can never be sufficiently celebrated.

After the Sadelers, appeared Herman Muller with a very bold bulino, and likewise Janus, who graved many things after Sprangers, worse executed (for the convulsive and even demoniac postures) then chosen.

But the imitations of the graver by Simon Frisius the Hollander, who wrought with the aqua-fortis of the refiners, are altogether admirable and inimitable, the stroke and conduct consider'd, had the design (excepting those of his birds, which are indeed without reproach,) contributed in any proportion to his dexterity.

After him came the Swisse Matthew Miriam, who, had he perform'd his heightnings with more tendernesse, and come sweetly off with the extremities of his hatchings, had proved an excellent master; his works are useful and innumerable in *Towns*, *Landskips*, *Battails* (those espe-

cially fought by the great Gustavus), &c. The soft vernish and separating aqua-fortis was the instrument he used.

We have seen some few things cut in wood by the incomparable Hans Holbein, but they are rare, and exceedingly difficult to come by; as his *Licentiousnesse of the Friers and Nuns; Erasmus;* [*Moriæ encomium; the Trial and Crucifixion of Christ;*] the *Daunce Macchabree*, the *Mortis imago*, which he painted in great, in the church at Basil, and afterwards graved with no lesse art, and some few others. But there is extant a book of several figures done in the same material by one Justus Ammannus Tigur, MDLXXVIII, which are incomparably design'd and cut. In the epistle whereof, one Holtzhusen, a gentleman of Frankfort, is commended for his universal knowledge, and particularly his rare talent in this art, which it is there said he shewed by wonderful contrivances at the celebration of Martin Luther's nuptials, and therefore worthy to be taken notice of.

Hans Brossehaemer, besides several other things, hath cut in wood *A triumph of the Emperour Maximilian into Neuremberge.*

Virgilius Solis graved also in wood the *Story of the Bible*, and the *Mechanic Arts* in little; but for imitating those vile postures of Aretine, had his eyes put out by the sentence of the Magistrate.

Henry Goltzius was a Hollander, and wanted only a good and judicious choice to have render'd him comparable to the profoundest masters that ever handled the burin, for never did any exceed this rare workman: witnesse those things of his after Gasparo Celio, the *Galatea* of Raphael Santio, and divers other pieces after Polydore da Carravaggio, a *Hierom; Nativity;* and what he did of the *Acts of the Apostles*, with Ph. Galle, &c.; but he was likewise an excellent painter.

George Nouvolstell was of Mentz, in Germany, an admirable graver in wood. He publish'd that *Æneas* in little, and some historical parts of the Bible very well perform'd; also divers of the *Fathers* after Tempesta, besides the *Jerusalemma Liberata* of Bernardino Castelli in quarto, with many *Cartels of Armes and Harnesses*, and some pictures to a Breviary, &c.

Matthew Greuter publish'd a curious *Book of Letters*, the *City of Rome* in an ample forme, and a large *Map of Italy*; the *Old and*

New Testament; the *Church of Strasburge;* an *Harmony 'twixt the Decalogue and the Lords Prayer,* very ingeniously represented in picture, with several other things laudably performed.

But his son Frederic did infinitely exceed the father, as may be seen by those many curious gravings which he has cut after Pietro Beretin Cortona, and the famous Andrea Sacchi, egregious painters.

Saenredamus did publish many excellent cuts, especially those which he copied after Lucas van Leiden, of which we have formerly given a hint, for their sakes who are collectors of these curiosities, and may not happly be yet arriv'd to the judgment of being able to discerne them from the originals; also some things after Goltzius.

Cornelius Galle, in his *St. Prisca's Baptism, Papenheim's and other heads* after Vandyke, has shew'd what he was able to perform; not to mention abundance of *Frontispieces* and other lesse considerable of his workes.

But the Count Goudt, a knight of the Palatinate, has publish'd, though very few, yet some stupendous things, especially that of *our B. Saviour's flight into Ægypt by night;* the *Story of Tobit,* and about three or four more worthy of all admiration.

Swanevelt's *History of St. John, with divers Landskips.*

Pandern's *Descent from the Cross;* Matham's *Christ and St. John;* a *Venus* after Rotenhamer, *Pope Innocent X. &c.*

Bronchorst's rare etchings, especially those *Ruines and Anticalias of Rome;* and superiour to all, the incomparable *Landskips* set forth by Paul Brill (some of which have been etched in aqua-fortis by Nieulant) do extreamly well merit to be placed in this our theater: for to be brief, because we can only recite the most remarkable and worthy the collection. Matham is famous for fruits; Boetius, or Adam Bolswert, for his rusticks after Blomaert; Londerselius has taken excessive pains in his landskips; and so has Van Velde in some few; but above all, Nicholas de Bruyn (after Ægidius Coninxlogensis) is wonderful for Boscage, and the industry of his undertaking works of that large volume which Theodore de Bry (resembling him in name) has been as famous for contracting; though both of them of a Dutch heavy spirit, and perfectly suiting with the times and places: notwithstanding has

this latter perform'd some things in little very laudably. Nor with lesse ingratitude, amongst others, may we forget the *Nova reperta of Stradanus* by Theodore Galle; who also published *the whole Processe of making Silk of the Worm*, and certain other works in *Manufacture*, all of them represented in Sculpture.

Mallery, in his *Peccati fomes* after Mich. de Vos, has perform'd wonders as to the subtilty and imperceptible *ductus* of the graver.

Bolswert set forth the *Sacra Eremus Asceticarum*, after Blomart and others; but above all is he to be celebrated for those rare heads, and other stories grav'd after the paintings of Reubens and Van Dyke, which, for their sakes who are diligent collectors of the renouned persons of the late age, we shall not think amiss to mention. Such were the *Dutchesse of Orleans*, *Arch-Duke Albert*, *Justus Lipsius*, and others after Van Dyke; *Lessius and Bellarmine*, jesuites, after Diepenbeck. After the same hands did Paulus Pontius grave the head of *Sigismund, King of Poland*, *Count Pimentelo*, &c.; after Reubens, *Don Phil. de Gusman; Don Alvarez Buzan*, an incomparable cut; *Don Carolus de Columna; Rubens'* picture *bare-headed*, for there is another *in a hat; Gasp. de Grayer; Simon de Vos; Maria de Medices; Cæsar Alexand. Scaglia; Const. Huygens*, the learned father of our most ingenious friend Monsieur Zuylichen, so worthily celebrated for his discoveries of the annulus about Saturne, the pendule clocks, and universal mathematical genius; *Gasper Garartius*, the lawyer; *Gasp. Revestyn*; *Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden; Jacobus de Breuch;* the *Princesse of Brabonson;* that rare head of *Frederic Henric Prince of Orange*, and his own, with many more after Van Dyke; besides the jesuit *Canisius*, *R. Urbin*, painter, and others whom he grav'd after Diepenbeck, &c.; and since we mention'd Sir Peter Paul Rubens, we may not pretermit those many excellent things of that great polititian, a learned and extraordinary person, set forth in so many incomparable gravings by the admirable works of Swanenbourg, the above-named Pontius and Bolswert, Nesse, Vosterman, Vorst, and other rare masters in this art: such are (to instance in some only) his *Battail of the Amazons*, *St. Roch, our B. Saviour composed to Burial*, the *Fight of Lions*, his great *Crucifix*, *Conversion of St. Paul*, *St. Peter in the Ship*, a

Nativity, the *Magi;* the *bloody Catastrophe of Cyrus; Solomon's first Sentence; St. Catharine's Espousals;* the *Tribute demanded of our Lord; Susanna and the Elders; St. Laurence martyred;* the *Palaces of Genoa*, with divers others to be encountr'd amongst the merchants of prints, who frequently vend the copies for the originals to the lesse wary chapmen. Chr. Jegher has cut the *Temptation of our Saviour* in wood, very rarely perform'd after this great master.

Besides the former mention'd, Lucas Vosterman and Vorst are never to be forgotten so long as the memory of his (Rubens's) scholar, Sir Ant. Van Dyke, is famous, for the heads of the *Marquesse Spinola, Char. de Mallery, Horatius Gentilescus, Jo. Count of Nassau, Van Milder, P. Stevens*, and *Cor. Sachtleven*, which he engrav'd after a new way of etching it first, and then pointing it (as it were) with the burine afterwards, which renders those latter works of his as tender as miniature; and such are the heads of Van Dyke himself, *Jo. Lievens, Cor. Schut, Corn. de Vos, Deodato Delmont, Lucas Vanuden, Jodocus de Momper, Wencesl. Koeberger*, painters; *Count de Ossono, Duke of Bavaria*, the *Arch-Dutchesse Clara*, the last *Duke of Orleans, Anton. Connebison, P. Stevens*, and many others; together with those other pieces of history, viz. the *Sepulture of Christ*, and *St. George*, after Raphael; *Magdalene under the Cross; our B. Saviour in his Agony*, after Carracche; the *Susanna, St. Laurence*, and what but now we mention'd after Rubens, divers heads after Holbein, as that of *Erasmus*, the *D. of Norfolk*, and others of the Arundelian collection.

Van Vorst, competitor with Vosterman, has likewise graven a number of heads after Van Dyke. I shall only name the learned *Sr. Kenelme Digby in a philosophical habit;* our famous architect *Inigo Jones*, and those two incomparable figures of *Charles the Martyr*, and his royal consort the *Q. Mother*, now living: and to shew what honour was done this art by the best of painters, Sr. Ant. Van Dyke did himself etch divers things in aqua-fortis; especially a *Madona, Ecce Homo, Titian and his Mistress, Erasmus Roterodamus;* and touched several of the heads before mentioned to have been grav'd by Vosterman.

After this great master's paintings, did Peter de Jode grave the effigies of *Genovefa*, widow to Car. Alex. Duke of Croi; *Paulus Hel-*

matius; the learned *Puteanus;* the *Bishop of Gendt,* the face whereof is thought to be etched by V. Dyke himself: he graved *Jo. Snellinx,* a painter; besides a book of designing very rare; and the many other prints after his master Goltzius (whose disciple he was), which both Peter, and his son of the same name, have engraved for Monsieur Bon Enfant of Paris, &c.

Collaert graved some things rarely in steel. Suyderhoef has engraven the heads of most of the learned Dutch, after several painters, with good success; as those of *Heinsius, Grotius, Barleus,* &c.; not forgetting that stupendous *Lady Anna Maria a Schureman,* &c.

Jo. Baur has design'd his *Battails* with a fine spirit, but without care in the etching.

Vander Thulden published the whole *History of Ulysses,* being the work of the famous Primaticcio, at Fontain Bleau, etched also in aqua-fortis, and so designed, as few pretenders to this art did ever exceed him: and so, as we but lately mention'd, are the papers of the inimitable Suanebourge, which strike a ravishing effect in all that behold them, for the admirable tenderness and rare conduct of the hatches; especially those which he cut after the drawings of Abraham Blomaert and Rubens.

But now that we mention Blomaert, whose works we have celebrated in general, because they smell something of a Dutch spirit, though otherwise well engraven, there is at Rome (if we mistake not) a son of his named Cornelius, who in that *St. Francis* after Guido Reni, and those other pieces after the design of those great masters, Monsieur Poussin, Pietro Cortona, &c. to be seen in the books set forth by the jesuit Ferrarius, his *Hesperides, Flora, Ædes Barberini,* &c. hath given ample testimony how great his abilities are; for, certainly, he has in some of these stamps arrived to the utmost perfection of the *Bolino,* though some workmen will hardly allow him this elogie. But those things of the incomparable *Natalis a Ligeois* (and therefore reckoned here amongst the Germans), pass without the least contradiction for the utmost effort of that instrument. Such are that of *St. Catharines Espousalls* after Bourdon, which seems to be a very piece of painting; the *Two Madonas in contest with Poilly;* the *Thesis;* and

the *Chapter of the Carthusians*, all after the life and his own design, a stupendous work: also the heads of Jacob Catz: one of the States of Holl, and painted by Dubordieu; and some few things more, as the exactness and curiosity of what he undertakes requires, sufficient to discover the admirable perfection of this great artist: for we do not mention several frontispieces which he has likewise engraven, with equal industry.

Ferdinand has, besides many others, graved after the same Bourdon, the story of *Ulysses and Andromache.*

Uriesse and Verden are famous for their perspectives.

Winegard his *Roman Vestigia*, &c.

William Hondius, besides those things which adorn his *Mapps*, which are the largest planispheres, has very rarely engraven his own head after a painting of Vandyke: nor with less art has Vankessell done that of *Charles the Fifth* after Titian: Clovet and Car. Scribonius the *Jesuits.*

Caukern has graven the story of that *Pious Daughter*, who gave suck to her imprison'd father; a *Fight of Boores;* with divers others after Rubens and Vandyke, &c.; besides those which are extant in Mr. Ogilbye's *Homer*, *Bible*, my Lord of New Castles *Cavalerizzo*, *&c.* design'd by Deipenbec, whose rare talent, that *Theatre or Temple of the Muses*, published by that curiously learned and universal collector of prints, the Abbot of Villoin (of whom we shall have occasion to discourse in the next chapter), does sufficiently illustrate.

Lucas Kilianus has rarely graved the *Murther of the Innocents;* the *Miracles of the Fish; Annuntiation; Circumcision;* and some plates in the Hortus Eystettensis, &c.

Vischer, *viz.* Cornelius (for there is another who has published divers landskips) hath most rarely etched a certain *Dutch Kitchen*, where there is an old man taking Tobacco, whilst his wife is frying of pancakes; also a *Fiddler* accompanied with boyes and girles, painted by Ostade; but above all, admirable is the *Descent*, or *Christus Mortuus*, after Tintoret, both graved and etch'd, as indeed I should have said of the rest.

Vovillemont has etched our *Saviour chasing the sacrilegious Mer-*

chants out of the Temple, after the same Tintoret; which is very rare.

Nolp, the *Twelve Moneths*, especially the boystrous March.

Lombart, many plates for Mr. Oglebyes Virgil; as likewise that industrious interpreters picture after our famous Mr. Lilly, in which he has performed laudably: nor must I here forget Mr. Hertocks, who has grav'd the frontispiece for ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣ. in fol. and [for my parallel of Architecture better then] that of this treatise, with many other.

To these we may add the incomparable Reimbrandt, whose etchings and gravings are of a particular spirit; especially the *Old Woman in the furr;* the *Good Samaritane;* the *Angels appearing to the Shepherds;* divers Landskips and Heads to the life; *St. Hierom*, of which there is one very rarely graven with the burine; but above all his *Ecce Homo; Descent from the Cross* in large; *Philip and the Eunuch*, &c.

Winceslaus Hollar, a gentleman of Bohemia, comes in the next place, not that he is not before most of the rest for his choyce and great industry (for we rank them very promiscuously both as to time and pre-eminence) but to bring up the rear of the Germans with a deserving person, whose indefatigable works in aqua-fortis do infinitely recommend themselves by the excellent choyce which he hath made of the rare things furnish'd out of the Arundelian Collection; and from most of the best hands and designs; for such were those of Leonardo da Vinci, Fr. Parmensis, Titian, Jul. Romano, A. Mantegna, Corregio, Perino del Vago, A. Urbin, Seb. del Piombo, Palma, Alb. Durer, Hans Holbein, Vandike, Rubens, Breughel, Bassan, Ælsheimer, Brower, Artois, and divers other masters of prime note, whose drawings and paintings he hath faithfully copied; besides several books of *Landskips*, *Townes*, *Solemnities*, *Histories*, *Heads*, *Beasts*, *Fouls*, *Insects*, *Vessels*, and other signal pieces, not omitting what he hath etched after De Clyne, Mr. Streter, and Dankert, for Sir Rob. Stapleton's Juvenal, Mr. Ross his Silius, Polyglotta Biblia, the Monasticon, first and second part, Mr. Dugdales Paules, and Survey of Warwickshire, [Mr. Ashmole's Garter] with other innumerable frontispieces, and things by him published and done after the life; and to be *(eo nomine)* more valued and esteemed, then where there has been more curiosity about *Chimæras* and things which are not in nature; so that of Mr. Hollars works we

may justly pronounce, there is not a more useful and instructive collection to be made.

The learned Hevelius has shewed his admirable dexterity in this art, by the several Phases and other Ichonisms which adorn his Selenography, and is therefore one of the noblest instances of the extraordinary use of this talent, for men of letters, and that would be accurate in the Diagramms which they publish in their works.

The no lesse knowing Anna Maria à Schurman is likewise skilled in this art, with innumerable others, even to a prodigy of her sex. For the rest, we shall only call over their names, after we have celebrated the extravagant fancies of both the Breughels; as those of the *Seven deadly Sins; Satyrical pieces against the Nuns and Friers;* with divers Histories, Drolleries, Landskips, fantastic Grylles and Grotesques of these too rare Rhyparographs; not farther to tire our reader with the particulars and several works of Ostade, Cornelius Clock, Queborne, Custos, [Dominicus Custos, and Wolfangus Kilian, from the paintings of Wickgram and others, the *Effigies of the Duke of Bavaria*, with the rest in his *Atrium Heroicum*, for all the famous persons of that century, both of Europe and Asia,] Le Delfe, (who has put forth the portraits of many learned persons) Dors, Falck, Gerard, Bens, Moestuer, Grebber, Geldorp, Hopfer, Gerard, Bens, Chein, Ach. d' Egmont, de Vinghe, Heins, Ditmer, Cronis, Lindoven, Mirevel, Kager, Coccien, Maubease, Venius, Firens, Pierets, Quelinus, Stachade, Sehut, Soutman Vanulch, Broon, Valdet, Loggan, whom we expresly omit, because we have introduc'd a sufficient number, and that this chapter is already too prolix.

Only we would not pass Min Here Biscop, a learned advocate now of Holland, who for his story of *Joseph and Benjamin*, where the cup is found in his sack, and those other few cuts among the hands of the curious, must not be passed over in oblivion; as we had like to have done some of the old and best masters, by having hitherto omitted.

Druefken his *King of the Boors in Hungaria*, eaten alive by the Rebels whom he seduced; with some other cuts in wood, known by his mark, which was commonly a cluster of grapes.

Pieter Van Aelst, his *Cavalcade of the Grand Signior to Sancta Sophia*, and several *Turkish Habits*, on which subject also

Swart Jan Van Groennighen has set forth many remarkable things, Caravanns, Pilgrimages to Mecca, &c.

Lucas Cranach, *Tiltings*, *Huntings*, *German Habits*, and the portraits of all the Dukes of Saxony to his time.

Joos Ammanus, of whom we already mention'd, divers of the mechanic arts; not omitting all those excellent wood-cuts of Hans Schinflyn and Adam Altorf, especially this last, known by the two capital AA of the Gothick forme, including one within the other, as the D is in that of Albert Durers.

Hubert Goltzius has cut in wood a book of the *Roman Emperours* in two colours. This name recals to mind an omission of ours in some of those excellent Chalcographers already recorded, and in particular the incomparable imitations of Henry Goltzius after Lucas Van Leyden in the *Passion*, the *Christus mortuus* or *Pieta;* and those other six pieces, in each of which he so accurately pursues Durer, Lucas, and some others of the old masters, as makes it almost impossible to discerne the ingenious fraud.

We did not speak of *the heads of the famous men in the Court of the Emperor*, set forth by Ægidius Sadeler; as Raphael (his brother) had the *Bavaria Sancta*, representing all the saints of that pious country.

Albert Durer's *Tewrdannekhs*, or romantic description of the Amours of Maximilian and Maria de Burgundy: the book is in high Dutch:* he has likewise cut Petrarch's *Utriusque Fortunæ Remedia*, which admirable treatise being translated into the German language, is adorn'd with the gravings of Hans Sibald Behem, Ammanus, Aldegrave, and most of the rare masters of that age. Finally, he has cut the *Stories of Apuleius his golden Asse;* and sprinkled divers pretty inventions and capriccios in an old impression of Cicero's Epistles: and with this recollection of what we had omitted in the foregoing

* It is written in Teutonic Verse by Mel. Pfintzing, and published in folio at Nuremburg, 1519.

paragraphs (to which they are reducible) we will take leave of the Dutch Sculptors, and passe on to

The French, who challenge the next place in this recension; for their gravings in *Taille Douce*, which began to be in reputation after Rosso, the Florentine painter, had been invited and caress'd by that worthy and illustrious *Mecœnas* of the arts, Francis the First: about which time Petit Bernard of Lyons publish'd *the stories for the Bible of St. Hierom*, performing such things in little, for the design and ordinance as are worthy of imitation: so greatly he approach'd the antique in the garb of his figures, distances, architecture, and other accessories of the storie. We have some of these engraven by this artist, and printed long since at Lyons, with the argument under each cut, in the English verse of those times, which appears to have been done about the beginning of the Reformation, when, it seems, men were not so much scandaliz'd at holy representations.

Nicholas Beatricius à Loraneze graved his *Horse Conflicts*, and several books of *Animals and Wildbeasts;* the *Widdowe's son raised to Life;* the *Annuntiation*, after M. Angelo; the *Ark of the Catholick Church*, after that rare table of Mosaic in S. Peter's of Giotto, &c.

Philippus Thomasinus's labours are worthy of eternity, so excellent was his choice, so accurate his graver; witnesse the *Fall of Lucifer;* the *Universal Judgment;* the *Ship* we but now mention'd; the *Seven Works of Mercy; B. Felix;* the *Miracles of the Capucines;* the *Statues of Rome* in little; the labours of many famous persons; the *Baptisme of our Saviour*, after Salviati; *St. John the Evangelist in the boyling Oyle; St. Stephens Lapidation*, after Ant. Pomarancio; the *Magi* of *Zuccharo; Mary presented in the Temple*, of Barroccio; the *Life of St. Catharine; Fama*, divers *Sea Monsters* after Bernardino Passero; and some things of Vanni; not to omit his *Camea*, collected from several curious Achates and other precious stones; besides shields, trophies, gordian knots, with variety of instruments and other works too long here to recite minutely.

Chrispinus de Pas and his sister Magdalen (whether French or Dutch) have engraven many excellent things after Breughel; especially *Landskips;* the *Persecution of the Prophets and Apostles;*

with several more: but that *Liberum Belgium*, by Simon de Pas his Father, or Brother (I know not whether), dedicated to Prince Maurice of Nassau, is a very rare cut.

Who has not beheld with admiration the incomparable burine of Claudius Melan, celebrated by the great Gassendus, and employed by the most noble and learned Perieskius. The *Sudarium of St. Veronica*, where he has formed a head as big as the life it self with one only line beginning at the point of the nose, and so by a spiral turning of the graver finishing at the utmost hair, is a prodigy of his rare art and invention; because it is wholly new, and perform'd with admirable dexterity: nor has he less merited for his *St. Francis*, *St. Bruno*, the *Pointed Magdalen*, *Pope Urbane the VIII.* and divers others to the life, especially those of the illustrious *Justiniani*, *Perieskius*, and the several frontispieces to those truly Royal works, Poets, and other authors, printed at the Louvre.

Mauperch has published some pretty landskips; La Pautre many most usefull varieties and ornaments for Architects and other workmen; florid, and full of fansie; especially the *Ceremonies at the Coronation* of the present French King.

Morin has left us a *St. Bernard*, a *Scull*, his great *Crucifix*, some rare *Heads;* especially that representing our *B. Saviour*, and other things in aqua-fortis, perform'd with singular art and tendernesse; as also some rare *Landskips and Ruines*, after Polemburch and others.

N. Chaperon has etched the *Xystus* or Gallery of Raphael in the Vatican, with incomparable successe, as to the true draught; and so has that excellent painter the late

Francis Perrier those statues and bass-relievos of Rome, preferable to any that are yet extant.

Audran's *St. Catharine*, after Titian, who is not ravish'd with?

Couvay has engraven the *Three devout captive Knights* and what may appear very extraordinary, *ut quæ celant nomina cælatura aperiat*, the first part of *Despauterius's Grammar* in picture or hieroglyphic for the Duke of Anjou, the now Monsieur.

Perelle has discovered a particular talent for landskips, if not a little

exceeded in the darknesse of his shades: but his *Ruines of Rome* are very rare. He has likewise a son that graves.

The excellency of invention in the romances and histories adorn'd by the hand of Chauveau is not to be passed by; especially those things which he has done in the *Entretienne de Beaux Esprits* of Monsieur De Marests, and in several others.

But the pieces which Poilly has set forth may be ranked (as they truly merit) amongst the greatest masters we have hitherto celebrated: such as (for instance in a few) that admirable *Theses*, with the portrait of *Cardinal Richlieu;* and in enumeration with the formerly named *Natalis* (besides the *St. Catharine of Bourdon)*, those things which he hath graved after Mignard, which are really incomparable; also divers *Histories* after Le Brun, &c.

But we should never have done with the artists of this fruitful and inventive country, as Heince, Begnon, Huret, Bernard, Rognesson, Rousselet, a rare workman, witnesse his *Frontispiece* to the French Polyglott bible, design'd by Bourdon and lately put forth; Bellange, Richet, l'Alman, Quesnel, Soulet, Bunel, the laudable Boucher, Briot, Boulange, Bois, Champagne, Charpignon, Corneille, Caron, Claude de Lorain, Audran, Moutier, Rabel, Denisot, L'Aune, De la Rame, Hayes, Herbin, David de Bie, Villemont, Marot, excellent for his buildings and Architecture; Toutin, Grand-homme, Cereau, Trochel, Langot du Loir, L'Enfant, disciple of Melan, Gaultier, D'Origni, Prevost, De Son, Perei, Nacret, Perret, Daret, Scalberge, Vibert, Ragot, who has graved some things well after Rubens, Boissart, Terelin, De Leu; besides Mauperche for histories, L'Asne who has grav'd above 300 portraits to the life, and is a rare artist; Huret, full of rich invention, not omitting the famous Gravers of letters and Calligraphers, such as are Le Gagneur, Lucas Materot, Frisius, Duret, Pauce, Le Beaugran, Beaulieu, Gougenot, Moulin, Raveneau, Jea, Jaques de His, Moreau, Limosin, La Be, Vignon, Barbe d'Or, and a world of others, whose works we have not had the fortune to see. For as heretofore, so especially at present, there is no country of Europe which may contend with France for the numbers of such as it daily produces, that excell in the art of Chalcography, and triumph with the burine.

La Hyre has etched many things after the antique, as *Bacchanalias*, and several other.

Goyrand is second to none for those towns and ruines which he has publish'd, especially what he has performed in *Ædibus Barberini.*

Coligñon, no lesse excellent in his gravings after Lincler.

And Cochin in those large *Charts* and sieges of townes after the engineer Beaulieu: But

Israel Sylvester is the Hollar of France, for there is hardly a town, castle, nobleman's house, garden, or prospect, in all that vast and goodly Kingdom which he has not set forth in aqua-fortis, besides divers parts and views of Italy; above all in those which are etched after the designes of Monsieur Lincler, (whilst he lived, my worthy friend!) as the *City of Rome* in profile; a *morcel of St. Peter's* by it self; and that *Prospect of the Louvre,* which last doth far transcend the rest of his works, and may be esteem'd one of the best of that kind which the world has extant, for the many perfections that assemble in it.

There is at present Robert Nanteuil, an ingenious person, and my particular friend, whose burine renders him famous through the world. I have had the happinesse to have my portrait* engraven by his rare burine; and it is therefore estimable, though unworthy of the honour of being placed amongst the rest of those illustrious persons whom his hand has rendered immortal. For such are the French king, the Queens of Poland and Sweden, Cardinal Mazarine, whose effigies he has graven no less then nine times to the life; the Duke of Longueville, D. of Boullion, Mantua, Marishal Turenne, President Jeannin, Molle, Telier, Ormesson, the Archbishop of Tours, Bishop of S. Malo, L'Abbé Fouquet, and divers others of the long robe; also Monsieur Hesselin,

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* Florent Le Comte, in his *Singuliaritez d'Architecture,* &c. gives a catalogue of the works of Nanteuil, in which he mentions *my effigy* graven by this rare sculptor, with this impertinent mistake: "Yvelin, *dit le petit mi Lord Anglois, ou le portrait Grec, parcequ'il y a du Grec au bas, ou est ecrit aussi,* Meliora retinete: *il est en oval.* Yvelin, called the little English lord, or the Greek portrait, because there is a Greek inscription at bottom; where likewise is written, *retain the best*; it is in oval." This print was prefixed to the folio editions of our Author's Sylva, and was subsequently inserted in the first volume of his Memoirs, p. 241.

Menage, Scuderi, Chaplain, Marolles, and the rest of the wits; in summe, almost all the great persons of note in France.

But that we may conclude this recension with such as have most excell'd in this art, and give the utmost reputation it is capable of, Jaques Callot, a Gentleman of Lorrain, (if ever any) attain'd to its sublimity, and beyond which it seems not possible for human industry to reach, especially for figures in little; though he hath likewise published some in great, as boldly and masterly perform'd as can possibly be imagin'd. What a losse it has been to the *virtuosi*, that he did not more delight in those of a greater volume, such as he once graved at Florence do sufficiently testifie, and which likewise have exalted his incomparable talent to the supreamest point. It might not seem requisite to minute the works which he has published, because they are so universally excellent that a curious person should have the whole collection, (and be carefull that he be not impos'd upon by the copies which are frequently vended under his name, especially those which Monsieur Bosse has published, and which nearest approach him,) were it not highly injurious to his merit not to mention some of the principal; such are his *St. Paul; Ecce homo;* the *Demoniac cured,* after Andrea Boscoli; a *Madona,* after Andrea del Sarto; the *four Comedians;* all these of the larger volume, and some of them with the burine; also the *Passage of the Israelites; St. Luke's Fair,* dedicated to Cosmo di Medices, a most stupendous work consider'd in all its circumstances and encounters; so full of spirit and invention, that upon several attempts to do the like, it is said, he could never approach it; so much (it seems) he did in that piece exceed even himself.

This is also well copied. The *History of the B. Virgin,* in 14 leaves; the *Apostles* in great; the *Murder of the holy Innocents,* an incomparable work, and almost exceeding our description, as to the smallness, life, perfection and multitude of figures expressed in it. The *Story of the Prodigal;* the *Life and Death of our Saviour,* in 20 small ovals very rarely perform'd. The *Martyrdom of the Apostles,* in 16 leaves, worthy of admiration; the *Passion of our Saviour,* in 7 larger cuts; *St. Anthonie's Temptation,* prodigious for the fancy and invention; *St. Mansuetus raising a dead Prince;* a *Bishop preaching in a*

wood; divers *Books of Landskips and Sea pieces*; especially those admirable cuts of his in a book intituled *Trattato di terra Santa,* wherein most of the religious places of Jerusalem, temples, prospects, &c. about the Holy Land are graved to the life by the hand of this excellent master; the book is very rare and never to be encountred amongst the collection of his prints. The Duke of Lorrain's *Palace and Garden* at Nancy; also another paper of a *Tournament* there, both of them most rare things; *Military exercises;* the *Miseries of War,* in 18 leaves very choice; the *Battail of Theseus; Combat at the Barriere; Entrance of the Great Duke,* with all the scenes and representations at the Duke of Florence's nuptials; the *Catafalco* erected at the Emp. Matthias's death; the famous *Seige at Rochelle,* a very large print; also the *Night piece of the Cheats and Wenches at Play; Mascarades, Gobbi, Beggars, Gypsyes, Balli and Dances, Fantasies, Capriccios, Jubilatio Triumphi B. Virginis,* which was, it seems, grav'd for a Thesis [the *Seige of la Rochelle* in large]; and, finally, the *Cabaret, or meeting of Debauchees,* which (being the last plate that ever he grav'd) had not the aqua-fortis given it till after his decease. And thus we have in brief posted over the stupendous works of this inimitable master, whose point and manner of etching was nothing inferiour, nay sometimes even exceeded, the most skilful burine. But at length *sit pudor et finis,* I desist, and shall here conclude the recital of the French Chalcographers so many for their numbers, laborious in their works, and luxurious of their inventions, after we have done reason to Monsieur Bosse, who has made him self so well known by his most accurate imitation of Callot, beside the many rare things he has himself published. It were altogether unpardonable that such as would accomplish themselves in etching, should be destitute of his entire work; especially those of his latter manner perform'd in single and masterly stroaks, without decussations and cross hatchings, in emulation of the Graver. Those *Vignets, Fleurons, Capital letters, Puti* and *Compartiments,* made to adorn the royal impressions at the Louvre, are worthy of celebration, because it is impossible for the neatest burine to excell his points and eschoppes; and for that it is to him that we have been chiefly obliged for a treatise, which we had prepared of the

practical and mechanical part of this art of Chalcography, whereof I have already given accompt elsewhere. It is to the same Monsieur du Bosse that the world is beholden for his ingenuity in publishing many other rare and usefull arts assistant to architecture, dyalling, squaring of stones, and encountering the difficulties of the Free-mason, besides, those excellent treatises of perspective, which, from the dictates of Monsieur des Argues, he has so laudably communicated. This, and much more, we owe to this honest man's fame and particular friendship.

And, lastly, the excellent chart-gravers may not be totally excluded of this Catalogue; because it is a particular address, and, of late, infinitely improv'd by the care of Tavernier, Sanson, the Jesuit Briets, de la Rue, du Val, graven by Cordier, Riviers, Peroni, and others; not forgetting the most industrious Bleaus of Amsterdam, who have published the atlasses, and other pieces which celebrate their names to posterity, and such an undertaking has the *ingeneere* [engineer] Gomboust perform'd in his Ichnographical plan of Paris, lately set forth, being the result of near a five years continual labour of measuring, plotting, and observing, to render it the most accomplish'd, and testifie to what use and perfection this noble art is arriv'd. This we the more readily mention, that thereby we may stimulate and encourage the lovers of their country freely to contribute to the like attempt of the above mention'd Mr. Hollar, and enable him to proceed with what is now under his hand, for the honour of our imperial city.

And now it is certainly time that we should think of home a little, and celebrate likewise some of our own country-men, who have worthily merited with their graver. And although we may not yet boast of such multitudes by reason of the late unhappy differences which have disturb'd the whole nation, endeavouring to level Princes, and lay the Mecænas's of this and all other arts in the dust; yet had we a Paine for a *ship*, some *heads* to the life, especially that of Dr. Alabaster, Sir Ben. Rudyard, and several other things; a Cæcil and a Wright, little inferiour to any we have enumerated for the excellency of their burins and happy design; as at present we have Mr. Faithorne, Mr. Barlow, Gaywood, and others, who have done excellently both with the graver and in aqua-fortis, especially in those birds and beasts which adorne the

apologues of Æsope published by Mr. Oglebie; and of Mr. Faithorne, we have that *Christ* after Raphael from some excellent master, as big as the life; a *Madona, Christ, Joseph* and a *Lamb* after La Hyre, a very good painter; the effigies of my Lord Viscount *Mordaunt*, Sir *W. Paston* and his *lady*, with several others after Van dyke, Honiman, &c.

Lightfoot hath a very curious graver, and special talent for the neatnesse of his stroak, little inferiour to Weirx, and has published two or three Madonas with mueh applause; also Glover divers heads; as at present J. Fellian, disciple of Mr. Faithorne, who is a hopeful young man; lastly, for medails and intaglias we have Mr. Symonds [Tho. Simon], Rawlins, Restrick, Johnson, and some others, whose works in that kind have hardly been exceeded in these later times; not omitting the industrious Mr. Coker, Gery, Gething, Billingly, &c. who, in what they have published for letters and flourishes, are comparable to any of those masters whom we have so much celebrated amongst the Italians and French for Calligraphy and fair writing; we have likewise Switzer for cutting in wood, the son of a father who sufficiently discover'd his dexterity in the herbals set forth by Mr. Parkinson, Lobel, and divers other works with due commendation, not to mention the rest, as yet unknown to us by their names, from whose industry we are yet to hope for excellent progresse.

We do therefore here make it our suite to them, as what would extreamly gratifie the curious, and virtuosi universally, that they would endeavour to publish such excellent things as both his Majesty [the Duke of Norfolk] and divers of the noblesse of this nation have in their possession; and to which there is no ingenious person that will be deny'd access; since, if their collections were well engraven and dispers'd about the world, it would not only exceedingly advance their profit and reputation, but bring them likewise into a good manner of designing, which is the very life of this art; and render our nation famous abroad, for the many excellent things which it has once again (by the blessing of God and the genius of our most illustrious Prince) recover'd; especially, if, joyned to this, such as exceed in the talent would entertain us with more landskips and views of the environs, approches, and prospects of our nobly situated metropolis, Greenwich,

Windsor, and other parts upon the goodly Thames; and in which (as we said) Mr. Hollar has so worthily merited, and other countries abound with, to the immense refreshment of the curious, and honour of the industrious artist: and such, we farther wish, might now and then be encourag'd to travail into the Levantine parts; Indies East and West; from whose hands we might hope to receive innumerable and true designes, drawn after the life, of those surprising landskips, memorable places, cities, isles, trees, plants, flowers, and animals, &c. which are now so lamely, and so wretchedly presented, and obtruded upon us by the ignorant, and for want of abilities to reforme them.

And thus we have (as briefly as the subject would admit) finished what we had to offer concerning the original and progress of this noble art; not, but that there may have been many excellent masters omitted by us whose names were worthy of record, but because they did not occur at the writing hereof, and that we have already introduc'd a competent and sufficient number to give reputation to the art, and verifie our institution. For the rest, if we have somewhat exceeded the limits of a Chapter (comparing it with those which did precede) it has not been without prospect had to the benefit of such as will be glad of instruction how to direct their choice in collecting of what is curious, worthy their procuring, and, as the Italian calls them, *di buon gusto;* for we are far from opining with those who fly at all without judgement or election. In summe, it were to be wished that all our good painters would enrich our collections with more of their studies and ordonances, and not despise the putting of their hands now and then to the graver: we have given instances of great masters who excell'd in both, and the draught, if it be good, does sufficiently commute for the other defects, or what it may seem to want in the neatnesse and accurate conducting of the hatches; since by this means we should be stored with many rare designes, touches, and inventions, which, for being only in crayone, are casual, and more obnoxious to accidents; and can be communicated but to those few who have the good fortune to obtain their papers; and (which is yet more rare) the happinesse to understand as well as to talk of them.

CHAP. V.

OF DRAWING AND DESIGN, PREVIOUS TO THE ART OF CHALCOGRAPHY; AND OF THE USE OF PICTURES IN ORDER TO THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

As the rules of measure and proportion have an universal influence upon all the actions of our lives, it was a memorable and noble saying of a great person of our nation*, discoursing to us once concerning the dignity of painting, and the arts which attend it, "that one who could not designe a little, would never make an honest man:" how that observation succeeds in the general, we have not made it much our observation; but this we are bold to pronounce, "That he shall never attain "to the excellency of a good Chalcographer, who is not more then "ordinarily skill'd in the faculty and art of drawing;" a thing so highly necessary, that Donatellus was wont to tell his disciples (discoursing sometimes concerning the accomplishment of this art), "That, to de- "liver it in a single word, he would say, Designe; because it was the "very basis and foundation, not only of this, but even of all those free "and noble sciences of Fortification, Architecture, Perspective, and "whatsoever also pretended to any affinity with the Mathematicks, as "really leading the van, and perfective of them all."

But to treat methodically of this, or as we have already enlarged in the history and progresse of Chalcography, and the surviving labours of the most renowned masters, would require no lesse time and pains. It were indeed a noble, curious, and useful work, but almost impossible to accomplish; because the original drawings of the great masters being dispersed amongst the hands of the greatest princes and men of science only, are preserved with jealousie, and esteem'd as so many jewels of greater value then those of pearles and diamonds; for some of them being the very last workes, though but imperfect draughts of

* Thomas Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England, ancestor to the present Duke of Norfolk.

so excellent artists, they have for the most part been in greater esteem then even those of larger bulk and more finish'd, as Pliny instances in the *Iris* of Aristides, the *Medea* of Timomachus, and some others; because (as he there speaks) such touches did even expresse the very thoughts and prime conception of the workman, as well as the lineaments which he presents us; and that there is a certain compassion in our natures which indears them to us, so as we cannot but love and desire the hands which perished in the midst of such famous pieces. Add to this, their inimitable antiquity, then which (according to Quintilian, Inst. c. 3.) nothing does more recommend things to us, from a certain authority which it universally carries with it; so as we seem to review what they did of old in this kind as if (with Libanius) the Gods had imparted something of extraordinary to the masters of the ages past, which the nature of man is not now capable of attaining.

These difficulties therefore consider'd, it will not be required of us in this chapter, which pretends to celebrate the art of Drawing and Designe, only as it has relation and is an absolute requisite to that of Chalcography, and to prescribe some directions and encouragements, which may prepare and fit the hand with a competent addresse therein.

Whether Design was the production of chance or excogitation, we determine not; certain it is that practice and experience was its nurse and perficient; by some thus defin'd to be *A visible expression of the hand resembling the conception of the mind:* by which definition there are who distinguish it from Drawing both as to its original and formality; for Design (say they) is of things not yet appearing, being but the picture of ideas only; whereas Drawing relates more to copies and things already extant. In sum, as the historian differs from the poet, and Horace has well express'd it,

. . . . . Pictoribus atque Poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.*

We could easily admit this art to have been the most antient; and, with Philostratus, ξυγγενέστατον τῇ φύσει, "of kin even to Nature her self." But to take it some what lower, there goes a tradition that some inge-

* De Arte Poet.

nious shepheard was the inventor of it, who, espying the shadow of one of his sheep on the ground (interpos'd between him and the culminating or declining sun), did, with the end of his crook, trace out the profile upon the dust: and truly some such vulgar accident (for chance has been a fruitful mother) might first probably introduce it; however afterwards subtiliz'd upon and cultivated, till it at length arriv'd to that degree of excellency and esteem, which it has happily gained, and so long continued.

But to quit these nicer investigations, and proceed to some thing of use, as it concerns the title of this chapter: the first and principal manner of Drawing is that with the pen; the next with crayon, whether black, white, red, or any of the intermedial colours, upon paper either white or coloured. We will not say much concerning washing with the pencil, or rubbing in the shades with pastills and dry compositions; because it is not till our disciple be a consummate artist that he can be edified with designes of this nature, and, after which, they are of excellent use and effect.

The pen is, therefore, both the first and best instructor, and has then (as all the other kinds) attain'd its desired end when it so deceives the eye by the magic and innocent witch-craft of LIGHTS and SHADES, that elevated and solid bodies in nature may seem swelling, and to be embossed in *Plano*, by art.

To arrive at this, you must first draw the exact lineaments and proportions of the subject you would expresse in profile, contours, and single lines only; and afterwards, by more frequent and tender hatches in the lighter places, strong, bold, or cross in the deeper.

By *hatching* is understood a continual series or succession of many lines, shorter or longer, close or more separate, oblique or direct, according as the work requires, to render it more or lesse enlightened; and is attain'd by practise with a swift, even, and dextrous hand, though sometimes also by the help of the rule and compass; every man being not an Apelles or Pyrgoteles to work without them. Now the best expedient to gain a mastery in this address, will be to imitate such prints and cuts as are most celebrated for this perfection: such (amongst plenty of others) are those of Henry Goltzius, the Sadelers, Harman,

Sanredam, Vosterman, and, above all, that rare book of Jacomo Palma, graven by Odoardo Fialetti: of the more modern, the incomparable Natalis, Nanteuil, Poilly, and Cornelius Blomaert. These for the burin: for etching, Callot, Morine, and Bosse; especially in those his latter pieces, which have so nearly approach'd the graver. After these, let our learner design the several members of bodies apart, and then united, with intire figures and stories, till he be able to compose something of his own, which may support the examination of qualified judges. But the προχαραγμα or first draughts of these should not be with too great curiosity, and the several *minutiæ* that appear in many copies; but with a certain free and judicious negligence, rather aiming at the original, than paining of yourself with overmuch exactness; for *nocere sæpe nimiam diligentiam*, was an old observation; and therefore the antient painters (says Philostratus) more esteem'd a certain true and liberal draught then the neatness of the figure, as he expresses it in *Amphiaraus's Horse, sweating after the Conflict;* since drawings and designes are not to be like *Polycletus's Canon*, which took its several parts from as many perfect bodies, by a studied and most accurate symmetrie. It shall suffice that the prime conceptions of our artist be perform'd with less constraint: a coal or pensil of black-lead will serve the turn, reserving the stronger and deeper touches for a second pass of the hand over your work; and last of all, penning the contours and outlines with a more even and acute touch, neatly finishing the hatches with a resolute, constant, and flowing hand, especially as it approaches to the fainter shadows, terminating them in lost and misty extreams, and thwarted (if you will counter-hatch) at equal and uniform intervals (but not till the first be dry), or, if with single stroaks (which to us renders the most natural and agreeable effects), with full, deep hatches, and their due diminishings.

But it would haply be objected, that these accurate designes of the pen were never esteemed among the nobler parts of Drawing, as for the most part appearing too finical, stiff, and constrain'd. To this we reply, that the remark is not impertinent, as commonly we find by experience; but it has not proceeded from the least defect in the instrument, but from that of the artist, whose aptitude is not yet arriv'd to that perfection which is

requisite, and does infallibly confirme and dispose the hand to whatever it addresses; affording so great a delight and satisfaction to some excellent workmen, as that they never desir'd to advance further then this triumph of the pen, which has celebrated their names, and equaliz'd their renown with that of the most famous painters. For such were (in this nature) the incomparable drawings of Don Giulio Clovio, Albert Durer, Passarotto, yea Titian himself, when the fancy took him; the forementionn'd Goltzius, especially for his *Diana sleeping*, drawn with a pen on a cloth prim'd in oyl, which was sometimes sold at Amsterdam for 200 pounds; and that glorious and most stupendous work of his, now part of his Majesties collection, where he has drawn with the pen, upon an heightning of oyl, a *Venus, Cupid, Satyr*, and some other figures, as big as the life it self, with a boldness and dexterity incomparable: and such are some things which we have seen done by Signior Thomaso, a Florentine, and our ingenious friend Mr. Vander Douse (descended of that noble Janus Dousa, whose learning and courage the great Scaliger and Grotius have so worthily celebrated), now in the court of England. To these we add Robert Nanteuil, at Paris; and of our own country-men, those eight or ten drawings by the pen of Francis and John Cleyn (two hopefull, but now deceas'd, brothers), after those great *Cartoons* of Raphael, containing the stories of the *Acts of the Apostles*, where, in a fraternal emulation, they have done such work as was never yet exceeded by mortal men, either of the former or present age; and worthy they are of the honour which his Majesty has done their memories, by having purchased these excellent things out of Germany, whither they had been transported, or at least intended. There is likewise one Mr. Francis Carter (now in Italy), not to be forgotten amongst those whose pens deserve to be celebrated. But it is not here that we are to expatiate far on this particular, as designing a chapter only, much less shall we have leisure to proceed to black and white chalke (as they call it) upon coloured paper, in which those many incomparable and original drawings of the old and great masters are yet extant, wherein a middle colour, wrought upon two extreams, produces (on an instant) that wonderfull and stupendous roundness and extancy, which the pen is so long in doing, though so infallible a guide to its well doing, that

having once attain'd the command of that instrument, all other drawings whatsoever will seem most easie and delightfull. Neither shall it then be requisite to continue that exactness, since all drawing is but an hand-maid and attendant to what you would either grave or paint

But by this perfection and dexterity at first, did even those renouned masters, Julio, Parmegiano, and sometimes Polydore himself, (not to insist on Rubens and Vandyke) proceed, whose drawings in this kind, when first they made their studies in Italy, were exceedingly curious and finished; though in all their more recent and maturer designes, rather judicious then exact, because of that time which such minute finishings did usually take up; and that, when all is done, it is still but a drawing, which indeed conduces to the making of profitable things, but is it self none.

Yet so highly necessary is this of Drawing to all who pretend to these noble and refined arts, that for the securing of this foundation, and the promotion and encouragement of it, the greatest Princes of Europe have erected academies, furnished with all conveniencies for the exercise and improvement of the Virtuosi. Such illustrious and noble geniuses were Cosmo di Medices, Francis the First, Carlo Borromeo, and others, who built or appointed for them stately apartments even in their own palaces, and under the same roofe; procuring models, and endowing them with charters, enfranchisements, and ample honoraries; by which they attracted to their courts and countries most of the refin'd and extraordinary spirits in all the arts and sciences that were then celebrated throughout the world.

Nor it seems has it been the sole glory of those illustrious Princes to cherish and enoble men of art: the Greek and Roman of old had them in special veneration; but in none of their courts were men of science caressed to that degree as in that we have read of the Emperor of Japan at present, who does not only entertain and nobly accommodate them, but never stirs abroad without their company. These great men, says my authour,* (meaning physitians, painters, sculptors, musitians, &c. *quos proprio nomine appellant Contubernium Cæsaris,*) march before

* Descrip. Reg. Japaniæ Bern. Varenii.

the King whether he go forth in litter or on horseback; and being elected of persons of the greatest birth in his dominions, they always continue at his court, richly appointed with sallaries; but otherwise, to bear no office whatsoever which may in the least importune them, *eo solum electi, ut Imperatori ad voluptatem et delectationem consortium præstent*, as being therefore only chosen to recreate and divert the Prince with their excellent conversation. These being men of the rarest parts and endowments in his empire, have pre-eminence in all places next the King; then come the guards in the reare, which consist of a more inferiour nobility: thus far the historian. We know not how this instance may in these days be interpreted; but certainly the courts of Princes were in former ages compos'd of men of the greatest virtue and talents above the rest, and such as possess'd something of extraordinary (besides the wearing of fine cloaths, and making the *bone mine*) to recommend them. We insist not on Sculptors and Painters only, especially as such men are now for the most part vitious, or else of poor and mechanick spirits; but as those antient and noble geniuses were heretofore accomplish'd, and such as of late were Raphael, Durer, Leon Alberti, Da Vinci, Rubens; and at present, Cavalier Bernini, &c. persons of most excellent endowments, and universally learned, which rendred their fautors and protectors famous, by leaving such marks of their admired virtue as did eternize their merits to after ages.

Thus it was that Myron, Polycletus, Phydias, Lysippus, and others of the antients, procured such lasting names by their divine labours. They wrought for Kings, great cities, and noble citizens; whereas others, on the contrary, (men haply of no lesse industry and science,) had little or no notice taken of them, because they received no such encouragement, were poor and neglected, which did utterly eclipse and suppress their fame; such as those whereof Vitruvius does in the Preface to his third book make mention, where he speaks of Chiron the Corinthian, Hellas of Athens, Myagrus of Phocia, Pharax the Ephesian, besides Aristomenes, Polycles, Nichomachus, and several others, who being excellent masters and rarely endowed, perished in obscurity, and without any regard from the unequal hand and distribution of fortune, and for want of being cherished by Princes and great men. But to return:

In these places they had books of drawings of all the old and renowned masters, rounds, busts, relievos, and entire figures, cast off from the best of the antique statues and monuments, Greek and Roman. There was to be seen the *Laocoon, Cleopatra, Antinous, Flora, Hercules, Commodus, Venus, Meleager, Niobe, &c.;* whereof the originals are still extant at Rome. There were likewise divers rare and excellent statues, both of brass and marble; modells and divers fragments of bases, columns, capitals, freezes, cornices, and other pieces, moulded from the most authentique remains of the antient famous buildings; besides a universal collection of medaills, things artificial and natural.

But to recover our drawing again, as it concernes the art of Chalcography, we have already mentioned such of the most accomplish'd gravers, whose labours and works were proposed for exemplars and imitation; nor let the most supercilious painter despise what we have here alledged, or imagine it any diminution to his art, that he now and then put his hand to the pen, and draw even after some of those masters we have so much celebrated: what Andrea del Sarto has taken out of the prints of Albert Durer, improving and reducing them to his manner (not for want of invention, and plagiary like, as all that have any knowledge of his works can justifie) has no way eclipsed, but rather augmented his glory; as on the other side, that divine piece of his, the *Christus mortuus*, which he gave to be cut by Augustino Venetiano; the *Triumphs, Vasas*, and *Anatomies* of old Rosso, by whomsoever engraven, and those other things of his after Domenico Barbieri; Paulo Veroneze did much study the prints of Durer, and that incomparable painter Antonio Vassalacci (call'd otherwise Aliense) made notable use of that his prodigious collection of stamps of the most rare hands; not to recapitulate what were published by Raphael himself, and infinite others, by which they have sufficiently made appear the value they attributed to this art, by desiring (as much as in them lay) to render their works famous to posterity, by thus communicating them to the world, though many times through the hands but of very vulgar and ordinary gravers.

And here we should have put a period to this essay, and the present chapter, as having abundantly vindicated the necessity and worthiness

of designe and drawing, as it is previous and introductory to the art of Chalcography, had not one curiosity more prevented us; which because it so much concernes the conducting of hatches and stroaks, whither with pen, point, or graver, pretending (at least very ingeniously hinting) to a method how, by a constant and regular certitude, one may express to the eye the sensation of the relievo, or extancie of objects, be it by one or more hatches, cross and counter, we think not impertinent here to recite as briefly as the demonstration will permit.

The principal end of a graver that would copy a design or piece compos'd of one or more objects is, to render it correct both in relation to the draught, contours, and other particularities, as to the lights and shades on the front, flying or turning in bold or faint touches so as may best express the reliefe, in which gravers have hitherto, for the most part, rather imitated one another then improved or refined upon nature; some with more, some with fewer stroaks: having never yet found out a certain and uniforme guide to follow in this work, so as to carry their stroaks with assurance, as knowing where they are to determine, without manifestly offending the due rules of perspective.

If, in truth, nakeds and other polite bodies were so formed as that we might detect the course and inclination of the threads, fibres, and grain, so as we perceive it in stuffs, cloth, linnen, and other draperies, nothing would appear more facile; for let them assume what ply they will, it does not at all concern the tissue, tenor, or range of the threads and wailes (as they call them) which is easily imitated, both as to their inclinations and distances from the point of sight.

But since we are much at a loss, and can perceive no such direction or clue in nudities and other smooth surfaces, it were haply worth the while to find out some expedient which should assist the imagination in this affair, and that might encounter the difficulty upon other terse and even objects, by forming such stroaks and directors upon them in our imagination; observing, that there are some parts in them commonly to be distinguished from the mass in gross; for example, the hairs in men, eyes, teeth, nails, &c. that as one would conceive such lines or hatches on those masses, others may likewise be as well fancied upon those lesser and more delicate members:

P. Audinet sc.

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To effect this, the annexed Iconisme is thus explained.

Suppose, in the uppermost figure of this plate, the object *(O)* to be the representation in perspective of the portion of a bowle, expos'd to the beams of the Sun; and the letters *c. s. r. t.* a frame, or square of wood barr'd and strung in even and straight lines, parallel *inter se.*

Then another thread, *viz. m. n.* crossing them in perpendicular. The frame in the mean time suppos'd to incline towards the Bowle *O.* betixt it and the Sun, which represents to you all these threads projecting their shadowes upon the Bowle, and the surface where it is situate.

Suppose now the same upon the relievo or mass it self; it is evident, that these threads, in whatever manner you interpose the said frame betwixt the Bowle and the Sun, that they will perpetually cast their shadowes parallel *inter se*, cutting it, as it were, into several plains, uniforme and parallel also.

You see likewise in this very figure, that the oblique and direct shades *o u x y* are caused by the *cathetus m t n*, and the pointed curved lines upon the Bowle *O*, *viz. o z n* 1, 2, &c. are formed by the parallels which intersect the perpendicular.

But the same frame posited between the Sun and a Head in Relievo of white marble, or the like (as in the inferiour example) will not render the shadow of the threads alike upon all the parts parallel *inter se* (as in the former), though the same were suppos'd to be cut by like plane and mutual parallels as was the Bowle *O.* However, so shall they appear, as to hint the tracing of parallels on the relievo, or assist the imagination of them there, and consequently, how to designe them upon objects made after the same ordonance in perspective parallel, as one may conceive them upon the relievo of an ordonance in geometrical parallel, *viz.* as in the figure *O*, or to speak more distinctly, supposing them the same on the irregular as on the regular.

Consider then upon the head, the concourse of those imaginary parallels in perspective, shaded with the pointed lines; and how the intercurrent hatches, which they comprehend, pursue the same course and tenor, or perspective parallelisme.

From these instances now, it will not be difficult how to apply the same upon all the sorts of bodies representable by graving, and to com-

prehend in one's imagination, the concurrency and uniforme tenor of the particles, as we may so call them; only, there is this particular to be observed, that the projecture of the threads will not appear alike perspicuous in the deep and shady parts of relievos as upon the illuminated, being lost in the dark: but this is easily supplyed by the imagination, or by holding a loose thread parallel to the shaded, near to the body of the figure; by which the course of the rest may be well conceived. And this may serve to give great light to him that shall either grave in copper, or draw with the pen; for the symmetrically conducting of his hatches, determinatively, and with certitude, by thus imagining them to be geometrically marked upon the relievo or embossement of the natural, wherever he encounter it, and after this conception, to trace them out upon his plate or draught in perspective.

And indeed, that which is chiefly considerable and ingenious in this, is, that of their Perspective; since the shades of the lines (in the foremention'd example) which were upon the parts more or lesse turn'd, appear to our eye accordingly, with more or less force, which renders clear a different effect, as to the swelling and extancies of the parts, then we find it in works where this method has not been observed; so as truly this may seem to be the most certain expedient of expressing by hatches the relievo of objects, whether with the pen or burine. And this is the sense of a much larger discourse, which Monsieur du Bosse has proposed, treating of the practise of Perspective upon irregular surfaces, and we have thought fit to insert into this Chapter; not only because it is new and pretty; but for that (to us) it appears to be of good use, and as may be seen in some of the late heads graven by the incomparable Nantueil, who had been the sole occasion of this ingenious consideration, about the time of our last being at Paris.

But if this (like the diligence of Mechopanes, which Pliny affirmes none was able to understand but an artist only) seem to be a disquisition more refin'd then useful, for that few of our gravers work off from the round, upon which alone the observation is practicable; yet shall it be necessary to admonish, that shadowes over dark, too deep and suddain, are not commendable in these works, as seldom so appearing in the life; and therefore hatchings express'd by single stroaks are ever

the most graceful and natural; though of greater difficulty to execute, especialy being any wayes oblique; beeause they will require to be made broader and fuller in the middle, then either at their entrance, or exit; an addresse much more easie with the burin and the pen then with the point; though Monsieur Bosse's invention of the *eschoppe* does render the making of this *Sulcus* much more facile: but to attain this masterly, and with assurance of hand, our workmen may do well to imitate the gravings of the Sadelers, Villamena, Suanneburg, Gaultier; but especially Claudius Mellan, Natalis, Poilly, Nantueil, Cornelius Blomart, H. Goltzius: and for the etchers in aqua fortis, Callot and Du Bosse, in some of their last cuts especially. Though even the counter hatchings also, coming tenderly off, and well conducted, (so as 'tis to be seen in some of the prints of M. Antonio's, C. Cort. Aug. Carracio and other masters) render both an admirable and stupendous effect: for it is in this well placing of white and black, wherein all this art, and even that of painting does consist: thus Aglaphontes used but one colour, no more did Nitia the Athenian painter; and it was this relievo also for which the famous Zeuxis became so renoun'd: not to insist on Heredices the Corinthian, and Thelophanes the Sicyonian, who were both of them but Monochromists; and, 'till Cleophanes came amongst them, no dissemblers, as owning no other colours but those eminent contraries; that is, the lights and the shades; in the true managing whereof so many wonders are to be produc'd by this art, and even a certain splendor, and beauty in the touches of the burin, so as the very union and colouring it self may be conceiv'd without any force upon the imagination, as we have before observed in these excellent gravings of Natalis, Rousselet, and Poilly, after Bourdon, and in what Greuter, Blomart, and some others have done after Monsieur Poussin, Guido Reni, Cortona, &c.

But here, by the way, let no man think we mean by this *colorée* (as they term it) in drawing and graving, such a position of the hatches as the Chevalier Wolson has invented, and Pietro Santo the Jesuite has follow'd, to distinguish their blazons by*: but a certain admirable

* Theâtre d'honneur. Tessera Gentil.

effect emerging from the former union of lights and shadowes; such as the antients would expresse by *tonus*, or the Pythagoreans in their proportions, and imitated in this art, where the shades of the hatches intend and remit, to the best resembling of painting, the commissures of the light and dark parts, imperceptibly united, or at least so sweetly conducted, as that the alteration could no more certainly be defin'd then the semi-tones, or harmoge in musick, which though indeed differing, yet it is so gentle and so agreeable, as even ravishes our senses by a secret kind of charme not to be expressed in words, or discerned by the ignorant. And this it is which has rendered it so difficult to copy after designes and painting, and to give the true heightnings where there are no hatchings to express them, unless he that copies, design perfectly himself, and possess more then the ordinary talent and judgement of gravers, or can himself manage the pencil.

But to return to prints again. We are to understand, that what the artists do many times call excellent does not alwayes signifie to the advantage of the graver; but more frequently the design consisting in the lineaments, proportion and ordonance, if these be well and masterly perform'd, and for which we have so recommended the practise of this art to our English painters in chap. IV.; though to speak of an accomplish'd piece indeed, it is the result of integral causes only, and where they universally encounter.

We do farther add, that for this reason, copies are in prints much more easily detected then in paintings, and by consequence more facile also to imitate, as using all one kind of instrument, and fewer wayes of expression. But if there be a difficulty in it, those which are etched in aqua fortis make it most conspicuous; both because the nature of the plates, and quality of the waters, and their operations, may sometimes fall out to be so very unlike: but to discern an original print from a copy print (not to speak of such plates as have been retouch'd, and therefore of little value) is a knack very easily attain'd; because 'tis almost impossible to imitate every hatch, and to make the stroaks of exact and equal dimensions, where every the least defect or flaw in the copper itself, is sufficient to detect and betray the imposture, as in that little *Descent from the Cross* of Annibale Caracci (already mention'd) is

perspicuous, and which it were absolutely impossible to counterfeit. In the mean time, such as are profound and well knowing, do establish their judgments upon other particulars of the art, and the very handling itself.

Lastly, that aqua fortis gives a tenderness to landskips, trees, and buildings, superiour to that of the burine (though that exceed infinitely in figures) may be seen in that of Israel's *View of the Louvre*, before recited, and in some other works where there is an industrious and studied mixture, as in that second manner of Vosterman's, which did so much please Rubens and Vandyke, even in the portraits which that excellent graver published after those great mens paintings.

It was in the former chapter that we made rehearsal of the most renowned gravers and their workes; not that we had no more to add to that number, but because we would not mingle these illustrious names and qualities there, which we purposely reserved for the crown of this discourse, we did therefore forbear to mention of what his Highness Prince Rupert's own hands have contributed to the dignity of that art; performing things in graving (of which some enrich our collection) comparable to the greatest masters. Such a spirit and address there appears in all that he touches, and especially in that of the mezzo tinto, of which we shall speak hereafter more at large, having first enumerated those incomparable gravings of that his new and inimitable stile, in both the great and little decollations of *St. John the Baptist;* the *Souldier holding a spear and leaning his hand on a shield;* the *two Mary Magdalens;* the *Old Mans Head:* that of *Titian*, &c. after the same *Titian*, *Georgione*, and others. We have also seen a plate etched by the present French King, and other great persons; the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich sometimes (as we are told) diverting himself with the burine, and herein imitating those antient and renown'd heroes, whose names are loud in the trumpet of Fame for their skill and particular affection to these arts. For such of old were Lucius Manilius, and Fabius, noble Romans: Pacuvius the tragick poet, nephew to Ennius; Socrates, the wisest of men, and Plato himself. Metrodorus, and Pyrrhus the philosopher did both design and paint; and so did Valentinian, Adrian, and Severus,

Emperors: so as the great Paulus Æmilius esteem'd it of such high importance, that he would needs have his son to be instructed in it, as in one of the most worthy and excellent accomplishments belonging to a Prince. For the art of graving, Quintilian likewise celebrates Euphranor, a polite and rarely endow'd person; and Pliny, in that chapter where he treats of the same art, observes, that there was never any one famous in it, but who was by birth or education a gentleman: therefore he and Galen in their recension of the liberal arts, mention that of graving in particular amongst the most permanent; and in the same catalogue numbers it with rhetorick, geometry, logic, astronomie, yea grammar itself; because there is in these arts, say they, more of fancy and invention then strength of hand; more of the spirit then of the body. Hence Aristotle * informes us that the Grecians did universally institute their children in the art of painting and drawing, for an oeconomique reason there signified, as well as to produce proportions in the mind. Varro makes it part of the ladies education, that they might have the better skill in the works of embroidery, &c. and for this cause is his daughter Martia celebrated amongst those of her fair sex. We have already mentioned the learned Anna Schurman; but the Princess Louise † has done wonders of this kind, and is famous throughout Europe for the many pieces which enrich our cabinets, examples sufficient to vindicate its dignity, and the value that has been set upon it; since both emperours, kings and philosophers, the great and the wise, have not disdained to cultivate and cherish this honourable quality, of old so nobly reputed, that amongst the Greeks, a slave might not be taught it. How passionately does Pereskius, that admirable and universal genius, deplore his want of dexterity in this art! Baptista Alberti, Aldus, Pomponius Guaricus, Durer, and Rubens were politely learned and knowing men: and it is hardly to be imagin'd of how great use and conducible, a competent address in this art of drawing and designing is to the several advantages which occur; and especially to the more noble mathematical sciences, as we have already instanced in the lunary

* Polit. l. 8. c. 3. † Daughter of Frederic King of Bohemia, and niece to K. Charles I. "Her paintings," says Granger, "are highly esteemed by the curious; not only for their rarity, but their merit; and are to be seen in foreign cabinets with the works of the greatest masters."

works of Hevelius, and are no less obliged to celebrate some of our own countrymen famous for their dexterity in this incomparable art; such was that Blagrave, who himself cut those *Diagramms* in his *Mathematical Jewel;* and such at present is that rare and early prodigy of universal science, Dr. Chr. Wren, our worthy and accomplish'd friend. For, if the study of Eloquence and Rhetorick were cultivated by the greatest genius's and heroic persons which the world has produc'd, and that by the suffrage of the most knowing, to be a perfect orator, a man ought to be universally instructed, a quality so becoming and usefull should never be neglected. *Omnium enim Artium peritus erit Orator, si de Omnibus ei dicendum est.** He that would speak well upon all subjects should be ignorant of none. It was Cicero that taught Quintilian the importance of it, where he tells us that, in his opinion, no man could pretend to be *Omni laude cumulatus Orator,*† a perfect and accomplish'd orator indeed, *nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque Artium scientiam consecutus.* It is the sentence of that great man; and therefore to be embraced by us, especially on this occasion: because it was immediately after he had expressly instanc'd in *Cælatura et Sculptura,* that of cutting and engraving; for it is worth the observation, that the ages which did most excell in eloquence, did also flourish most in these arts, as in the time of Demosthenes and the same Cicero, and as they appear'd, so they commonly vanish'd together; and this remark is universal.

But now for close of all, and to verifie the admirable use which may be deriv'd from this incomparable art above the rest, let us hear what the learned Abbot of Villeloin, Monsieur de Marolles, has left upon record in the *Memoires* of his own life, *anno* 1644, after he had made a very handsome discourse (which we recommend to all good Roman Catholiques) concerning images, upon occasion of a superstitious frequenting of a certain renowned shrine, pretended to have done miracles at Paris, but was detected to be an imposture. The passage is thus,

Dieu m'a fait la grâce, &c.

"I am (saith he) greatly obliged to God, that though I have ever had

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* Quint. Inst. l. 2. † De Orat. 1.

a singular affection to images, I was never in my life superstitious. I have yet made a collection so prodigious, that they amount to no less than *seventy thousand* (he adds afterwards ten thousand more), but they are all copper-cuts and engravings of all sorts of subjects imaginable. I began to be addicted to this kind of curiosity but since the year 1641; but have so cherish'd the humour, that I may truly affirm, without the least exaggeration, that I have some prints of all the masters that are any where to be found, as well Gravers as Designers and Inventors, to the number of above four hundred; and these are ranged in books of *Charts* and *Maps, Calligraphy, Architecture, Fortification, Tacticks, Sieges, Circumvallations, Battails, Single-Combats, Naval Fights, Maritime Pieces, Landskips, Townes, Castles, Seas, Rivers, Fountains, Vasas, Gardening, Flowers, Ruines, Perspective, Clocks, Watches, Machines, Goldsmiths Works, Joyners,* and *Workers in Iron, Copper, Embroydering, Laces, Grotesque, Animals, Habits of several Countries, Anatomies, Portraictures, Cartouches and Compartiments, Antiques, Bas-relievos, Statues, Cataphalcos, Tombs, Epitaphs, Funeral Pomps, Entries, Cavalcados, Devises, Medaills, Emblems, Ships, Cabinet Pieces, Trees, Fruits, Stones, Dances, Comedies, Bacchanalias, Huntings, Armories, Tournaments, Massacres, Executions, Torments, Sports, Heroic and Moral Fables, Histories, Lives of Saints and Martyrs, Pieces of the Bible, Religious Orders, Theses,* and above ten thousand *Portraits* of renowned persons; without counting (amongst these) above six score volumes of masters whose names he there enumerates alphabetically. This curiosity (says he) I affected from my youth, but did not much cultivate till of late years, preferring it even before paintings themselves (for which yet I have infinite esteem), not only for that they are more proportionable to my purse, but because they better become our libraries; so that had we a dozen only, that were curious of these collections in France, especially amongst persons of condition (such as Monsieur de l'Orme, the late Monsieur de la Mechinier, &c. Taille-Douces would come to be extraordinary rarities; and the works of Lucas, Durer, Mark Antonio, and the polite masters which are now sold at four or five hundred crownes a-piece, would be then valued at three times as much; a thing incredible, did not expe-

rience convince us of it. Those who are touch'd with this kind of affection hardly ever abandon it, so full of charmes, variety, and instruction it is. Truly, methinks, that all Princes especially and great men should be stored with these works, preferable to a world of other trifling collections, and less fruitfull, as comprehending so many considerable, remarkable things, and notices of almost all sorts of subjects imaginable." Thus far the learned Abbot.

But it leads us yet farther, when we seriously reflect how capable this art is above all other whatsoever to insinuate all sorts of notions and things into children, and be made an instrument of education superiour to all those abstracted termes and secondary intentions wherewith masters commonly torment and weary their tender and weak capacities: and this we have discover'd by much experience, and could here produce examples beyond belief in a child at present not six years old, who does both know and perfectly comprehend such things and actions as hardly any at sixteen, some at twenty, have yet attained, who pursue the common methods of our Grammar Schools, without these aids and advantages; for, since *nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu;** and that, as the Poet had well observ'd,

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per Aurem
> Quam quæ sunt Oculis subjecta fidelibus.†

What can there be more likely to inform and delight them, *dum animus majora non capit*, then the pictures and representations of those things which they are to learn? We did mention before the *Hieroglyphical Grammar*, published by Dr. Couvay; and it is well known how Eilhardus Lubinus, in an *Epistle* to the Duke of Stetin, has celebrated and contriv'd an institution of youth by this art. Such as was also the design of that prodigie of a man, La Martelay, who had already collected and digested such a choice number of cuts, and so universall, as by which he more then pretended (for he really effected it) to teach all the sciences by them alone, and that with as much certitude, and infinitely more expedition, then by the most accurate method that was ever yet produced. What a specimen of this, Jo. Amos Commenius, in his

* Aristotle.

† Horat. Ars. Poet. l. 180.

Orbis sensualium pictus, gives us in a nomenclator of all the fundamental things and actions of men in the whole world, is publick; and I do boldly affirm it to be a piece of such excellent use, as that the like was never extant, however it comes not yet to be perceived. A thousand pitties it is, that in the edition published by Mr. Hoole, the cuts were so wretchedly engraven. I do therefore heartily wish that this might excite some gallant and publick minded person to augment and proceed farther upon that most usefull design, which yet comes greatly short of the perfection it is capable of, were some additions made, and the prints reformed and improved to the utmost by the skillfull hand of some rare artist. In the mean time, what a treasury of excellent things might by this expedient be conveyed and impressed into the waxen tables and imaginations of children; seeing there is nothing more preposterous then to force those things into the ear which are visible and the proper objects of the eye; for picture is a kind of universal language, how diverse soever the tongues and vocal expressions of the several nations which speak them may appear. *Solet enim pictura tacens loqui, maximeque prodesse*, as Nazianzen has it. So as, if ever, by this is that long sought for art most likely to be accomplish'd. Nor can any words whatever hope to reach those descriptions which, in a numberlesse sort of things, picture does immediately, and as it were at one glance, interpret to the meanest of capacities. For instance, in our Herbals, books of *Insects*, *Birds*, *Beasts*, *Fishes*, *Buildings*, *Monuments*, and the rest which make up the cycle of the learned Abbot, some of them haply never seen before, or so much as heard of, as Ælian does upon occasion ingenuously acknowledge. And what do we find more in request amongst the antient, then the images of their heros and and illustrious predecessors? such as Atticus and Marcus Varro collected; all which consider'd, we do not doubt to affirm, that by the application of this art alone, not only children, but even striplings well advanced in age, might receive incredible advantages, preparatory to their entrance into the schoole intellectual, by an universal and choice collection of prints and cuts well design'd, engraven, and dispos'd, much after the manner and method of the above-nam'd Villeloin, which should contain, as it were, a kind of Encyclopædia of all intelligible and memorable things that either are or have ever been *in rerum Natura*. It

is not to be conceived of what advantage this would prove for the institution of Princes and noble persons, who are not to be treated with the ruder difficulties of the vulgar Grammar Schooles only, and abstruser notions of things in the rest of the sciences, without these auxiliaries; but to be allur'd and courted into knowledge and the love of it, by all such subsidiaries and helps as may best represent it to them in picture, nomenclator, and the most pleasing descriptions of sensual objects, which naturally slide into their fluid and tender apprehensions, speedily possessing their memories, and with infinite delight preparing them for the more profound and solid studies.

Seneca, indeed, seems to refuse the graphical sciences those advantages which others of the philosophers have given to them amongst the most liberal, as reckoning them somewhat too voluptuary for his stoical humour; yet did Socrates learn this very art of carving of his father; Diogenes drew the picture of Plato; and the orator Messalla commends it most highly. But what more concernes our present instance is, that it was by the approbation of the great Augustus himself, that Q. Podius the mute should be diligently taught it. We could tell you of a person of good birth in England, who (labouring under the same imperfection) does express many of his conceptions by this art of drawing and designing. And if (as 'tis observ'd) it furnish us with maximes to discern of general defects and vices, especially in what relates to the proportions of human bodies, it is certainly not to be esteemed so inconsiderable as by many it is. Polygnotus could express the passions, and Aristides the very interiour motions of the soul, if we will believe what is recorded. But whether it advance to that prerogative, this we read of for certain (as to our pretence for the education of children), that when L. Paulus demanded of the conquered Athenians a philosopher to instruct his little ones, they prefer'd one Metrodorus, an excellent painter, before any of the rest. What Quintilian sayes of Euphranor is sufficiently known; and if some great Princes have not disdain'd to take the pencil in the same hand in which they sway'd the scepter and the sword, and that the knowledge of this divine art was usefull even to the preservation of the life of an Emperor* (for such was that Constantinus Porphyrogenitus), it

* Luitprandi. Reram Gest. per Europ.

is not without examples sufficient to support the dignity of these arts, that we have with so much zeal recommended them to Princes and illustrious persons.

And now we have but one thing more to add before we conclude this Chapter, and it is for caution to those who shall make these collections for curiosity and ornament only; that where we have said all that we can of this or any other particular art, which may recommend it to the favour and endearment of great persons, our intention is not that it should so far engage them in its pursuit as to take from the nobler parts of life, for which there are more sublime and worthy objects; but that, with this (as with the rest which are commendable, innocent, and excellent company) they would fill up all such spaces and opportunities as too often lye open, expose, and betray them to mean complyances, and lesse significant diversions; for these was Aratus a great collector, nor less knowing in the judgement of pictures; so was Vindex and many others.

—— Namque hæc quoties Chelyn exuit ille
Desidia est, hic Aoniis amor avocat antris *.

He allowes himself these relaxations only when he is tyred with the more weighty affairs and concernments: finally, that they would universally contend to do some great thing, as who should most merit of the sciences, by setting their hands to the promotement of experimental and usefull knowledge, for the universal benefit and good of mankind.

This, this alone, would render them deservedly honorable indeed; and add a lustre to their memories beyond that of their painted titles, which (without some solid virtue) render but their defects the more conspicuous to those who know how to make a right estimate of things, and, by whose tongues and pens only their trophies and elogies can ever hope to surmount and out-last the vicissitudes of fortune.

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* Statius, Hercules Epitrapezios Nonii Vindicis, l. 30.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE NEW WAY OF ENGRAVING, OR MEZZO TINTO,* INVENTED, AND COMMUNICATED BY HIS HIGHNESSE PRINCE RUPERT, COUNT PALATINE OF RHYNE, &c.

We have already advertis'd the Reader in one of our præliminaries, why we did omit what had been by us prepar'd for the accomplishment of the more mechanical part of the Chalcographical art; but it was not out of the least design to abuse him in the title at the frontispiece of this History; since we believed he would most readily commute for the defect of a mystery so vulgar, to be gratified with another altogether rare, extraordinary, universally approv'd of, admired by all which have consider'd the effects of it, and, which (as yet) has by none been ever published.

Nor may I without extraordinary ingratitude conceal that illustrious name which did communicate it to me, nor the obligation which the curious have to that heroic person who was pleas'd to impart it to the world, though by so incompetent and unworthy an instrument.

It would appear a paradox to discourse to you of a graving without a graver, burin, point, or aqua-fortis; and yet is this perform'd without the assistance of either: that what gives our most perite and dextrous artists the greatest trouble, and is longest finishing (for such are the hatches and deepest shadowes in plates), should be here the least considerable, and the most expeditious; that, on the contrary, the lights should be in this the most laborious, and yet perform'd with the greatest facility; that what appears to be effected with so little curiosity should yet so accurately resemble what is generally esteem'd the very greatest;

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* 13*th March*, 1661.—This afternoon Prince Rupert shew'd me with his owne hands ye new way of graving, call'd *Mezzo Tinto*, which afterwards, by his permission, I published in my History of Chalcography. This set so many artists on worke, that they soone arriv'd at yt perfection it is since come to, emulating the tenderest miniatures.—Memoirs, vol. I. p. 318.

viz. that a print should emulate even the best of drawings, chiaro oscuro, or (as the Italians term it) pieces of the Mezzo Tinto, so as nothing either of Vago da Carpi, or any of those other masters who pursu'd his attempt, and whose works we have already celebrated, have exceeded, or indeed approach'd; especially, for that of portraits, figures, tender landskips, and history, &c. to which it seems most appropriate and applicable *.

This obligation, then, we have to his Highness Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of Rhine, &c. who has been pleas'd to cause the instruments to be expressly fitted, to shew me with his own hands † how to manage and conduct them on the plate, that it might produce the effects I have so much magnified and am here ready to shew the world, in a piece of his own illustrious touching, which he was pleas'd to honour this work withall, not as a venal addition to the price of the book (though for which alone it is most valuable), but a particular grace, as a specimen of what we have alledged, and to adorn this present Chapter.

It is likewise to be acknowledged, that his Highness did indulge me the liberty of publishing the whole manner and address of this new way of engraving with a freedome perfectly generous and obliging; but, when I had well consider'd it (so much having been already expressed which may suffice to give the hint to all ingenious persons how it is to be perform'd), I did not think it necessary that an art so curious, and (as yet) so little vulgar (and which indeed does not succeed where the workman is not an accomplished designer, and has competent talent in painting likewise,) was to be prostituted at so cheap a rate as the more naked describing of it here would too soon have expos'd it to.

Upon these considerations then it is that we leave it thus ænigmatical; and yet that this may appear no dissingenous rodomontade in me,

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* [This art, since the publishing of this (first) edition, is arrived to the utmost curiosity and accurateness even of the rarest miniatures, in black and white, and takes in all subjects. The only defect is, that the plates last not so long under the rolling-press.]

† [Monier, a painter of the French King's, has published the History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Graving, in three books; which is translated into English, and printed in London 1699. *In the last Chapter of the third Book*, c. 22, he treats of *Taille-douce*, but little which is not already in mine.]

or invidious excuse, I profess my self to be alwayes most ready (*sub sigillo*, and by his Highnesse's permission) to gratifie any curious and worthy person with as full and perfect a demonstration of the entire art as my talent and addresse will reach to if what I am now preparing to be reserv'd in the Archives of the Royal Society concerning it, be not sufficiently instructive.

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is a Treatise of Monsieur du Bosse in French, concerning etching in aqua-fortis, construction of the rolling press, &c. which (with some improvement of the method) I did long since interpret and deliver to the Royal Society, in obedience to their commands: it was my intention to have added it to this History of mine, as what would have render'd it a more accomplish'd piece; but, understanding it to be also the design of Mr. Faithorn, who had (it seems) translated the first part of it, and is himself by profession a Graver, and an excellent Artist; that I might neither anticipate the world's expectation, nor the workman's pains, to their prejudice, I desisted from printing my copy, and subjoyning it to this discourse. In the mean time it is to be acknowledged, that the Author thereof has discover'd his skill so honestly and intirely, that there seems nothing more desirable as to that particular; and I could wish, with all my heart, that more of our workmen would (in imitation of his laudable example) impart to us what they know of their several trades and manufactures with as much candor and integrity as Monsieur Bosse has done. For what could so much conduce to their profit and emolument? when their several mys-

teries being subjected to the most accurate inspection and examen of the more polite and enquiring spirits, they should return to their Authors again so greatly refin'd and improved, and when (through this means also) Philosophy her self might hope to attain so considerable a progress towards her ultimate perfection.

THE

EPISTLES DEDICATORY

PREFIXED TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE

"PARALLEL

BETWEEN

ANTIENT AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE,"

ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN FRENCH,

BY ROLAND FREART, SIEUR DE CHAMBRAY.

First Printed in English in 1664. *Folio.*

TO THE MOST SERENE MAJESTY OF

CHARLES THE SECOND.*

SINCE the great Augustus vouchsafed to patronize a Work of this nature which was dedicated to him by Vitruvius, I had no reason to apprehend your Majesty would reprove these addresses of mine, if, in presenting you with those Antiquities on which that excellent master form'd his studies, I intituled your Majesty to a Work so little inferiour to it, and so worthy to go in paragon with it. And indeed to whom could I more aptly inscribe it, a Discourse upon Building, than to so Royal a Builder, whose august attempts have already given so great a splendor to our imperial city, and so illustrious an example to the nation? It is from this contemplation, Sir, that after I had (by the commands of the Royal Society) endeavour'd the Improvement of Timber and the Planting of Trees, I have advanced to that of Building, as its proper and natural consequent. Not with a presumption to incite or instruct your Majesty, which were a vanity unpardonable; but by it to take occasion of celebrating your Majesties great example, who use your empire and authority so worthily, as Fortune seems to have consulted her reason when she poured her favours upon you; so as I never cast my eyes on that generous designation in the Epigram,†

——— Ut donem, Pastor, et ædificem.

without immediate reflections on your Majesty, who seems only to value those royal advantages you have above others, but that you may oblige,

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* 26 Oct. 1664. "Being casually in the privy gallery at Whitehall, his Majesty gave me thanks before divers lords and noblemen for my Book of Architecture, and again for my *Sylva*, saying they were the best design'd and useful for the matter and subject, ye best printed and designed (meaning the *taille-douces* of the Paralel of Architecture) that he had seene."

Memoirs, vol. i. p. 353.

† Credis ab hoc me, Pastor, opes fortasse rogare,
Propter quod vulgus, crassaque turba rogat? &c.
Est nihil ex istis: superos, ac sidera testor.
Ergo quid? Ut donem, Pastor, et ædificem.

Mart. Ep. Lib. 9.—xxiii.

and that you may build. And certainly, Sir, your Majesty has consulted the noblest way of establishing your greatness, and of perpetuating your memory; since, whilst stones can preserve inscriptions, your name will be famous to posterity; and when those materials fail, the benefits that are engraven on our hearts will outlast those of marble. It would be no paradox, but a truth, to affirm, that your Majesty has already built and repair'd more in three or four years (notwithstanding the difficulties, and the necessity of an extraordinary œconomy for the publick concernment,) than all your enemies have destroyed in twenty; nay than all your Majesties predecessors have advanc'd in an hundred, as I can easily make out, not only by what your Majesty has so magnificently designed and carried on at your antient honour of Greenwich, under the conduct of your most industrious and worthy Surveyor, but in those splendid apartments, and other useful reformations for security and delight, about your Majesties Palace at White-Hall; the chargeable covering, first paving, and reformation of Westminster-Hall; care and preparation for St. Paul's, by the impiety and iniquity of the late confusions almost dilapidated; with what her Majesty the Queen Mother has added to her Palace at Somerset-House, in a structure becoming her royal grandeur, and the due veneration of all your Majesties subjects for the honour she has done both this your native city and the whole nation. Nor may I here omit (what I so much desire to transmit to posterity) those noble and profitable amænities of your Majesties Plantations, wherein you most resemble the Divine Architect, because your Majesty has proposed in it such a pattern to your subjects as merit their imitation and profoundest acknowledgements, in one of the most worthy and kingly improvements that nature is capable of. I know not what they talk of former ages, and of the now contemporary Princes with your Majesty: these things are visible; and should I here descend to more particulars, which yet were not foreign to the subject of this discourse, I would provoke the whole world to produce me an example parallel with your Majesty, for your exact judgment and marvellous ability in all that belongs to the Naval Architecture, both as to its proper terms and more solid use; in which your Majesty is master of one of the most noble and profitable arts that can be wished in a Prince, to whom God

has designed the dominion of the Ocean, which renders your Majesties empire universal; when by exercising your royal talent and knowledge that way, you can bring even the Antipodes to meet, and the Poles to kiss each other; for so likewise (not in a metaphorical but natural sense) your equal and prudent government of this nation has made it good, whilst your Majesty has so prosperously guided this giddy bark through such a storm, as no hand save your Majesties could touch the helm, but at the price of their temerity. But to return to that of Architecture again (for it is hard not to slide into the panegyrick when once one begins to speak of your Majesty), I am witness not only how pertinently you discourse of the art, but how judiciously you contrive; and as in all other princely and magnificent things your notices are extraordinary, so I cannot but augure of their effects, and that your Majesty was designed of God for a blessing to this nation in all that can render it happy, if we can have the grace but to discern it, and be thankful for it.

This is, Sir, the glorious idea which I have conceiv'd of your Serene Majesty, and which I propose for as emulous an example as any age has hitherto produc'd; nor can there any thing be added more but that permanency which the rest of your virtues do promise us. If such were those glorious heros of old, who first brought men out of wildernesses into walled and well-built cities, that chased barbarity, introduced civility, gave laws to Republicks, and to whose rare examples and industry we are accomptable for all that we possess of usefull in the arts, and that we enjoy of benefit to the Publick: how much cause have we in these nations to rejoyce, that whilst your Majesty pursues these laudable undertakings, that race of demy-gods is not altogether extinct! And if, after the support of Religion and the establishment of Laws, the perfection of Sciences be the next in order to the well-being of a State, this of Architecture (as one of the most beneficial and useful to mankind) owes her renascency amongst us to your Majesties encouragements, and to as many of those illustrious persons as by their large and magnificent structures transcribe your royal example; in particular, my Lord High Chancellor of England,* my Lord High Trea-

* Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon: alluding to his splendid mansion, which he erected on the spot where Albemarle-street is now built, and which was taken down in 1683.—See Evelyn's Diary, 4to. vol. i. p. 380, 519, &c.

surer*, and my Lord the Earl of St. Albans†, whose memories deserve this consecration.

I have now but one thing more to speak, Sir, and that is for the reputation of the Piece I present to your Serene Majesty. It is indeed a translation, but it is withal the marrow and very substance of no less than ten judicious authors, (viz. Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, Vignola, D. Barbaro, Catanco, L. B. Alberti, Viola, Bullant, and De Lorme;) and of almost twice as many the most noble Antiquities now extant upon the bosom of the earth: 'twere else a difficult province to conceive how one should entertain your Majesty without a spirit and a subject worthy your application. There is something yet of addition to it, which is new, and of mine own, the defects whereof do supplicate your Majesty's pardon; to say nothing of the difficulty of rendering a Work of this nature intelligible to the vulgar, and not unworthy the stile of a gentleman, seeing it is not the talent of every one who understands the language, unless he also understand the art. But these may seem to defer to my own glory, which is conspicuous in nothing so much as in laying it at your Majesty's feet, and the permission of that sacred name to protect, Sir, your Majesties ever loyal, most obedient, and faithful subject,

J. Evelyn.

Says-Court, 20 *Aug.* 1664.

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* Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who was at this time (1664) building a noble house in Bloomsbury, which was afterwards called *Bedford-House*, and taken down in 1800.—See Diary, vol. i. p. 355.

† Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, had a house where Jermyn and St. Albans streets now stand. St. James's Church is likewise erected on part of the ground belonging to it.

SECOND DEDICATION ATTACHED TO THE SAME WORK.

TO SIR JOHN DENHAM,

KNIGHT OF THE HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH, SUPERINTENDANT AND SURVEYOR OF HIS MAJESTIES BUILDINGS AND WORKS.

SIR,

IT is now some ten years since, that to gratifie a friend of mine in the country, I began to interpret this "Parallel" (which I think I first brought out of France); but other things intervening it was laid aside, and had so continued without thought of re-assumption, had not the passion of my worthy friend, Mr. Hugh May *, to oblige the publick, and in commiseration of the few assistances which our workmen have of this nature (compared to what are extant in other countries) found out an expedient, and by procuring a most accurate edition of the plates, encourage me to finish what I had begun; and to make a willing present of my labour, and of whatever else I was able to contribute to so generous a design.

Sir, I am not to instruct you in the merits and use of this excellent piece; but it is from your approbation and particular influence, that our workmen ought to esteem it, and believe me too when I affirm it, that the ten authors in this assembly, which compose both so many, and (for not being vulgar) unintelligible volume, will neither afford them so full instructions in the art, nor so well inable them to judge and pronounce concerning the true rules and maxims of it, as this one little but incomparable collection. You well know, that all the mischiefs and absurdities in the modern structures proceed chiefly from our busie and Gothick triflings in the composition of the Five Orders; and that an able workman, who is master of his art, and has a true relish indeed, carries on all his undertakings with applause and satisfaction:

* Architect, and afterwards one of the Commissioners for repairing St. Paul's Church, previously to the great fire.—See Diary, vol. i. p. 371.

that there is not, in the whole catalogue of authors who have written on this subject, a more safe, expedite, and perfect guide than this "Parallel;" where, from the noblest remains of antiquity accurately measur'd and perspicuously demonstrated, the rules are laid down; and from a solid, judicious, and mature comparison of modern examples, their errours are detected; so that were but a little more pains taken by our young architects and their subsidiaries, about the easier principles of geometry, the rudiments of perspective, and a ready address of well designing, we might, by the conversation of this Author alone, promise our country, and the age to come, a miraculous improvement of their buildings in a short time. Nor would this be in the least to the augmentation of their expenses; since there is nothing costs dearer, and displeases more, than our undigested contrivances, and those intollerable defects which we have enumerated. It is from the asymmetry of our buildings, want of decorum and proportion in our houses, that the irregularity of our humours and affections may be shrewdly discerned: but it is from his Majesties great genius, and the choice he has made of such an instrument, that we may hope to see it all reform'd; it being in so worthy an imitation of that magnificent Emperor, that, touch'd with the like indignation at the encroachments and deformities of the publick edifices and ways, caused a like reformation also; so as we may now affirme of London, as the poet once of Rome,

Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit *;

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* Abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem,
Inque suo nullum limine limen erat.
Jussisti tenues, Germanice, crescere vicos;
Et modo quæ fuerat semita, facta via est.
Nulla catenatis pila est præcineta lagenis;
Nec Prætor medio cogitur ire luto.
Stringitur in densa nec cæca novacula turba:
Occupat aut totas nigra popina vias.
Tonsor, Caupo, Coquus, Lanius sua limina servant.
Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit.

Mart. lib. vii. *epig.* 61.

The particulars of that reformation in Rome so much resemble what his Majesty has commanded for the cleansing and enlarging the streets, the demolition of bulks, and other obstacles, that the whole epigram merits the application.

that it now begins to have the face of a City indeed. And truly it is an improvement so extraordinary which it has receiv'd since his Majesties gracious influence upon it, that should I have been silent in his praises, I might justly apprehend *mox lapides clamaturos*, that the very stones would cry out and become vocal; but neither here must I forget what is alone due to you Sir, for the reformation of a thousand deformities in the streets, as by your introducing that incomparable form of paving, to an incredible advantage of the publick; when that which is begun in Holbourn shall become universal, for the saving of wheels and carriages, the cure of noysom gutters, the destruction of encounters, the dispatch of business, the cleanness of the way, the beauty of the object, the ease of the infirm, and the preserving of both the mother and the babe; so many of the fair-sex and their off-spring having perished by mischances (as I am credibly inform'd) from the ruggedness of the unequal streets, &c *.

But I know not, Sir, how these instances may be relished and valu'd amongst the vulgar, nor am I much solicitous; sure I am, that more has been done for the ornament and benefit of the publick in two years time that your self, with the commissioners who undertook the inspection, have acted, then in five hundred before. They were not a foolish or impolitick people, who from the very principles of humanity destin'd for the ease of their subjects so many spacious ways, cool fountains, shady walks, refreshing gardens, and places of publick recreation, as well as stately temples, and Courts of Justice, that religion and the laws might be published with the more pomp and veneration; and if his Majesty, with your pains and industry, hath contributed to something of all this, it is that for which the whole nation becomes obliged; as the promoting of such publick and useful works (and especially that of building), a certain indication of a prudent government, of a flourishing and happy people: so that if there remain but one thing more to be desired in order to the consummation of its perfect felicity, how infinitely were it to be wished, that whilst the beauty and benefit of the city increased in one part, the deformity and apparent ruin of it might

* These directions were printed two years before the conflagration.

cease on the other; but this we are to hope for when, to bring this monstrous body into shape, and scatter these ungovernable enormities, either the restraint of building irregularly shall polish the suburbs, or (which I rather could wish) some royal purchase contract and demolish them. But, Sir, I have done, and I know you will pardon this zeal, and accept of this expression of my profound respects from,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

J. Evelyn.

AMICO OPTIMO ET CHARISSIMO

JOHANNI EVELYNO, Armig.

E. SOCIET. REGALI LOND. ETC.

JO. BEALE, S. P. D.

IN ARCHITECTURAM AB IPSO ANGLICÈ REDDITAM ET GRAPHICÈ EXORNATAM.

Sic, ubi de Cœlo quondam primordia rerum
Effulsere, chaos discutiente Deo,
Hortus erat primus: tunc tecta, et mœnia, et urbes:
Tandem et Pyramidum nobile surgit opus.
His aliquis molem subjungit: in aëre pendet
Hortus; et unde venit, quærere jure licet.
Nec satis est vitam ducamus in arce beatam
Qualem agit æthereâ Juppiter ipse domo;
Sed talis superesse juvat post funera longa,
(Quamvis hìc cineres urnula parva capit)
Mausolæa ex in cœlos tactura sepulchra
Inscriptum Heröis nomen ad astra vehunt.
Stat quóque, si favit victoria, grande tropœum;
Attollénsque apicem tunc obeliscus ovat.
Mox spirare trucem poteris jurare colossum,
Sic movet, ut trepident, et mihi membra labent.
Sunt quibus excidium laudi est, et lata ruina;
Atqui exornandi gratia major erit.
Parcite mortales, famam prohibete Nepotes;
Ni scelus in causâ deteriore cadit.
Sunt quoque Tænariis quibus est suffulta columnis
Alta et larga nimis, sed minus apta domus:
Sumptibus hìc turgent operosa palatia vanis;
Materia exsuperat; splendor, et ordo deest.
Ecce Avibus nidos, Apibus compingere cordi est,
Pastor Aristeus quos stupet ipse, favos.

Aurea sic textrix subter laquearia Arachne
Divini artificis provocat ingenium.
Hospitium sibi quæque parant animalcula gratum;
Solus homo impensis plectitur ipse suis.
Machina quid præstet Thuscis tractanda peritis,
Angligenæ ut discant, clare Evelyne, facis.
Nec tantum debent Volsæo pristina sæcla,
Quantum debebunt posteriora tibi.
Creditur Amphion molimina saxea quondam
Thebarum in muros concinuisse Lyrâ:
Tu Saxa et Silvas (nam sic decet Orphea) plectro
Aurato in Regnum Tecta coire doces.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

ARCHITECTS AND ARCHITECTURE;

TOGETHER WITH

AN HISTORICAL, ETYMOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN TERMS,

Particularly affected by Architects.

MUCH INLARG'D AND IMPROV'D SINCE THE FORMER IMPRESSION.

By JOHN EVELYN, Esq.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

To my most honoured Friend, Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN, Kt.
Surveyor of His Majesties Buildings and Works.

SIR,

That I take the boldness to adorn this little work with the name of the Master of the Works (whose patronage alone can give it reputation) I have no excuse for, but an ambition of publickly declaring the great esteem I have ever had of your virtues and accomplishments, not only in the art of building, but thro' all the learned cycle of the most usefull knowledge and abstruser sciences, as well as of the most polite and shining, all which is so justly to be allow'd you, that you need no panegyric or other history to eternize them, than the greatest city of the universe, which you have rebuilt and beautified, and are still improving; witness the Churches, the Royal Courts, Stately Halls, Magazines, Palaces, and other public structures; besides what you have built of great and magnificent in both the Universities, at Chelsey, and in the country; and are now advancing of the Royal Marine Hospital at Greenwich, &c. All of them so many trophies of your skill and industry, and conducted with that success, that if the whole art of building were lost, it might be recover'd and found again in St. Pauls, the Historical Pillar, and those other monuments of your happy talent and extraordinary genius.

I have named St. Pauls, and truly not without admiration, as oft as I recall to mind (as frequently I do) the sad and deplorable condition it was in, when (after it had been made a stable of horses and a den of thieves) you, with other gentlemen, and myself, were by the late King Charles nam'd Commissioners to survey the dilapidations, and to make report to his Majesty, in order to a speedy reparation. You will not I am sure, forget the struggle we had with some who were for patching it up any how, (so the Steeple might stand) instead of new building, which it altogether needed; when (to put an end to the contest) five days after, that dreadful conflagration happen'd * out of

* See Diary, 27 Aug; and 2 Sept. 1666.

whose ashes this Phœnix is risen, and was by providence design'd for you: the circumstance is too remarkable, that I could not pass it over without notice. I will now add no more, but beg your pardon for this confidence of mine; after I have acquainted you, that the Parallel (to which this was annex'd) being out of print, I was importun'd by the book-seller, to add something to a new impression, but to which I was no way inclin'd, till not long since, going to St. Pauls, to contemplate that august pile and the progress you have made, some of your chief workmen gratefully acknowledging the assistance it had afforded them; I took this opportunity of doing myself this honour, who am,

Sir,

Wotton, 21 *Feb.* 1696-7. Your most humble Servant,

J. Evelyn.

TO THE READER.

THE author of the " Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern" (which many years since I made English) had at the end of his Treatise begun to explain a few of the hard words, technical terms belonging to the art, the etymologies whereof he thought necessary to interpret; and, as I said, they are but a few indeed, compared to those which remain, about a dozen at the most; nor was it necessary he should exceed that number, in a country where workmen are generally more intelligent in the proper expressions of the terms of the arts unto which they addict themselves, than ours for the most part are; and therefore, if, waving the formal translation of that page (for it exceeds very little more), I have, in lieu thereof, considerably enlarg'd upon this occasion by a more finish'd and compleat enumeration of the several parts and members of the orders, as they gradually succeed one another in work, illustrated with more full and exact definitions (than by any has yet been attempted for the benefit of our countrymen), I hope my adventure may find both pardon and acceptance. Nor let any man imagine we do at all obscure this design by adorning it with now and then a refin'd and philological research; since, whilst I seek to gratify the politer students of this magnificent art, I am not in the least disdainful of the lowest condescentions to the capacities of the most vulgar understandings; as far at least as the defects and narrowness of our language will extend, which rather grows and abounds in complemental and impertinent phrases, and such froth (as Sir H. Wotton well observes from Gualterus Rivius's incomparable version of *Vitruvius* in the German tongue, and is now so far out-done by the learned Perrault), than in the solid improvements of it; by either preserving or introducing what were truly needful. And really, those who are a little conversant in the Saxon writers clearly discovered, by what they find innovated or now grown obsolete, that we have lost more than we

have gain'd; and as to terms of useful arts in particular, forgotten and lost a world of most apt and proper expressions which our forefathers made use of, without being oblig'd to other Nations; and what care the French have taken upon this account only, may in part be judged from that pretty though brief *Essay des Merveilles de Nature, et des plus Nobles Artifices, &c.*; but especially by the late Dictionaries, wherein the proper terms of the most vulgar as well as more polish'd arts are industriously delivered, whilst (to speak ingenuously) I find very little improvement in the most pretending Lexicons and Nomenclators yet extant, that of Bernardinus Baldus only upon *Vitruvius* excepted; which yet is neither after my method, nor for our workmens turn, being a book of price, and written in the most learned tongue. It is a very great deficient indeed, and to be deplor'd, that those industrious compilers did make it no more their business to gratifie the world with the interpretation of the terms of so many useful arts—I mean the mechanical. Adrianus Junius has deserved well on this occasion, to his great commendation; and much it were to be wished, that some universal and practical genius would consummate what he has so happily begun, and that not only in the arts illiberal (as they are distinguished) and things artificial, but furnish us likewise with more exact notices of the several and distinct species of natural things; such as are the true names of birds, fishes, insects, stones, colours, &c. in which divers worthy members of the Royal Society * have already made so considerable a progress; since it is then, and not till then, our Lexicons will have arrived to their desired perfection, and that men will be taught to speak (like orators indeed) properly on all subjects, and obliged to celebrate their labours.

J. Evelyn.

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* Francis Willughbie, D. D., Merel, Charleton, Waller, Ray, &c.; and Mr. Harris in his late most useful Lexicon Technicum.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

ARCHITECTS AND ARCHITECTURE.

THE knowledge of this sumptuous, magnificent, and useful art, for having been first deriv'd to us from the Greeks, we should not without infinite ingratitude either slight, or innovate those terms which it has pleased them to impose upon the particular members and ornaments belonging to the several orders; and that as well for the veneration which is due to antiquity, as that, by comprehending the signification of them, we may with the more facility and address attain to the intelligence and genuine meaning of what the masters in this profession have deliverd to us in their several writings and works; not to insist upon (what is yet not to be despis'd) the decorum of speaking properly in an art which the greatest Princes and Potentates of the earth have vouchsafed to honour by so many signal and illustrious monuments, as do to this day consecrate their memories to posterity.

Since the agent does always precede the action, and the person or workman is by natural order before his work, we are by an Architect* to understand, a person skilful in the art of building: the word is Ἀρχιτέκτων, a compound in the original, and signifies *Fabrûm præfectus*, or, if you will, *informator*, which the president, superintendent, or surveyor of the works does fully express; his Ἀρχὴ being relative to the *fabri* that are under him, as the *operæ*, or labourers, are subservient to them.

Budæus calls him *structorum princeps;* and such a person as is capable of rendring a rational and satisfactory accompt of what he takes

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* Architectus.

in hand. *Ratiocinatio autem est, quæ res fabricatas solertia, ac ratione proportionis demonstrare atque explicare potest. Vitruv.* l. 1. c. 1. So our master; and such a one it seems was that Philo the Athenian architect, of whom the orator, *Neque enim, si Philonem illum Architectum, qui Atheniensibus armamentarium fecit, constat perdisertè populo rationem operis sui reddidisse, existimandum est Architecti potius artificio disertum, quàm Oratoris, fuisse.** Seeing his knowledge and ability in this faculty did not at all eclipse and diminish his eloquence and other excellent parts, but rather added to them; and this I urge to shew that it was no mean thing for a man to arrive to the talents of an accomplish'd architect, as he that shall take his character out of *Vitruvius* will easily conclude; *itaque Architecti* (says he) *qui sine literis contenderunt, ut manibus essent exercitati, non potuerant efficere ut haberent pro laboribus authoritatem;* as if hands could do little in this art for their credit without letters: nay, so universal will this great dictator have him, that in those *duodecim necessaria*, he sums up no less than twelve rare qualities which he would have him furnish'd withal; *itaque eum et ingeniosum*, &c. I will but only touch them: 1. He must be docil and ingenious. 2. He must be literate. 3. Skilful in designing and drawing. 4. In geometry. 5. Opticks. 6. Arithmetick. 7. History. 8. Philosophy. 9. Musick. 10. Medicine. 11. Nay, in Law; and 12. Astrology; and really, when (as in the following Chapter) he there assembles his reasons for all this, you will be both satisfied with them, and justify his curiosity. Not that an Architect is obliged to be an accurate Aristarchus in grammar, or an Aristoxenus in musick, an Appelles or a Raphael for designing; in sum an exact professor in all these faculties, *sed in his non imperitus:* sufficient it is he be not totally a stranger to them; since without letters he cannot consult with authors; without geometry and the graphical arts, he will never be able to measure out, and cast the area, draw the plot and make the scale; being ignorant of the opticks he can never well understand the due placing of his lights, distance, magnitude, and dimensions of ornaments; by the assistance of arith-

* Cicero de Orat. lib. 1.

metick he calculates the proportions of the several orders, sums up his accompts, and makes an estimate of the charge. Being read in history, he comes to discourse of the reasons and original of many particular members and decorations, the height, improvement, and decay of this art; why the Greeks instituted the order of the *Caryatides*, and the Persian entablatures were supported by slaves; how the Corinthian capitals came to be adorn'd with foliage, the Ionique with a matron-like voluta, &c. By the study of philosophy he arrives to the knowledge of natural things, and is able to discern the quality of the elements, and the materials which he makes use of. From some insight in medicine, he can reason of the temperature and salubrity of the air and situation. Musick will assist him in contriving how in churches, tribunals, and publick theatres, men may with best advantage hear the preachers, magistrates, and actors voices. Without some tincture in the laws, he cannot be secure of his title; and being wholly ignorant of astrology, position, and influences of the celestial bodies, the days, winds, weather, equinoxes, and course of the heavenly orbs (as to bruites) pass over without observations, benefit, or prevention of their effects. To this purpose (though much more at large) Vitruvius. But by this you may see how necessary it is that an accomplish'd Master-builder should be furnish'd beyond the vulgar; and I have been the longer in the repetition, not only that I may advance his reputation, and for encouragement, but to shew that in the proper notion (and as the great Plato has somewhere design'd him) *Nullus Architectus utitur manuum operâ, sed utentibus præest.** An Architect is not to be taken for the commonly illiterate Mechanick (which may bring it into contempt), but for the person who superintends, and presides over him with so many advantages. Yet neither is this to the dishonour of those excellent workmen who make use of their hands and tools in the grosser materials, since God himself, and Nature, the universal builders, are by translation truly styl'd architects, both as to what they have excogitated so wisely, and wrought so artificially.

Be this then spoken of the Superintendent in particular, whom, for distinction sake and the character assign'd him, we may name *Archi-*

* Dial. de Regno. See also his Philebus.

tectus Ingenio: for since to the perfection of an accomplish'd building there were three transcendencies required, 1. strength; 2. utility; and 3, beauty, for the apt distribution, decor and fitness, symmetrie and proportion, there was likewise necessary as many capacities; and that besides the judicious head, there should be a skilful hand; to which let us add, *Architectus Sumptuarius*, a full and overflowing purse: since he who bears this may justly be also stiled a builder, and that a master one too, as being the person at whose charge and for whose benefit the fabrick is erected; and it is indeed the *primum mobile* which both begins and consummates all designs of this nature; for if that ingredient come once to fall short, men* build their monuments instead of their houses, and leave marks of dishonour for tables of renown,* *Homo iste cœpit ædificare, et nequivit perficere,* "This man began to build, and was not able to finish." Yet thus I have known some excellent persons abus'd, who, trusting to the computation of either dishonest or unskilful artists, have been forc'd to desist, sit down by the loss, and submit to the reproach. But so it seems would not the Greeks suffer themselves to be over-reach'd, when those great builders of Ephesians† (who knew sufficiently what a mischief it was to the publick, as well as private men,) ordain'd it for a law, that if a clerk undertook a work, and spent more than by his calculation it amounted to, he should be obliged to make it good out of his own estate; whilst they most liberally and honourably rewarded him, if either he came within what was first design'd, or did not much exceed it. And this was esteem'd so reasonable (upon consideration how many noble persons had been undone, and magnificent structures left imperfect), that Vitruvius,‡ writing to the great Augustus concerning this subject, wishes the same constitution were in force at Rome also. But thus I have done with our *Architectus Sumptuarius.* I come to the

Manuarius, the third and last, but not the least of our subsidiaries; for in him I comprehend the several artizans and workmen, as masons, stone-cutters, quarry-men, sculptors, plasterers, painters, carpenters, joyners, smiths, glaziers, and as many as are necessary for carrying on

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* See 21. Eccles. 8. † Vitr. in Præf. lib. 10. ‡ 2. Reg. 22. 7.

of a building till it be arriv'd to the perfection of its first idea. But tho' it is not (as I said) expected that these should trouble themselves with much learning, or have any thing to do with the accomplishments of our Master Superintendent, yet, since an exact and irreproachable piece of architecture should be κολοφὼν *totius Mathesews*, the flower and crown as it were of all the sciences mathematical, it were infinitely desirable that even every vulgar workman, whose calling is conversant about building, had attain'd to some degree of competent knowledge in the more easy and useful principles of those lineary arts, before they were admitted to their freedom, or employed in designs of moment. And truely, if a thorough insight of all these (as undoubtedly they are) be necessary to a good artist, I know no reason but such a person (however it hath pleased our Universities to employ and decree their chaires) might with very just reason be also numbred *inter liberalium disciplinarum Professores*, and not thrust out as purely mechanical, *inter opifices*, a conversation hitherto only admitted them; as if talking, speculation, and theories, were comparable to useful demonstrations and experimental knowledge. In a word, the very name imports an excellency above other sciences; so as when the orator* would express a superiority above them, for its vast extent and comprehension, he mentions Architecture with the first, distinct from the illiberal. Great pity then I say it is, that amongst the professors of humanity (as they call it) there should not be some lectures and schools endowed and furnished with books, instruments, plots, types and modells of the most excellent fabricks both in Civil and Military Architecture, where these most noble and necessary arts might be taught in the English and vulgar tongue, retriev'd to their proper and genuine significations; and it is to be hoped, that when his Majesty shall perfect his royal Palace of White-Hall according to the design, he will, in emulation of those heroes, Francis the First, Henry the Fourth, Cosimo de Medices, the Dukes of Urbin, Richelieu, and other munificent spirits, destine some apartments for the ease and encouragement of the ablest workmen in this as in all other useful, princely, and sumptuous arts: I mean for Printers, Painters, Sculptors,

* Cic. de Offic. l. 2.

Architects, &c. by such liberal honoraries as may draw them from all parts of the world to celebrate his Majesty, by their works, to posterity, and to improve the nation. From such a bounty and provision as this it appears to have been, which made Vitruvius* to leave us those his incomparable books, that we have now enjoy'd for so many ages; for so he acknowledges it to the great Augustus, *Cum ergo eo beneficio essem obligatus, ut ad exitum vitæ non haberem inopiæ timorem*, &c.

I might upon this occasion speak something here concerning the matter and form of buildings, which, after the persons who undertake them, are their most solid and internal principles; but I purposely pass them over at present, because they do not properly belong to this Discourse, but to some more intire Treatise of the whole art than is yet extant amongst us, and to be delivered by some industrious person who shall oblige the nation with a thorough examination of what has already been written by Vitruvius, l. 2. c. 3. ad 9.; Palladio 1. c. 2.; Leon Alberti l. 2. c. 45. 46.; Don Barbaro, l. 11. Sir H. Wotton, in his concise and useful Theorems; Desgodetz, D'Avilder, Perrault, Blondel, and others; and in what shall be found most beneficial for our climat. It were, I say, becoming our great needs that some ingenious person did take this in hand, and advance upon the principles already establish'd, and not so acquiesce in them as if there were a *non ultra* engraven upon our columns like those of Hercules, after which there remained no more to be discovered; at least in the apprehension of our vulgar workmen, who, for want of some more solid directions, faithful and easy rules in this nature, fill as well whole cities as private dwellings with rubbish and a thousand infirmities, as by their want of skill in the profession, with the most shameful incongruities and inconveniences in all they take in hand; and all this for want of canons to proceed by, and humility to learn, there being hardly a nation under heaven more conceited of their understandings and abilities, and more impatient of direction, than our ordinary mechanicks: for let one find never so just a fault with a workman, be the same of what mistery soever, immediately he shall reply, "Sir, I do not come hither to be taught my trade; I have serv'd an ap-

* Vitruv. in Præf. ad Lib. 1.

prenticeship, and have wrought e're now with gentlemen that have been satisfied with my work;" and sometimes not without language of reproach, or casting down his tools, and going away in wrath, for such I have frequently met withal. I do not speak this to diminish in the least from the capacity and apprehension of our nation who addict themselves to any of the most polite and ingenious professions, but to court them to more civility, and to humble the ignorant; for we daily find that when once they arrive to a thorough inspection and address in their trades, they paragon, if not exceed, even the most exquisite of other countries, as we may see in that late reformation and improvement of our locksmiths-work, joyners, cabinet-makers, and the like, who from very vulgar and pitiful artists, are now come to produce works as curious for the filing, and admirable for their dexterity in contriving, as any we meet with abroad; and in particular to our smiths and joyners, they excell all other nations whatsoever.

But as little supportable are another sort of workmen, who, from a good conceit of their abilities, and some lucky jobb (as they call it), do generally ingross all the work they can hear of, while in the mean time they disdain almost to put their own hands to the tool, but for the most part employ their apprentices, or some other ignorant journey-men; as if the fame of their masters abilities did any thing contribute to the well performance of work undertaken; whilst in the interim he hardly appears himself till all the faults be slubber'd over, the remedy either impossible or expensive, and our master ready to receive his money, which such gentlemen mechanicks commonly consume on ease and bravery, being puffed up with an empty conceit of their own abilities, which (God knows) is very indifferent, and the less for want of exercise and humility; a practice contrary to the usage of all other nations, that even such as by their knowledge in this kind have meritoriously attained to the titles of military dignity, have notwithstanding pursued their employments and callings in personal cares and assiduous labours, to their eternal fame so long as one stone shall lie upon another in this world, as I could abundantly exemplifie in the works of Cavalieri Fontane, Bramanti, Sansovino, Baglione, Bernini, Fiamingo, &c. whose egregious labours, both before and since the accumulation of their ho-

nours, do sufficiently justify what I report concerning them. And that all such may know I reproach no man out of spleen or the least animosity to their persons (for such as are not guilty will never be offended at my plainness, or take this for a satyr), I cannot but exceedingly regret the want of more acquaintance in these so necessary and becoming arts, even in most of our nobility and gentry, who either imagine the study of Architecture to be an absolute non-necessary, or, forsooth, a diminution to the rest of their education, from whence proceeds that miserable loss of so many irrecoverable advantages during their travels in other countries, as appears at their return; whereas, if they were truly considered, there is nothing which does more properly concern them, as it contributes to their external honour, than the effects of this illustrious art. Besides, these being persons of better parts, are most likely to be furnished with the best abilities to learn, and so consequently enabl'd to examine, and direct such as they shall set on work, without reproach either to their conveniency or expence when they at any time build, not forgetting the ornament and lustre which by this means rich and opulent structures do add to the commonwealth; there remaining at this day no one particular for which Egypt, Syria, Greece, nay Rome herself, (beheld in all their state, wisdom, and splendor,) have been more admir'd and celebrated, than for the glory, strength, and magnificence of their incomparable buildings. And even at present, the most noble youth of Italy are generally so well furnish'd with instructions touching this laudable art, that the knowledge of Architecture (and to speak properly in its terms, &c.) is universal, and so cherish'd, even in men of obscure extraction, that (as is already instanc'd) Architects (I mean the manuary as well as ingeniary) have been, and are yet often rewarded with knighthood, and the art profess'd as a most becoming and necessary accomplishment in divers of their academies. Add to this, the examples of so many great and illustrious persons, as (without mentioning those our master has recorded in the Preface to his seventh Book) I might here bring upon this theatre, famous for their skill and encouragement of this sumptuous art: Emperours, Kings, Popes, Cardinals and Princes innumerable, who have all of them left us the permanent monuments of it in the several places of their dominions, besides the infinite advantage

of well managing of great and publick expences, as well as the most private and œconomical, an handsom and well-contriv'd house being built at a far less charge than commonly those irregular congestions, rude and brutish inventions, which generally so deform and incommode the several habitations of our gentry both in city and country.

But I have done, and I hope all that love and cherish these arts, and particularly that of Architecture, will not be offended at this zeal of mine in bespeaking their esteem of it; since, if I have said any thing in reproof of the errors either of the persons who pretend to it, or of the works which they do to its disgrace, I have only spoken it that both may be reformed and made the better. But least whilst I thus discourse of the accomplishments of our artists, and defects of the pretenders, I my self be found Logodædalus, and as they say, *Architectus verborum* only, I proceed from the person to the thing.

Architecture, consider'd as an art, was doubtless (as all others were) very mean and imperfect at first; when from dark caverns, hollow trees, despicable and sorry hovells and cabanes, made with their rude trunks, cover'd with sods of turf or sedge, to protect themselves from the injuries of the weather, and wild beasts (as at present savage people do), men liv'd not much better accommodated than beasts themselves, wandering from place to place, either to hunt, and in quest of food, or to find pasture; where like the Nomades, with little care or labour, they make them huts again, to shelter themselves as before; till coming into some more fertile and fruitful country, and finding no more necessity of straying farther, or removing so often, they then 'tis likely begun to build more substantially and commodiously; and as plenty, their families, and civility increas'd, began to inlarge, and make their habitations as well less rudely, as more convenient; proceeding in tract of time to great politeness, and to that height of splendor and magnificence, as at last ingenious men, from long experience still advancing in improvements, began to frame such rules and precepts for building, as should answer to all those perfections desirable in a building namely, solidity, use, and beauty; and this art was called

Architectura, a term deriv'd from the Greek substantive Ἀρχιτεκτόνημα, and which is by some taken for the art it self, by others for the work,

ædificio ipso et opera (by *us* for *both*), is thus defin'd: *scientia pluribus disciplinis et variis eruditionibus ornata, cujus judicio probantur omnia, quæ à cæteris artibus perficiuntur, opera.* Architecture (says our master Vitruvius) is a science qualified with sundry other arts, and adorn'd with variety of learning, to whose judgment and approbation all other works of art submit themselves. Or rather, in short, and as effectual, *cujus præceptis diriguntur, et judicio probantur,* &c. for so it seems to be more explicite; since in a geometrical problem there are both the construction or direction, *operis faciendi,* which these *Præcepta* define; and also the demonstration, or probation, *operis jam facti,* which is specified by the *judicium* in the Vitruvian definition. I conceive, therefore, the first part to be the more essential and inseparable; the latter to be but the result of the former, and no more ingredient into the art, than the image of ones face in a glass is constitutive of the man.

But to forbear any farther gloss, you see what a large dominion it has, and I might go on: *Ea nascitur ex fabrica et ratiocinatione,* to shew that she is the daughter of Building and Demonstration. Then (for so I affect to render it) that building is the result of an assiduous and manual practice or operation upon apt materials, according to the model propounded; and, lastly, that our ratiocination is an ability of explicating what we have done by an account of the just proportions. In a word, it is the art of building well, which (taken in the large sense) comprehends all the sorts and kinds of buildings whatsoever, of which there are more especially three, which, though differing in their application, design, and purpose, are yet of neere relation to one another, and therefore not improperly under the same denomination with their respective adjuncts of distinction. For instance, the building of ships, and other vessels for sailing, war, and commerce, &c. is called Naval Architecture; the art of fortification and defence of places, Military Architecture; which, tho' under the same rules and general principles whereby to work and proceed (but indeed making use of different terms of art), yet pass they under the same general name of Architecture. Now for as much as there's only one of these which properly concerns the present subject (as being indeed the most eminent, and first in order), we are here to

understand by Architecture, the art and skill of civil building for dwelling-houses, commodious habitations, and more publick edifices.

What pretence this part of Architecture has to both the other kinds, namely, the Naval and Military, the foundation and building of cities, walls, towers, magazines, bridges, ports, moles, and havens, abundantly shew; together with what our great master Vitruvius has taught in the construction of divers machines and warlike engines, as well for offence as defence; and to shew how reconcileable all these different sorts of buildings are to one another, we have a modern, but an illustrious instance, in that surprizingly magnificent piece of art, the Pentagonal Palace erected for Cardinal Alexander Furneze at Caprarola (within twenty miles of Rome), by that excellent and skilful architect Vignola, one of the first rank and class of artists in the foregoing Parallel.

With reason therefore, as well as right, has the Surveyor of his Majesties works and buildings, both the Military as well as Civil Architecture properly under his intendency and inspection, by a grant (as I have heard) of many hundred years past. But

To enlarge on the several heads of Civil Architecture (of which there are very many), would be to extend this discourse to a length not so proportionable to that which is designed. Let it then suffice to take notice, that it is the ancient Greek and Roman Architecture only which is here intended, as most entirely answering all those perfections required in a faultless and accomplish'd building; such as for so many ages were so renowned and reputed by the universal suffrages of the civiliz'd world, and would doubtless have still subsisted, and made good their claim, and what is recorded of them, had not the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, subverted and demolish'd them, together with that glorious empire, where those stately and pompous monuments stood; introducing in their stead a certain fantastical and licencious manner of building, which we have since call'd *Modern* (or *Gothic* rather), congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, and monkish piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty, compar'd with the truly *Antient*. So as when we meet with the greatest industry, and expensive carving, full of fret and lamentable imagery, sparing neither of pains nor cost, a judicious spectator is rather distracted and quite confounded, than touch'd with

that admiration which results from the true and just symmetrie, regular proportion, union and disposition, great and noble manner, which those august and glorious fabrics of the ancients still produce.

It was after the irruption and swarmes of those truculent people from the North, the Moors and Arabs from the South and East, over-running the civiliz'd world, that wherever they fix'd themselves, they soon began to debauch this noble and useful art; when, instead of those beautiful orders, so majestical and proper for their stations, becoming variety, and other ornamental accessories, they set up those slender and misquine pillars, or rather bundles of staves, and other incongruous props, to support incumbent weights, and pondrous arched roofs, without entablature; and tho' not without great industry (as M. D'Aviler well observes), nor altogether naked of gaudy sculpture, trite and busy carvings, 'tis such as rather gluts the eye than gratifies and pleases it with any reasonable satisfaction. For proof of this (without travelling far abroad), I dare report my self to any man of judgment, and that has the least taste of order and magnificence, if, after he has look'd awhile upon King Henry the VIIth's Chappel at Westminster, gaz'd on its sharp angles, jetties, narrow lights, lame statues, lace and other cut-work, and crinkle crankle, and shall then turn his eyes on the Banqueting-House built at White-Hall by Inigo Jones after the antient manner; or on what his Majesties present Surveyor, Sir Christopher Wren, has lately advanc'd at St. Paul's, and consider what a glorious object the design'd cupola, portico, colonnades, and other (yet unfinish'd) parts, will then present the beholder: or compare the Schools and Library at Oxford with the Theatre there; or what he has lately built at Trinity College in Cambridge, and since all these at Greenwich and other places (by which time our home traveller will begin to have a just idea of the antient and modern Architecture); I say, let him well consider, and compare them judiciously, without partiality and prejudice, and then pronounce which of the two manners strikes the understanding as well as the eye with the more majesty and solemn greatness; tho' in so much a plainer and simple dress, conforme to the respective orders and entablature, and accordingly determine to whom the preference is due. Not, as we said, that there is not something of solid, and odly artificial too, after a sort;

but then the universal and unreasonable thickness of the walls, clumsy buttresses, towers, sharp pointed arches, doors, and other apertures, without proportion; nonsensical insertions of various marbles impertinently plac'd, turrets and pinnacles thick set with monkies and chimæras (and abundance of buisy work and other incongruities), dissipate and break the angles of the sight, and so confound it, that one cannot consider it with any steadiness, where to begin or end; taking off from that noble air and grandure, bold and graceful manner, which the antients had so well and judiciously established. But in this sort have they, and their followers ever since, fill'd not all Europe alone, but Asia and Africa besides, with mountains of stone, vast and gygantic buildings indeed, but not worthy the name of Architecture. Witness (besides frequent erections in these kingdoms, inferior to none for their utmost performances) what are yet standing at Westminster, Canterbury, Salisbury, Peterborow, Ely, Wells, Beverly, Lincoln, Gloucester, York, Durham, and other cathedrals and minsters; what at Utrecht, Harlem, Antwerp, Strasburg, Basil, in the lower and upper Germany; at Amiens, Paris, Rouen, Tours, Lyons, &c. in France; at Milan, Venice, Florence, nay in Rome herself; in Spain, at Burges, and Seville, with what the Moors have left in Athambrant, Granada, the Santa Sophia at Constantinople, that of the Temple of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem (at the decadence at least of the art); the Zerifs Palace at Morocco, &c.; besides the innumerable monasteries and gloomy cells, built in all these places by the Christians, Greeks, Latines, Armenians, Moors, and others, since the ruin of the empire; and compare them (almost numberless as they are) with one St. Peter's at Rome only, which, with the rest of those venerable churches, superb and stately palaces there and at Naples, Florence, Genoa, Escurial, Paris, Amsterdam, &c. were yet all but sorry buildings, till Bramante, Raphael, Mich. Angelo, Palladio, Bernini, and other heroes and masters of our Parallel, recover'd and even raised this art to life again, and restor'd her to her pristine splendor and magnificence, after so tedious and dismal a night of ignorance and superstition, in which Architecture had lain buried in rubbish, and sadly deform'd for so many ages. The same may likewise be affirm'd of all those other arts attendant upon her, Sculpture and Painting especially, and

indeed of Letters, and all good learning too, which had about this time their resuscitation also. In a word, and after all that has been said of Architecture, ancient or modern, 'tis not we see enough to build for strength alone (for so those Gothic piles we find stand their ground, and the Pyramids of Ægypt have out-lasted all that art and labour have to shew), or indeed for bare accommodation only, without due proportion, order, and beauty, and those other agreements and genuine characters of a perfect and consummate building; and therefore an art not so easily attain'd by every pretender, nor in truth at all, without a more than ordinary disposition, accompanied with judgment, industry, and application, due instruction, and the rules of art subservient to it. Thus accomplish'd, an Architect is perfectly qualified to answer all the transcendencies of this noble art, which is to build handsomly, solidly, and usefully.

We have already spoken of workmen, and manuary assistants, in the foregoing paragraphs, without whose more than ordinary skill and diligence, the learned'st architect mistakes the shadow for substance, *umbram non rem consecutus videtur*, and may serve to rear a tabernacle, not build a temple, there being as much difference between speculation and practice in this art, as there is between a shadow and a substance. But with what advantages those persons proceed who both know and can apply, I have already demonstrated; and when we consider that the whole art consists in the most exact and elegant order imaginable, it is not to be wondered there have been so few able men of the profession. Sir H. Wotton, who reckons those two parts for one, that is, the fixing of the model to a full expression of the first idea, passes (with our master) to the species or kinds of this disposition.

Taxis, or, as Architects call it, *Ordonance*, as defined by our master to be that which gives to every part of a building the just dimension relating to its uses, Mr. Perrault supposes neither so explicit, nor as the thing it self requires, or answerable to the intention, which he takes to consist in the division of the plan or spot of ground on which one intends to build, so to be apportioned and laid out (as to the dimension of the respective parts, referring to their use) as consists with the proportion of the whole and intire fabric, which in fewer words, I conceive differs little from the determinate measures of what's assigned to compose the several

appartments; to which some add, that which gives the utmost perfection to all the parts and members of the building. But (to proceed with the learned commentator) 'tis the judicious contrivance of the plan or model, which he means by ordonance here: as when, for instance, the court, the hall, lodgings, and other rooms, are neither too large nor too little; *v. g.* that the court afford convenient light to the appartments about it, and be large enough for usual access; that the hall be of fit capacity to receive company; the bed-chambers for persons of quality, and others; or else when these divisions are either too great or too small, with respect to the place, as a very large court would be to a little house, or a little chamber in a great and noble palace; whereas *diathesis*, disposition, is where all the parts and members of a building are assign'd their just and proper places, according to their quality, nature, office, rank, and genuine collocation, without regard to the dimension or quantity, which is another consideration, as parts of Architecture, tho' still with relation to its perfection. Thus the vestibule or porch should precede the hall; the hall the parlor, next the withdrawing-room, which are of ceremonie, I speak (as with us in England) where the first floore is commonly so composed of; the anti-chambers, bed-chambers, cabinets, galleries, and rooms of parade and state in the second stage, suitable to the expense and dignity of the owner. I say nothing of the height, and other dimensions, because there are establish'd rules; but it is what I have generally observ'd gentlemen (who are many times at considerable charges in otherwise handsome and convenient houses) most of all to fail in; not allowing decent pitch to the respective roomes and appartments, which I find they constantly repent when 'tis too late. One should seldom therefore allow less than fourteen feet to the first floore, twelve or thirteen to the second, in a dwelling-house of any considerable quality; to greater fabrics, and such as approach to palaces, 16, 18, 20, &c. with regard to other capacities. Nor let the less benign temper of the clime (compar'd with other countries) be any longer the pretence; since if the building and finishing be stanch, the floors well lay'd, appertures of doors and windows close, that objection is answered. The same rules as to the consequence of rooms and œconomie is to be observed in the distribution of the other offices, even the most inferior, in

which the curious consult their health above all conveniency, by designing their best lodging-chambers towards the sun-rising; and so libraries, cabinets of curiosities, and galleries, more to the north, affording the less glazing and fittest light of all other to pictures, &c. unless where some unavoidable inconvenience forbid it. Another great mistake, I likewise have observ'd to be the cause of many errors as incurable, namely, a fond, avaritious, or obstinate resolution of many, who, having choice of situations, for the sparing of an old kitchen, out-house, lodge, or vulgar office, nay and sometimes of an antient wall, a fine quick-set hedge, particular tree or two, or the like, continue to place the new building upon the old foundation, tho' never so much awry and out of all square, and (as often I have seen) neere some bank of earth which cannot be mov'd; pleas'd with front or gaudy out-side, whilst all is gloomy and melancholy within, and gives occasion of censure to the judicious, and reproach to others; in a word, I have very rarely or as seldom found a new building joyn'd with any tolerable decency or advantage to an old one, as a young and beautiful virgin to an old, decay'd, and doating husband. I might almost affirm as much concerning repaires, where there are great dilapidations; since by that time they have calculated all expences of pulling down and patching up, they might have built intirely new from the ground with the same, and oftentimes with less charge, but with abundance more beauty and conveniency. Frequent instances of like nature might I produce, and of such as have too late repented; but I am to beg pardon for this transcursion, for which I have no other apology than that since another edition of this piece is never likely to come under my hand again, I have taken the liberty of this to speake my thoughts the more freely; not without hope that some may be edified by it, and have cause to thank me for it.

To return therefore whence I diverted, I now proceed to the proper argument and design of this discourse, which concerns the terms of Architecture, with such improvements as fall in with the subject; not that our politer workmen do not understand them well, but for the benefit and instruction of the less knowing, or such who, tho' learn'd, and knowing in other arts, may haply not have much consider'd this: and the first is,

Ichnography, by which we are to understand the very first design and ordinance of a work or edifice, together with every partition and opening drawn by rule and compass upon the area or floor, by artists often call'd the geometrical plan or plat-forme, as in our reddition of the Parallel. The Greeks would name it ἴχνους γραφὴ, *vestigii descriptio*, or rather *vestigium operis*, the superficial efformation of the future work, which our ground-plot does fully interpret. This is properly the talent and work of the chief Architect or Surveyor himself (and indeed the most abstruse and difficult), by which he expresses his conception and idea for the judicious collocation, idoneous and apt disposition, right casting and contrivement of the several parts and rooms, according to their distinct offices and uses; for as ordonation imports the quantity, so does this the quality of the building: but of this already. To this succeeds

Orthography, or the erect elevation of the same in face or front, describ'd in measure upon the former idea, where all the horizontal lines are parallels. Some do by this comprehend the sides likewise (but so will not I) to be seen as well within as without the model. It is in truth but the simple representation of that part opposite to the eye of the beholder, and thence by Italian *l'Alzato*, or *l'Impiedi Facciata*, and frontispiece, without shadows or other deceptions, and the second species of disposition. The last is

Scenography, or, as some, *Sciography*, which is the same object elevated upon the same draught and centre in all its optical flexures, diminutions and shadows, together with a fore-shortning of a third side, so as the whole solid of the edifice becomes visible in perspective, as they say, because compos'd of the three principal lines used in that art, *viz.* that of the plan or plot, belonging to the first idea; that of the horizon or eye-line, which denotes the second; and the line of distance, which makesthe third, with all its adumbrations and shadowings, which distinguishes it from what they call the profile, signified by the edging stroaks, by some call'd out-lines, and contours only, without any of this solid finishing. From all which it appears, that not the bare idea, or species (as the term is in Vitruvius), or as others, the various kinds of disposition is to be understood, but the several designs and representa-

tions of the division. Seeing, in truth, these three draughts upon paper belong as much to the ordonance as the disposition, shewing and describing the measures and dimensions of the inspective parts, order, and position. From these three ideas then it is that same *Eurythmia*, majestic and *Venusta species Ædificii* does result, which creates that agreeable harmony between the several dimensions, so as nothing seems disproportionate, too long for this, or too broad for that, but corresponds in a just and regular symmetry and consent of the parts with the whole; for symmetry is the parity and equality between the parts opposite, so as one be not bigger, higher, longer, shorter, closer, or wider than the other. Suppose a column swelling more at one side than the other, and not as those who thought it to consist in the proportion of some principal part or member only, capital, or cornice, grosser or projecting farther than the order permits, which seem two different things; whilst proportion among Architects consists in such an agreement and consent as we find in every well limb'd and compos'd living animal, of whatever species or kind soever, where the due make of each member of the body denominates the compleatness of the figure, be it statue, or the life; and the same in building, and the parts thereof; in a word, where convenience, strength, and beauty meet, and render it accomplish'd. Lastly,

Decor, which is not only where the inhabitant and habitation suit, seeing that is many times accidental, but where a building, and particularly the ornaments thereof, become the station and occasion, as Vitruvius expressly shews in appropriating the several orders to their natural affections; so as he would not have set a Corinthian column at the entrance of a prison, nor a Tuscan before the portico of a church, as some have done among us, with no great regard to the decorum. Here, therefore, it is that the judgment of an Architect ought to be consulted; since even in the disposition of the offices of our most private houses, we find no where greater absurdities committed, whilst we many times find the kitchen where the parlour should have been; and that in the first and best story, which should have been consigned to the lowermost and the worst.

Philander seems to be in some doubt whither the Architect did after all this make a model of his future work, but at last resolves it in the

affirmative for many reasons, *ita enim futura deprehenduntur errata, et minimo impendio, nulloque incommodo*, &c.; for so (says he) future errors may be timely prevented, with little cost, and without any trouble, before the remedy proves incorrigible. Now tho' perhaps an accomplish'd Architect needs it not, yet as there is nothing certainly spar'd to less purpose, and more to the detriment of builders than the small expence of making this prototype, so it has been known that some excellent masters have without reproach, caused several to be made of the same building, and for the better, and which should be fram'd with all its orders and dimensions, by the assistance of some skilful joyner, or other ingenious artist in some slight material, which may be to remove, uncover, and take in pieces, for the intuition of every contignation, partition, passage, and aperture, without other adulteration by painting or gaudy artifice, but in the most simple manner as Sir H. Wotton prudently advises, for reasons most material and unanswerable; this is by some supplied with a perpendicular section of the orthographical elevation, which lets the eye into the rooms in front only; the model into the whole; but from all which we may deduce how absolutely necessary it is that an Architect have more than a vulgar dexterity in the art of designing and drawing, *quæ autem conferant, imo, quæ sint architecto penitus necessaria ex artibus, hæc sunt, pictura et mathematica; in cæteris doctusne sit, non laboro:* so the Patriarch, lib. 9, upon that of our master, lib. 1. c. 1. Peritus Graphidos, &c. and then concludes, *necessaria igitur est architecto Graphidis (i. e.) designationis ut Itali dicunt peritia*, as being a thing altogether indispensable; but of this already, for by the method of a complete course or body of Architecture, one should proceed to the more particular distributions of this art, whither in respect to private or publick buildings; but I leave it for some perfect edition of what remains of the incomparable Palladio; when either by the same it is begun, or by some other charitable hand, that, or our master, Vitruvius himself, as publish'd by the learned Perrault shall be taught to speak English; and the title of this discourse, which minds me of a thorough explanation of the more difficult terms of this art, for being principally if not only conversant about the five orders

and their ornaments (the subject of our learned Parallel) calls me back to a distinct survey of them, and I will begin at the foundation.

Now tho' all that is buried in the ground to the area be so call'd, yet properly foundation is the very cofer or ground-bed search'd *ad solidum et in solido*, as our master advises, and upon which a wise man would only build and raise the proto substruction, or first beginning of his wall, and ought commonly to be double the thickness of the superstruction. This the Greeks call'd,

Stereobata, στερεοβάτης, *solidum fulcimentum*, for its artificial firmness, as immediately succeeding the underfilling of the former (for so we name those dry materials upon the surface) to be the basis of the whole edifice. I am not ignorant that some contend about this office, confounding it with the stylobata and pedestals of columns, assigning them a regular thickness of half as much more as the orders they support; and then the Italians call it the *zoccolo*, pillow, or die (because of its cubique and solid figure; but I rather take it for the *basamento* of the whole which I would therefore rather augment than contract to that stinted dimension. The Reverend Daniel Barbaro *, c. 8. l. 2, describes us all the kinds of them, and calls this in particular (and which confirms this division) the concealed part, or *fundatio in imo*: and then by this elegant distinction defines *structura* to be that of fronts; *instruction*, that of the middle parts; and *substruction*, of the lower; though this last notion does likewise many times import some vast and magnificent building; for so Baldus has cited that passage in Liv. l. 6, where he names the stately capital a substruction only, and other authors *substructiones insanas*, for such vast and enormous fabricks. But that we may not omit the pedestal (though of rarer use amongst the ancients) I come next to the

Stylobata; for our pedestal is *vox hybrida* (a very mungrill) not *à stylo*, as some imagine, but *à stando*, and is taken for that solid cube or square which we already mentioned to be that to the column imposed which the superstructure is to this, *fulcimentum columnæ*. It is likewise call'd *truncus*, the trunk, (though more properly taken for the

* A learned Venetian, born 1513, who published, in 1567, an Italian translation of Vitruvius, with annotations; and died 1570.

shaft or body of an order) contained between the cornice and base (for pedestals have likewise those ornaments inseparably); also *abacus*, *dado*, *zocco*, &c. which is sometimes carv'd with bass-relievo in historical emblems, as that of Trajan's at Rome, and ours on Fish-street hill; but as it was rarely used among the antients, so they were all square alike to all the orders, till from good examples, by later Architects, (and especially Palladio) reduc'd to proportion, and very graceful. Those which are more large than high, are called double pedestals supporting double columns, and some which are continu'd thro' the whole building. Also *poggio*, from its office of supporting, and then 'tis constantly adorn'd with a cornice consisting of a *cymatium* on a *corona* with lists, and sometimes *scotia* or shallow cavities, and an addition of an upper *zocco* or plinth of a smaller hollow and part of the *cymatium*, upon which the *scamilli impares Vitruviani* were set, if design'd for statues; or, if without, for columns. The base has likewise an ornament of a *cymatium* inverted upon a plinth, as may be seen in the Corinthian *Stylobata*. The general rule is to divide the whole into 19 parts; the pedestal shall have four, the entablature three; but if a column be without pedestal, divide the height but into five equal parts, four to the column, and to the entablature one; but, as we affirm'd, the ancients did seldom use pedestals at all, unless where railes and balusters were requisite, and parapet walls for meniana, pergolas, and balconies, and where they serv'd for podia or posaries of a leaning height, for which they had a slight cornice assign'd them; and this minds me of the στῆλαι among the Greeks, as indeed seeming to have been deriv'd from the Eastern אצילו used, and to the Jews (we read) enjoyn'd upon their flat-roofed houses, these balusters being in truth but a kind of petty columns under the railes or architrave between pedestal and pedestal, for that moral reason, the security of the walkers, especially at what time they used to spread tents upon them, as frequently they did. But if (as we said) for the better eminence of figures, then with the imposition of

Scamilli impares, of which there is so much contention amongst our hypercritical Architects, though in fine they prove to be but certain benches, *zoccos*, or blocks, elevating the rest of the members of an order, column, signum, or statue, from being drowned or lost to the eye, which

may chance to be plac'd below their horizon; that is, beneath the projectures of the *stylobata cornices* and other saillies, by an agreeable reconciliation of geometry with the opticks. In a word, the pedestals of statues do well express them, and those half-round elevations, or other unequal eminences upon the *stylobata*, be they one or more plinths, like so many steps succeeding one another for the advantage of what stands upon them. In the mean time, we find no proportions or form assign'd for the placing statues, busts, or other figures, which seems to be left arbitrary, with regard to the subject; the lower pedestals best suiting with the higher, contrary to busts, or where more than one together, as groups sitting, and cumbent figures, which require longer, &c. with such ornament and decoration as best becomes them; as to nymphs, tritons, sea-gods, escalop-shells, &c. to Deesses, the more delicate; to satyrs, rustic work, &c. But to proceed to the orders and their several members, as they naturally rise in work.

The *Base*, derived from the Greek verb Βαίνειν, imports the sustent, prop, or foot of a thing, and is in architecture taken not for the lowermost member of an order, but for all the several ornaments and mouldings from the *apophyges*, or rising of the columns shaft, to the plinth. Sometimes also for the spire, which, lying on the plinth like the coile of a cable, derives thence its name, though something improperly, methinks, considering these members do not run spiral, but obliquely rather and *in orbem;* in sum, the basis is to the column and its entablature what the *stylobata* is to the basis, and the *stereobata* to the pedestal. Here note, that when a cornice is added to a base, it becomes a pedestal and that to the Corinthian or Composita the Attic base; and though fairest of all, and us'd in other orders, by no means so properly. It is often enrich'd with sculpture, especially in the Composita: for bases differ according to the order. Tuscan has a *torus* only; the Doric, an *astragal* more, by some esteem'd a modern addition. The Ionic's *torus* is larger, on a double *scotia*, betwixt which are two astragals. The Composita an astragal fewer than the Corinthian. The Attic base (or as some, the *Attic curgi*) consists of a plinth, two torus's and scotia, properly plac'd under the Ionic and Composita, and indeed, as was said, to all, Tuscan excepted, which has its peculiar base. But to proceed to other particulars.

The *Plinth* is the first and very lowest member of the base. The word denotes a brick or square tyle, of which happly they were usually made, but rather for the resemblance, because of the weight it was to bear, and therefore more probably of something more solid to preserve the foot of the column from rotting, when first pillars were made but of the tapering bodies of trees, as we shall shew hereafter. Plinth is likewise taken for a like member about the capital, but then always with its adjunct, the plinth of the capital, &c. because placed just above the *Echinus*, as in the Doric, *Ovolo* or quarter round in the other orders. The Italians familiarly name it *Orlo*, which, importing a round welt, hem, or brim, methinks is not so properly applied to it. By plinth is also to be understood any flat, thick moulding in the fore-walls of any building, ranging like a broad list with the several floors or stages. The next is,

Torus, the third member of the base (of which there is superior and inferior in the bases of all the orders, the Tuscan excepted), comes from τόρος, denoting the roundness and smoothness of it; *Torus enim quicquid rotundum;* or rather as Scaliger, *quod artificialiter elaboratur et tornetur*, because artificially made so; but why not from its swelling and brawniness? It much resembles the shape of a round cushion, torques, or wreath, thence στιβὰς, and the imposed weight makes it seem to swell out as if indeed it were stuffed, and that with reason, say the critics, for the more easy and safe position of the

Trochile, from τρέχω or τρόχα, a rundle or pully-wheel, which it much resembles, and is that cavity appearing next to the torus. The Italians name it *Bastone*, or more properly *Cavetto*, and *Cortice, tanquam baculi cortex*, the hollow rind of a tree, as Barbaro. Our workmen retain the ancient Scotia, from Σκοτία, its obscurity proceeding from the shade of the hollowness; but more vulgarly they call it the Casement, and it is ever the cavity between the former torus's, and also beneath the Doric cornice separated from the plain margin or regula call'd *mentum* and *corona* by a small cymatium, or sometimes a list only. The capital letter C is almost a perfect resemblance of this moulding, and it is indeed frequently bordured or rather shut in with lists. Lastly,

The *Astragal*, which, besides divers other things (as the *Septem*

spinæ vertebræ neer the neck) has here its analogy from that bone a little above the heel, whence the French name it the *talon*, or heel it self (as our author of the Parallel), nor improperly; but by the Italians, *il tondino*, being a kind of half torus, sometimes wrought in the richer orders like an over-cast hem or hedge to the larger tore, which frequently is plac'd between, as in the Ionic base with two scotias, and sometimes (though rarely) just about the plinth of the base, as some marshal it. Otherwhiles again it is taken for the hoop, cincture or collar next the hypotrachelium and diminution of a column listed on both edges, and it runs also under the echinus of the Ionic. Our Englisher of Hans Bloome names it a boltell, or fillet in any part of a pillar; but I take a fillet to be more flat, this more swelling and (as I say) torus-like. Moreover, we sometimes find it dividing the *fascia* of the Corinthian architrave where it is wrought in chapletts and beads, olives or berries; and finally in two places, both above and beneath the lists joyning immediately to the square or die of a pedestal where stylobata is introduced: and so we have done with the ornaments and mouldings of the base. We come now to the column itself.

Σῦλος, nakedly, and strictly taken, is that part of an order only which is the prop or columen, plac'd to support something superior to it, and is here properly that round and long cylinder diversly named by authors scapus, vivo, tige, shaft, fust, trunke, &c. containing the body thereof from the spire of the base, or lately mentioned astragal, to the capital; sometimes for the substance and thickness of the bottom of the pillar, and in authors for the checks of a door, *secundum cardines et antepagmenta*, of which consult the learned Baldus, *de Signif. Vocab. Vitruv.* in the word *Replum*, also the perpendicular post of a winding staires; but for the most part for that solid of a column which being divided into three parts, has (as some delight to form them, but without any reason or good authority) an entasis or swelling, and under the collerine or cimba of the capital, a contracture and comely diminution, by workmen call'd the breaking of the pillar; which, in imitation of the natural tapering of trees is sometimes too much contracted, in others excessively swell'd. The manner of operation by applying a thin flat flexible rule, of the length of the whole column, divided into three equal parts, beginning at the

perpendicular of the lowest, is so well known, that I need say nothing more of it, than that there is hardly any sensible swelling to be perceiv'd in the best examples, and therefore to be sparingly us'd, and with discretion, if at all: or as Desgodet and some affect, tapering very insensibly all the way. Monsieur Perrault prescribes another method for this diminution (speaking of Nicomedes's first *Conchoid* in his learned Comment, l. 3. cap. 2d.) But (returning to where we left) the primary issue or rise of the shaft next the astragal or neather cincture is called the *Apophyges*, from the Greek word Ἀποφυγὴ; because in that part the column taking as it were a rise, seems to emerge and fly from the bases like the *processus* of a bone in a man's leg; and so it is now and then applied to the square of pedestals likewise. In short, 'tis no more than an imitation of the rings or feruls heretofore used at the extremities of wooden pillars, when formerly they were made of that material, to preserve them from splitting, afterward imitated in stone-work as an inseparable part thereof, and thence doubtless it is they took their original contraction; such trees as grew in the most upright tenor and comely diminution being chosen for this employment.

These being resembled in stone (that is of one entire one) by *solidæ* were distinguish'd from the structiles, or were such pillars as were compounded of many.

But it is not here only that these rings have place, but next the above describ'd astragal likewise, and where-ever encounter'd by the names of annulus, cincta, cimbia, listello, fillets, regula, &c. broader or more narrow, as best suits with the consecutive member, like those very small listellos or annulets under the echinus of the Doric capital, by the Italians called *gradetti*, degrees, and by the interpreters of P. Lomazzo, rulers; and so in like manner the cimbia beneath the astragal immediately above the contraction. But regulæ and fillets are somewhat larger in places where they edge and shut in the cymatium of a cornice, abacus, or voluta. Moreover, I note, that listello and cincta are broader than annulets, which I take to be the very least of all the mouldings in an order.

The capital, with its ornaments, comes now to be the next collective member.

We have already shew'd what we are to understand by a column, which, nakedly considered, does not assume the name of order till it be dressed and habited with its distinguishing ornaments, the capital, &c. For tho' by ornament Architects in one word signifie architrave, frieze, and cornice, which ever accompany and compleat the order, yet 'tis the capital only which gives it its distinction and denomination; and albeit their differences may indeed be also taken from the height, shape and substance, yet hardly without their heads, as the Ionicæ and Corinthian. We proceed therefore to the second member towards the upper part or diminution of a column (which is always the less abated if very tall, because the distance effects that in them, which art produces in the lower,) the

Hypotrachelium, which from the Greek ὑποτραχήλιον *colli pars infra cervicem*, denotes the neck of the column, being that part of scapus below the astragal: it is as it were the freeze of the capital, and so by some term'd; as also the collar and gorgerin, where the pillar is most contracted, and seems as if it were strangled, and may well be taken for a part of the capital it self, having both in the Tuscan and Doric another annulus or cincta about it next to the

Echinus, a bottle cut with an edge, as in our Blome 'tis rudely explained. It is indeed a quarter round, and sometimes more, swelling above the cinctures, and commonly next to the abacus, carv'd with ovals and darts (by our workmen call'd eggs and ankers as little politely), which is frequently shut up with a smaller ovolo of beads and chaplets, or like ornament; but so adorn'd, it commonly runs under the Ionic voluta and that of the Composita, and next the Doric abacus; as in that singular example of the Trajan Column it creeps under the plinth of the capital. Such as pretend to etymologies for every thing they hear will have it ἐχῖνος παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν, or συνέχειν ἑαυτὸν, because of a kind of self contraction; others more rationally, from the resemblance and roughness in the carving ἐχίνου τραχύτερος, as bristling with its darts like a hedge-hog, or rather the thorny husk of a chest-nut, which being open'd discovers a kind of oval figur'd kernell which dented a little at the top, the Latins call *decacuminata ova.* Under this, as we said, is a smaller bracelet again, which incircles the capital under the voluta in the Composita,

taken for the fuserole; and so likewise in the other orders where the ovolo or echinus properly enter, having a small moulding beneath it, by Palladio nam'd *gradetto;* but of this already. In the Corinthian, an echinus frequently comes in betwixt the corona and dentilli.

The *Voluta*, or as we term it, properly enough, the scroul, is not the derivative of any Greek word, but the Latin, *voluta, à volvendo*, for that it indeed seems to be roll'd upon an axis or staff. Alberti calls them snails-shells from their spiral turn. It is the principal and only appropriate member of the Ionic capital, which has four in imitation of a female ornament, as both our master Vitruvius and the author of the Parallel have learnedly illustrated. The face of it is called *frons*, the fore-head, a little hollow'd between the edge or list, and the return, pulvin or pillow betwixt the abacus and echinus, resembles the side-plaited tresses of womens hair, to defend as it were the ovolo from the weight of the abacus (over which the voluta hangs) and superior members, for the same reason as was intimated in the torus of the base.

There are also volutas in the Corinthian and compounded capitals, whereof the first hath eight, which are angular, the rest consisting rather of certain large stalkes after a more grotesco design, as may be gathered from those rams horns in the capital of the columns taken out of the bathes of Dioclesian; and in truth they are only the pretty flexures and scrowlings of Vitici, like the tendrells of vines, whereof the four larger ones bend under the horns or corners of the abacus, the other four of lesser size, just under the middle of the arch thereof, beneath the flower: then the bottom or foot of the calathus or panier (for that's divided into three equal parts, as will hereafter appear) shows in front two entire leaves, and as many half ones, *viz.* at the angles, and betwixt those again two stalkes, which, with a tall one in the middle (that touches the midst of the arch, as we said, it puts forth a flower upon the brim of the abacus) make in all sixteen in number. To be yet as accurate as may be in so nice and florid an ornament, these leaves did of old resemble either the acanthus (though a little more indented and disguised), from the inventor Callimachus, or (as some) the olive and palme, for so it is warranted by Villalpandus, from that capital of his description standing in the Temple of Solomon. At the extreames of

these leaves do issue the caules, and codds breaking with the helices, the rest of the stalkes adorn'd and furnish'd with buds and tender foliage by the discretion and invention of the ingenious carver. But the domineering tendrells and flexures consist of greater or smaller volutas, emerging from between the abacus and echinus in smaller leaves and stalks, middling and inferior foliage, as they are distinguish'd by workmen in the three above-nam'd divisions of the calathus; but instead of those helices, at our Corinthian horns, the Composita has her voluta much more resembling the Ionica, and in lieu of those, divers capricious fantaisies, as horses heads, eagles, and the like; *sed ea doctis non probantur*, they are rejected by all good Architects, says Philander. Voluta is likewise among the ornaments of mutuli, curtouses, &c.

Now the center or eye of the Ionic voluta is made by artists with a *Cathetus*, which (not over nicely to distinguish from perpendicular, because the operation of them proceeds from distinct terms) is meant by a line let down from above, intersecting the line of the collar (as 'tis demonstrated in chap. 24 of the "Parallel," with the history of its investigation) and that small circle at this point of intersection, is metaphorically *oculus*, the eye, from whence the perfect turning of the voluta has been after an exquisite manner (tho' by few observ'd and practis'd) found out; it being here indeed that our workman will be put to the exercise of his arithmetic, as appears by that accurate calculation in Nicholas Goldmanus's Restitution of this becoming ornament. Lastly,

The *Abacus* (from ἄβαξ or ἀβάκιον, which signifies a square trencher or table) is that quadrangular piece commonly accompanied with a cymatium (except in the Tuscan), and serving instead of a corona or drip to the capital, whereof it is the plinth and superior, as has already been noted. This it is which supports the neather face of the architrave, and whole trabeation. In the Corinthian and Composita the corners of it are nam'd the horns, and are somewhat blunted and hollowed; the intermedial sweep and curvature with the arch, has commonly a rose or some pretty flower carv'd in the middle of it.

Thus we have finished that head of our column, which being taken in general for all these members together, is commonly distinguish'd by the name of capital (an essential member of every order:) taken, I say,

for the intire ornament from the astragal and first cincture of it, to the plinth which bears up the architrave. But it is not to be omitted, that the main body of the Corinthian chapiter, of which we have given a large description under the title of *Voluta*, consists of a bell, or basket rather, which is that plain and solid part under the cauliculi and stalks, and out of which they are carved with helices, tendrells, and flowers already mentioned, and which, in order to their triple series of foliage (which seems to include and shadow the body of it as 'tis represented in that curious design of Callimachus's invention), is divided into three equal parts: but of this hereafter. There is likewise another capital, or rather a diminutive of it, by the Greeks called κεφαλίδιον, which does not only signifie (as sometimes) the former calathus and basket, but more properly that braid or list above the triglyph in the freeze.

Moreover, to the bodies or shafts of some columns appertain

Striges, which (not to insist upon what the learned Vossius and other critics have contended) are those excavated channels, by our workmen called flutings and grœves. These are particularly affected to the Ionic order (rarely the Doric) *uti stolarum rugæ*, in imitation of the plaits of womens robes, as our master resembles them; and some of these channels we find to go winding about pillars, &c. but it is not approved. Between these are the *Striæ*, we may properly English them raies or lists; which, being twenty in the Doric, in the Ionic 24 in number, are those plain spaces between the flutings in the Ionic, Doric, Corinthian, and Composed Orders, which ornament the three last have (with some small difference) borrow'd from the Ionic; and in some of those (as in that Dioclesian Doric example) they are so made, as to reduce the rays to a sharp edge only, by their contiguity without any spaces at all. But sometimes we find the striges to be fill'd up with a swelling, a third part from the base, and these we may call stav'd, or cabled columns; for so I think fit to interpret the French *embastone*, and Alberti's *rudens*. Thus we find some Corinthian pillars often treated; the stria being commonly a third or fourth part of the wideness of the flutings, (in the Doric not too deep) and diminishing with the contraction of the scapus, unless the shaft be very high, in which case the distance does it without

the aid of the workman; sometimes also we have seen them totally fill'd, and sometimes wrought, but better plain. Note, that where they exceed twenty or twenty-four, they make the columns appear gouty. We should now come to the *Entablature*, but a word of

Pillasters, or square columns, call'd by the Greeks (if standing single) *Parastatæ*, or by the Italians *Membretti*. Observing the same module and ornament in base and capital, if alone, with that of the intire column; but so they do not for their prominencie, which being to gain room and to strengthen works (fortifie and uphold capacious vaults) reduces them sometimes to the square, whereof one of the sides is frequently applied to walls, by which alone some will only have them to differ from columns themselves; but that ought to be understood of such as have no imposts and arches, upon which occasions the lights they let in do much govern their proportions, as Palladio has judiciously shew'd in l. 1. c. 13. &c. Likewise, where they happen to be at angles, and according to the surcharg'd weight; and therefore a rustic superficies, as Sir H. Wotton has discreetly observ'd, does best become them, as well as a greater latitude, for so they have sometimes been inlarged to almost a whole vacuity; unless where, for their better fortifying, we find half, and sometimes whole columns applied to them. As to the extancy, engaged in the thickness of the walls, for so we must suppose them to be, they sometimes shew above a fourth, fifth, or sixth part of their square; but this is regulated according to the nature and difference of the work, which not seldom reduces it to an eight, without any nice regards to what were requisite if they stood alone, seeing they are often destin'd to stations which require the most substantial props. For the rest, they carry the same proportion with their respective orders, and are very rarely contracted, unless where they are plac'd behind whole columns: if fluted, with not above seven or nine at most. Be this also observed; that as in the fronts of large and noble buildings they shew very gracefully, being plac'd one over the other before the first and second stories: so in lesser fronts and houses they look but poorly. Lastly, be this farther noted: that tho' we find the Doric pillaster with trigylph and metop placed about the cupola, 'tis by no means to be

broken in any sort, to humor the angle of an upright wall, tho' there happen to be a cornice above it, as we frequently find, allowing half to one face, and as much to the other.

Pilasters are likewise smaller or shorter applied to balconies, &c. with now and then bases, plinth and capital, and so in rails upon stairs, battlements, &c. They also do properly and handsomely, where they are set to support cornices and freezes in wainscoted rooms, provided their due proportion be observed, without those ridiculous disguisements of pedestals and idle fancies commonly wrought about them. They also well adorn door-cases, chimney-pieces, gallerie-fronts, and other places, whence they are called

Ante, not improperly (as Mons. Perault shews) from the Latin *antæ*, for their being plac'd before the ancient Temple walls, and coines standing out to secure them, and so at the sides of doors. In short they are generally own'd among pilasters, observing the same rule in advancing out of the work, as columns themselves also do; otherwise (as was said) pilasters us'd to appear very little beyond the perpendicular of the wall or work, where there happen'd to be no ornament above, which sallied farther, in which case the projecture of both ought to be alike, or rather comply with that of the pilaster.

The *Imposts* (by Vitruvius call'd *Incumbæ*) which I mention'd, are nothing but their capitals, or more protuberant heads, upon which rest the ends of the arches, which also must conform to their orders; so as the Tuscan has a plinth only, the Doric two faces around, the Ionic a plancere or cavity betwixt the two faces, with now and then carved mouldings, as has likewise the Corinthian and Composita a freeze; so as the sallies of the imposts exceed not the body of the pilaster. Sometimes again, the entablature of the order serves for the impost of the arch, which is very stately, as we see in divers Churches, to which the height exceedingly contributes, where the projecture is suitable; in the mean time where they exceeded the square and regular thickness, they were nam'd

Pilæ, and their quadras or tables (as we yet see them in antient altars and monuments) were employ'd for inscriptions; but if shorter and more massy, they serve for the arches of bridges, for buttresses, and the sustentation of more solid works, as indeed they need to be, stand-

ing in the water, and gradually built as far as its level; nor ought their breadth to be less than a sixth part of the wideness of the arch, nor more than a fourth. They were sometimes made half circular; but the antients prefer'd the pointed at right angles, as better to resist the impetuous current, before the more acute and sharper.

Arches or *vaults*, consisting generally of simple half circles, and now and then of some lesser point, of all other, require the conduct of an able Architect well skill'd in geometry. I shall not need to criticize on the several species of fornices and cradle works, as of late subdivided into more than we find among the antients, which were not above three or four; the simple fornix, or hemicircular, straite or turning; the testudo or more circular, and that which by the French is call'd *Cul-de-Four* and oven-like; and the concha, which like a trumpet grows wider as it lengthens, &c. Of these some are single, some double, cross, diagonal, horizontally on the plaine; others ascending and descending, angular, oblique, pendent; some that sallie out suspending an incumbent burden, of which there are both concave and convex, as for the giving passage under upon occasion. But of whatever form or portion of the circle, care must be had that where they cross the reins or branches springing from the same point, and their moulding alike, they neither crowd too neere one another, nor entangle confusedly; but meeting from angle to angle, unite at the key-stone, which is commonly carv'd with a rose or some other ornament; it being in this disposition of the nerves and branches wherein consists the artist's great address, and that the concamerated spaces be exceeding close joynted, needing no pegs, or fillings up with mortar; and above all, that the butments be substantial. As now in cellars, churches, &c. vault and arch work in warmer climates, both in the first and second stories, not without frequent and costly sculpture, various fretts and compartments, of which we have examples antient and modern, far more rich, grave, and stately, than those Gothic soffits, gross and heavy, or miserably trifling. Another great address in vault-work is, to render them light and cheerful, where they are rais'd above ground, as well as solid; especially where there is occasion to contrive them as flat as possible; such as are to be seen in many bridges, especially at Pisa over the Arno, so flat as the curviture is hardly discern-

able; and tho' it consists of three arches, yet they are very large, and there are many at Venice, but not neere of that length. That of the famous Rialto, over the Grand Canale, is more exalted, being in the base neere 200 foot, the chord much less than half the diameter, arches being ever strongest as they approach the half circle. The masonry at the front of these, being cut by a peculiar slope of the stone, is call'd pennanted till it come to joyn with the

Mensula, which, *quasi μέσα*, seems to be locked to the pennants in guize of a wedge, and therefore by our artists nam'd the key-stone: we have shewed their use where two arches intersect, which is the strongest manner of cameration. Under the title of arch-work, may not improperly come in those *Scalæ Cochlides*, spiral, annular, oval, and of whatsoever shape, pensile, and as it were, hanging with or without column, receiving sight from above; all of them requiring the skillful geometrician, as well as a master-mason; stairs in general being one of the most usefull and absolutely necessary parts of an house, and therefore to be contrived with good judgment, whither of stone or timber; and so as with ease and cheerfulness one may be led to all the upper rooms. With ease I mean, that the flights be not too long, before one arrives to the reposes and landings, without criticizing concerning the number of steps (which the antients made to be odd) provided they exceed not 5 inches in height, or be less than 15 in breadth, one foot being scarcely tolerable; and albeit the length cannot so positively be determin'd, but should answer the quality and capacity of the building; it ought not to be shorter than five and an half, or six foot, that two persons may commodiously ascend together. I speak not of those (*Scalæ occultæ*) back stayers, which sometimes require much contraction (and are more obnoxious to winding steps) but a noble and ample house may extend even from 8 to 12 foot in length. And here I think not amiss to note, that the antients very seldom made use of arched doors or windows, unless at the entrance of castles, cittys, and triumphal intercolumnations for the more commodious ingress of horsemen arm'd with spears, and ensigns, &c. This barbarity, therefore, we may look upon as purely Gothique, who, considering nothing with reason, have introduc'd it into private houses, and been imitated but by too many of our late Architects also, to the no small diminution of the rest,

which is better conducted. By intercolumnations I do likewise comprehend all terraced and cloister'd buildings, porticos, galleries, attria's, &c. as before, contiguous to, or standing out from, the body of edifices, in which cases they are becomingly proper. And this does naturally lead me to our pillars again, and to consider the spaces between them.

Intercolumnation (antiently much the same in all the orders without arches, where spaces may be wider than betwixt single columns) signifies the distance or void between pillar and pillar; but this not sufficiently explaining the various distance of the several orders in work, renders it, even in divers of our English authors where they treat of this art, of sundry denominations. For thus it was usually call'd

Insulata Columna, where a pillar stood alone like an island or rock in the Sea, the one inviron'd with air as the other with water.

Areostylos belonging chiefly to the Tuscan order, was where the intercolumnation is very wide, as at the entrance of great cities, forts, &c. upon which occasions at the least four or five modules (taken for the whole diameter) may be allowed, and commonly requires a timber architrave. Others almost contrary, when they stand at only a moderate distance.

Diastylos, though sometimes improperly taken for any intercolumnation, is most natural to the Doric, and may have three or four diameters, nay sometimes more in the Ionic, as fittest for gates, galleries, and porches of Pallaces or lesser buildings, and thence were call'd *tetrastylos* and *hexastylos*.

The *Systylos* nam'd also *Pycnostylos* (as much as to say thick of pillars, because seldom allow'd above a module and an half, though some distinguish the first by an half module more for the Corinthian), belongs chiefly to the Composita, and it was us'd before temples and other public and magnificent works of that nature : as at present in the peristyle of St. Peter's at Rome, consisting of neere 300 columns ; and as yet remain of the antients among the late discover'd ruins of Palmyra. But where in such structures the intercolumnation did not exceed two diameters, or very little more, (as in the Corinthian, and especially the Ionic,) the proportion of distance was so esteemed for its

beauty and other perfections, that it was by a particular eminence termed *eustylos*, as being of all other the most graceful. But it is not now so frequent as of old, to be at that vast charge, as the number and multitude of columns (which were usually of one entire stone, exceeding all the other parts and ornaments of building,) would ingage the most opulent Prince. Whilst we find those enormous structures of temples, amphitheaters, naumachia, circus, baths, porches, tribunals, courts, and other places of public convention, were built and advanced not only by the general contribution of the people, or out of the *fisch* and charge of the state; but very often by the munificence of Emperors, who, glorying in nothing more than in that of beautifying and adorning of the most famous cities in the several provinces, us'd to imploy thousands of their slaves to hew and work in the quarrys, abounding with all sorts of the richest marbles, or with serpentins, ophites, porphyris, and such as for hardness and difficulty of polishing, our tools will now hardly enter; and when the pillars (and attire about them) were finish'd, to send and bestow them gratis towards the encouragement and advancement of those public works, &c. But after this Constantine the Great, meditating the translation of the Imperial Seat, (from the West to the East) took another course (tho' by no means so laudable), causing many of the most magnificent buildings to be depriv'd of their columns, statues, inscriptions, and noblest antiquities, to be taken away and caryed to Byzantium (now Constantinople), to adorn his new City with the spoyles of Rome; whilst what ruins and fragments were left (and had escap'd the savage Goths and Vandals), were stripp'd of all that yet remained of venerable and useful antiquity, by the succeeding Pontiffs, for the building of stately palaces, villas, and country-houses of the upstart Nepotisme, as are standing both at present in the citys, and the sweetest and most delicious parts of the country about it; proud of what yet stood of the miserable demolition of temples, arches, mausoleas, &c. so justly perstring'd in that sarcasme, *Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barbarini;* and indeed, the superb Palaces of Card. Antonio, Panfilio, &c. nephews to Pope Urban the VIII. and his successors, are instances of this: so as I hardly can tell of any one antient structure (not excepting the Pantheon) but what

has suffer'd such ignominious marks and disguises, as that the learned author of the "Paralell," together with all the assembly of the most skilful artists (which he has brought together), have hardly been able (with infinite pains, charge, and industry,) to recover the just proportions and necessary adjuncts of the antient orders. But to return where we left speaking of columns: we are not there obliged to reckon any of them as meaning different orders, kinds, or species of building (as in the following enumeration), but as relating to the several dispositions of them, agreeable to their intercolumnation. For where the sides had ranges of columns, as in those large xystas, temples, porticos, atrias and vestibula of the Greeks and Romans, (which were certain arched or plainly architrav'd buildings in form of cloysters and galleries, commonly standing out from the rest of the edifice, and now and then alone, and within also,) the antients named no fewer than seven, according as they were applied to the several species, disposition, or composition of the fabric, or more plainly, such as were more proper for a temple, according as it was built and plac'd designedly for more or fewer ranks of columns, at the entrance only, on every side about it, without or within; not regarding their proportion or ornament, which is a different consideration (for so I think Vitruvius may be taken) of these. The first is

1. *Antes*, of which we have already spoken.

2. The *Prostyle*, whose station being at the front, consisted of only four columns.

3. *Amphiprostyle*, where the building had a double *pronaos* or porch, consisted but of four at each.

4. *Periptere*, where the columns range quite about the building, six in front; the intercolumnation two diameters of whatever order it consist, the pillars standing downward.

5. *Pseudodiptere* (bastard or imperfect), as consisting of a single rank only, yet of eight columns in front at two diameters distance; so as left space enough for another row from the main building. Whereas the

6. *Diptere* has a double row of as many quite about, and *octostyle* in front also, at the distance of *eustyle*, that is, two diameters and a

quarter. This made as it were a double portico, which we call Isles. Lastly, the

7. *Hypethre,* consists of two ranks of columns all about, with ten at each face of the building, and a *peristyle* within of single columns; the rest being expos'd to the air, that is, not walled in (and plac'd as the *pycnostyle* closer to one another), we have call'd peristyle, which tho' importing a colonade or series of columns ranging quite about, yet are not all which are so plac'd, to be call'd so, unless standing within the walls, which is essential to their denomination; since otherwise, as well the periptere as monoptere (both consisting but of a single range or wing a piece) should then be peristyles, which they are not: besides, the monoptere is only where a roof is supported without any wall or closure whatsoever, as in that example of Vitruvius, lib. 4. cap. 7. all which I have only mention'd for the benefit of our country workmen, who do frequently even amongst our English translators of Architectonical Treatises, meet with those hard names without their interpretation, when they discourse of these open and airy ornaments, whether adjoyning to and supporting more contignations and stories, or invironing them, and prominent from them; and because it is for this that our master Vitruvius so passionately wishes that his Architect should be (as of old they styl'd Callimachus) Philotechnos, an industrious searcher of the sciences, which is the same that a good Philologer is amongst our literati.

Moreover, instead of columns the antients (as now the modern but too often) used to place the whole figures of men and women to support and bear up intire cornices, and even huge masses of buildings; but of this at large in Cap. 22, 23, of the Parallel, Part I. These they also nam'd *Telamones* or Atlas's, the French *Consoles*, where they usually set them to sustain the architrave, which for being the next member in order to the capital we come next to explain.

The *Greeks* nam'd that *epistilium*, which we from a mungril compound of two languages *ἀρχη-trabs* (as much as to say the principal beam and summer or rather from arcus and trabs,) call architrave; *Ut velint trabem hanc Arcus vices sustinere qui à columna ad columnam sinuari solet*, as Baldus, with reason, from its position upon the column, or rather

indeed the abacus of the capital. It is the very first member of that which we call entablature in our translation of the Parallel; and formerly in the Tuscan order, framed for the most part of timber in regard of the distant intercolumnation. It is also frequently broken into two or three divisions, call'd by artists

Fascias, or rather, plain fasces, a little prominent, the lowest being ever the narrowest. These breaks arriving sometimes to 17, sometimes to 18 minutes in breadth, some rather choose to call faces than fascias, swathes, fillets, or bands, by which they are usually distinguish'd into first, second, and third, especially in the three latter orders; for in the Tuscan and Doric they do not so properly enter, though our Parallel yield us two approv'd examples. These are frequently, and indeed for the most part, separated with a small astragal cut into heads, or some such slight carving; the fascias of the architrave likewise curiously wrought, as in that wonderful instance of a Corinthian entablature taken out of Dioclesian's bathes. Fascia, in the notion I would rather take it, should be for that narrower band about the Tuscan and other basis as some call it; or rather the square list under the superior *torus* in some pedestals nam'd *supercilium,* and not properly the *torus* it self, as in divers English profiles they erroneously make it; for *supercilium* seems to be a kind of *corona* or drip to the subjacent members. In chimneys the architrave is the mantle; and over the *antepagmenta* or jambs of doors, and lintells of windows, the *hyperthyron,* which the Italians call *soppra frontale,* and our carpenters the king-piece, immediately under the corona as a large table to supply the freeze, especially in the Doric order, and chiefly over porticos and doors; whilst, as to the precise rule for the fillet of the architrave, the Tuscan challenges one; the Doric and Composita two; the Corinthian three; sometimes interrupted to let in a table for an inscription.

The uppermost fascia of the architrave for the most part is, and indeed always should be (the Tuscan only excepted), adorn'd with a Lysis, or

Cymatium inverted, which is no more than a wrought or plain *o-gee* as our workmen barbarously name it; the term is Κυμάτιον *undula,* and signifies a rolling wave to the resemblance whereof it is moulded.

By some it is call'd the *throat*, as from the Italian and French, *gola*, *geule*, or *doucine*, and of these there are two kinds; the first and principal hath always its cavity above, and doth constantly jett over the *corona* or drip like a wave ready to fall, and then is properly call'd *sima;* the other has its hollow below, and is nam'd *inversa*, the one convex, the other concave: the letters {thus placed do reasonably well express these kind of mouldings, which not only enter into the member of the architrave where 'tis ever inverted, but (as we said) perpetually above the corona, where they do frequently encounter and meet together with a small regula between them, which, as it were, separate the parts as the freeze from the cornice and the like; but then the neather is the Lesbyan ever reversed, and very narrow; though ofttimes both of them carv'd and adorn'd with foliage, &c. In the Doric order the upmost *cymatium* of the entablature is somewhat different, consisting but of a single hollow only under the list: in the mean time, there is no small nicety among Architects about this necessary ornament, both as to the name and placing; giving to the larger the name of *cymatium* revers'd, or *doucine;* to the smaller, that of *simus* or flat-nos'd; commonly placed beneath the other, under a small fillet; yet not so essentially, but that it has been supplied by the astragal; however, the most natural place of the great *cymatium* is upon the superior cornice where our master gives it the name of *epictheates*, and should ever cover the sloping sides of *frontoons* or *tympanum.*

Cymatium is also about the heads of modilions, and constitutes part of them, as likewise it enters into *abacus*, and on pedestals as in *stylobatæ corona,* and the base thereof, where we find them both inverted; though I remember to have seen the upmost with the *recta* also in the cornice abovemention'd. But instead of *cymatium* separating the architrave and freeze, *tænia* oftentimes supplies the room.

Tænia is properly *Diadema*, a bandlet or small fillet with which they used to bind the head; and rather those Lemnisci and rubans which we see carv'd and dangling at the ends of gyrlands. The interpreter of Hans Bloome names it the top of a pillar but very insolently; it being indeed the small fascia part of the Doric architrave (or as Perault, strictly belonging to the cornice alone) sometimes, but seldom,

with a narrow *cymatium* or regula under it, as that runs under the triglyphs as a kind of base: some call it the neather Tænia (as Philander frequently) to distinguish it from the bandage which composes the capitelli of the triglyphs, and continues between them over the metops, and not seldom under a cavetto or small cymatium with which Suidas and other learned critics many times confound it. In a word 'tis that in the Doric architrave which cymatium is in the other order, and separates the epistylium or architrave from the

Freeze, the word in Greek is Ζωοφόρος and does genuinely import the imaginary circle of the zodiac depicted with the twelve signs; but by our Architects 'tis taken for the second division of the entablature above the columns, being like a fair and ample table between the former teniæ, and which though oftentimes plain should be *pulvinatus*, pillow'd, or swelling in the Ionic order; but in the Doric enrich'd with the triglyph and metops, and with a thousand Historical, Symbolic, Grotesque and other florid inventions in the rest of the orders (Tuscan excepted), especially the Corinthian and Composita, and sometimes with inscriptions. Our term is deriv'd either from the Latin *phrygio* a border, or from the Italian *freggio*, which denotes any fring'd or embroider'd belt. Philander says à *phrygionibus*, not from the Phryges, a people of the Minor Asia, as some erroneously, but *phrygiones*, a certain broidery or flowr'd needle work, as one should say *Troy-stitch*, whence haply our *true-stitch)* in imitation whereof they wrought flowers and compartments upon the freeze; which is commonly no broader than the architrave: in the Ionic if plain, a fourth part less; if wrought a fourth part larger, of which see more where we spake of ornaments.

Besides this of the entablature, the capitals of both Tuscan and Doric have the freeze likewise commonly adorn'd with four roses and as many smaller flowers, for which cause 'tis called the freeze of the capital also, as we noted, to distinguish it from the other; likewise *hypotrachelium*, from its posture between the astragal and the regula, or annulus of the echinus: this Tuscan freeze is plain and very simple; but in the rest of the orders it is employed with the echinus, as in the Ionica, and the capital cauliculi or stalkes in the other two; these

roses are also sometimes insculped under the prominent horns or angles of the Doric abacus.

The *Triglyphs*, which I affirm'd to be charged on the Doric freeze, is a most inseparable ornament of it. The word Τρίγλυφος in Greek imports a three sculptur'd piece, *quasi tres habens glyphas.* By their triangular furrows, or gutters rather, they seem to me as if they were meant to convey the guttæ or drops which hang a little under them; though there are who fancy them to have been made in imitation of Apollo's lyre, because first put in work (as they affirm) at the Delphic temple. You are to note that the two angular hollows are but half chanell'd, whence they are call'd *semicanaliculæ*, to distinguish them from the *canaliculi* whose flutings are perfect, and make up the three with their interstices or spaces, being as many flat and slender shanks, for so we may interpret the Latine *femora:* one of these is ever plac'd 'twixt two columns, and should be about the breadth of half its diameter below. The Italians name them *pianetti*, small plains, and so do we; and they constantly reach the whole diameter of the freeze, being crown'd with the formerly mention'd capital, part of the upper tænia, and determining with the neather, where it intercepts them from the prominent.

Guttæ, or *Drops.* It is certainly the most conspicuous part of the Doric freeze, supposed to have been at first so carved upon boards, only that had been clap'd on the extremities of the *cantherii*, joists or rafters ends, which bore upon the upper fascia of the architrave, to take off from the deformity, as also were the triglyphs. How indispensably necessary they are both to be placed in a just and due square from each other, and perpendicularly over their columns, the author of the "Parallel" has shew'd, chap. 2, part 1; as in that of the temple of Solomon, according to Villalpandus's design, how they have been admitted into the Corinthian freeze but without the *guttæ* and so in the Persique. These *guttæ* are, as I said, those six appendant drops or tears affected only to the Doric order, seeming as it were to trickle down and flow from the channels and shanks of the triglyphs through the neather tænia, and small reglet or moulding under it.

Guttæ are sometimes made in shape of flat triangles, sometimes

swelling like the section of a cone or bell (but square at the bottom), and therefore so call'd by the French Architects. They are also under the planton and the modilions which support the cornice, eighteen in number, exactly over the triglyphs, as in that most conspicuous elevation of the profile after the stately relique at Albano near Rome, than which nothing can be imagin'd more noble and magnificent. Alberti calls these guttæ *clavos*, as conceiving them to be in resemblance of nails, but without any reason for his conjecture.

Metopæ are the next in order, and are nothing else save those empty spaces in the freeze 'twixt the triglyphs in the Doric order, either *puræ* and plain, or figur'd, for that is not necessary always, to the great ease of Architects, who oftentimes find it so difficult to place them at just distances, that, except in church-works, they frequently leave them out. The word is deriv'd of μετὰ ὀπὴ, which is *foramen, intervallum inter Sculpturæ cava*, or if you will, *Intertignium*, as importing here rather the forenamed spaces, than what those pretend who will fetch it from the Μέτωπον, or forehead of the beasts whose sculls (remaining after the sacrifices) were usually carved in these intervals; because in these vacuities were the passages for the ends of the joysts, timbers and rafters which rested upon the architrave, and were to fill up that deformity: they usually made it up with some such ornaments, suppose of skulls, dishes, and other vessels; nay sometimes with Jupiter's squib or thunderbolt, targets, battle-axes, roses, and such other trophies, as were found most apposite to the occasion, and not preposterously fill'd them (as our workmen too often do) without any relation to the subject; so as I have frequently seen oxes heads carved on the freeze of an house of pleasure in a garden, where roses and flowers would have been more proper. There are sundry other ornaments likewise belonging to the freeze, such as encarpa, festoons, and frutages, tyed to the horns of the skulls with tæniæ and ribbands tenderly flowing about this member, and sometimes carried by little *Puti*, boys, cupids, and a thousand other rich inventions to be found in good examples. But we are now arriv'd to the third and last member of the entablature, separated from the freeze by the superior tænia, the cornice.

The *Cornice*, *Coronis*, or as it is collectively taken for its several and

distinct mouldings and ornaments, comprehends 1. regula; 2. cymatium; 3. dentelli; 4. ovolo or echinus; 5. modilions or bedding-mouldings which support the corona; 6. *sima recta* and *inversa* (rarely a *cavetto*); 7. and lastly, another regula, which concludes the whole order. We will begin with the first, being sometimes a small scotia consisting of an half or quarter round, that now and then also both in the Tuscan and Doric divides the freeze from the cornice in place of the tænia, as does the cymatium in the rest of the orders. The

Ovolo is next in the plainer orders; but it is inrich'd in the Corinthian like the echinus, which (if you please) you may take for the same thing in an Italian dress, some like eggs, some like hearts with darts symbolizing love, &c. In the Tuscan and Doric 'tis turn'd like a scima or cymatium, and is substituted for support of the corona; but in the last 'tis usually accompanied with a slender regula above it, and in the Corinthian both above and beneath, where it is likewise frequently carv'd and adorn'd with a broad welt like a plinth.

Dentelli, are the teeth (a member of the cornice) immediately above the cymatium of the freeze, by some named also *asseri* from their square form; I say in the Corinthian and Ionic, &c. for in the Doric order they were not antiently admitted, or rather not properly, according to the opinion of our master, though we must needs acknowledge to have found them in the most authentic pieces extant. As for their dimensions, they kept to no certain rule, but made them sometimes thicker, sometimes thinner, square, or long, and more in number; but commonly the spaces less by an half; sometimes by a third part than the teeth, which were themselves twice as high as their breadth, and frequently (especially in the more polite orders) beginning with the cone of a pine, pendent at the very point over the angular column. Lomatius is yet more precise in this particular, and gives them as much height as the middle fascia of the architrave, projecture, equal (somewhat too much) front twice the breadth of their height, and a third part less than their breadth for vacuity. The dentelli have oftentimes a small regula, and now and then more than one, as usually in the Ionica, where it has likewise an ovolo or echinus for the bedding of the corona; but if inriched, and that two of them encounter, one should be simple and plain,

as where it happens to be be inserted beneath it. Next to this superior echinus are the modilions; but instead of them dentelli are thought to have been first instituted, and for that reason superfluously joyn'd where mutules are; and therefore where we find tænia under modilions, it is not properly divided into teeth, nor is it rashly to be imitated, though we have some great examples to countenance it. That of the Pantheon may safely guide us herein, where it is left plain for this very cause, and that the reason of the thing does not in truth allow it. However, it must be acknowledged, nothing has been more grossly abused even amongst our most renowned masters.

Modilions, being certain supports in form of *corbells*, *cortouzes*, and *mutules*, are a kind of bragets to the corona, and in those orders where they enter, supply the part of the bedding-moulding, as our workmen style the *ovolo* in this place; for so they frequently do in the Doric and Ionic, but then without any other ornament than a slight cymatium to hedge them, and to be always placed over the triglyphs. In the Corinthian and Composita (which is their true place) they are enriched with all the delicateness and curiosity imaginable (especially in the Corinthian) capp'd, as I said, with a curiously carv'd small cymatium, where they are contiguous to the *plancere* or roof of the corona. Our ordinary workmen make some distinction between modilions and those other sorts of bragets which they call *cartells* and *mutules*, usually carv'd like the handels of vessels scroul'd, flow'rd, and sometimes sculptur'd with the triglyph: and such were the *ancones* amongst the Greeks; and such are often found supporting little tables for inscriptions, the stools of windows which jetty out, and shields, and compartments for coats of arms, &c. That there should be no *guttæ* under mutules, or dentelli under modillions, is the opinion of divers learn'd Architects, though (as was said) we frequently find them chanell'd like the triglyph, and that in authentick examples. Philander is for it, and pronounces them more proper than even under the purest triglyph, for signifying (says he) *Canteriorum Capita, unde stillicidium fieri certum est*, drops and icicles commonly hanging at the ends of our rafters upon every weeping shower, whereas *triglyphi* import only the projectures of the beams and timbers nothing so much exposed: but this I leave to the more judicious;

whilst as to their shape, they should be square under the corona at double their breadth the interval, and just over the middle of the columns: how otherwise us'd, see in *Tympanum, Mutules.*

Mutules, quasi μύτιλος (a kind of modilions also, or rather the same under an Italian term) have their name from their defect, as being made thinner and more abated below than above, and therefore naturally and discreetly destin'd to places where they are but little burthen'd with weight, as here under that little remainder of the cornice, are to bear up little statues, busts, vasas, &c.; and so where they are set under the pedaments and lintels of doors and windows. Most preposterous, therefore, and improper is our frequent assigning such weak supporters to such monstrous jetties and excessive superstructures as we many times find under balconies, bay-windows, and long galleries; where instead of mutules the antients would have plac'd some stout order of columns. But by these unreasonable projectures (obscuring the lights of the rooms under them) it comes to pass, that in time our strongest houses are destroyed, and drawn to their irrecoverable ruin. For the proportion of mutules, I commonly find them a fourth part higher than their breadth, their intervals being as wide as two; but neither do I find these so constantly regular, only that there be ever one plac'd at the corners and returns of the corona; and then if they interchangeably differ as to the spaces, and as the rafters direct, there are examples abundant for their justification. And after all, they little differ from modilions, save that they are most proper to the Doric cornice, representing and covering the ends of the rafters; whereas modilion serves for any order.

I shall not need to define what is meant by *Projectures,* when I have said it is the same our English authors call the sailings over and out-jettings of any moulding beyond the upright wall. The Italians name them *sporti,* the Greeks *ecphoras,* and for the same reason all margins whatsoever which hang over beyond the scapus of a column are *Projectures;* and for a general rule it should be equal to the breadth of what projects, relation being discreetly had to the height, which best determines it.

Corona, is next the last considerable member remaining of the intire

entablature, and (tho' but a part only of the cornice) seems indeed to set the crown upon the whole work. I say considerable, because being regularly plac'd so near the uppermost ovolo or mutules, it serves to defend all the rest of the edifice from the rain and injuries of the weather, and therefore has its projectures accordingly, and should be one of the strongest square members of the cornice. It is sometimes taken for the intire cornix or cornice with all its ornaments, but strictly, for that part of it above the modilions, ovolo, echinus or ogee, by a turn under the *planceere*. We find the corona omitted and quite left out of that stately *Arco di Leoni*, but it is worthily reproved by our author of the Parallel, as being a member of indispensable use. *Corona* is by some call'd *supercilium*, but rather I conceive *stillicidium* the *drip* (*Corona elvcolata vite*), and with more reason; so the French *larmier*, *gocciolatoio* and *ventale* by the Italians, to denote its double office of protecting both from water and wind. For this reason likewise have our Latin authors nam'd this broad plinth *mentum*, a chin; because it carries off the wet from falling on the rest of the entablature, as the prominency of that part in mens faces keeps the sweat of the brows and other liquid distillations from trickling into the neck; and in imitation hereof, the antient potters invented the brimming of their vessels, by turning over some of the ductile matter when the work was on the wheel. Sometimes there have been two coronas in a cornice, as in that Corinthian instance of the Rotunda; and so it is frequently used in the *stylobatæ* under *gula inversa*; and truly it may be justly repeated, as the exposure and occasion requires it (so it be not too near one another), all projectures being but a kind of corona to the subjacent members; and therefore their projectures are accordingly to be assign'd, and by no means to be cut and divided to let in windows and tables. Corona is also taken for the interior and exterior curvature of an arch or vault.

The under part of the roofs of coronas (which are commonly wrought hollow, by sometimes, as we said, making part of the cymatium) are by our Artists call'd *planceeres*, and those the *cofers*, wherein are cut the roses, pomgranades, flowers or fretts which adorn the spaces betwixt the heads of the modilions and mutules. This ceiling the Italians name *soffito*, and it signifies not only that part of the corona which sallies

over, but the *lacunar*, *lacus*, or plain of all other roofs made of tabulations and boards appearing between the joysts, and which (as now, especially in other countries) were also formerly gilded, carv'd, and most magnificently emboss'd with fretts of wonderful relievo; nay sometimes to the excess of inlayings with ivory, mosaique and other rich and chargeable works. Pliny, l. 35. cap. 11. tells us of one Pamphilius, the master of Apelles, to have been the first which brought this roof-painting into vogue. But I refer the reader who thirsts after more of this, to the learned Salmasius on Solinus, p. 1215. Nor is yet the corona perpetually plain as we commonly see it; sometimes (though rarely indeed) I find it carv'd also, as in that incomparable Composita of Titus's Arch, and that of Dioclesian's Baths in the Corinthian order, and as is indeed every individual member of that entire entablature to the utmost excess of art; but how far this may be imitable, consult the judicious "Parallel;" while 'tis yet considerable that it is there but with a kind of *sulcus* or channel, in imitation of triglyph, or a short fluting rather, being indeed more proper for carrying off the water than any other work could have been devised. Corona has over it a small regula, or an inrichment of some sleight chaplet in the Corinthian, &c. after which cymatium, as in that of Titus's Arch before rehearsed; sometimes likewise with an ovolo or echinus cut with ovals and darts (or as we call them eggs and ankers) as in that example of Nero's Frontispiece, and upon this again the double cymatium, whereof the first is inverted, and over the neathermost and most narrow, the other *recta*, very large and prominent, being now and then adorn'd with lyons heads plac'd just opposite to the modilions (of which see that curious research of the learned Dr. Brown in his *Vulgar Errors*), though sometimes they are adorn'd with foliage only. Lastly, for a final ἐπιθήχη or *super-imposition* (if I may be indulg'd so to name it), we are now climb'd to the most supream projecture, and ultimate part of the whole cornice, namely, the

Regula, which some make a part of the *sima* or *gula recta*, by Palladio the *intavolato*, and which I think to be the sole member which I never remember to have seen any where carv'd, but always plain, though in some of the orders of near eight minutes in breadth. It is very true, that scotia (which I now and then call *cavetto* or small hollow) does in some

laudable examples support this member instead of cymatium, but not so frequently; and that the Tuscan cornice terminates in a cymatium without this regula, or rather in an ovolo, as in those examples after Sebastian Serlio, &c.; but it is not after a true *gusto*, and the fancy is particular. *Regula*, call'd also *listello*, *cincta*, &c. (of which something already hath been spoken) is always that *supercilium* or superior member of the cornice, though it be likewise taken for that which is by some call'd *quadra*, being those two lists commonly call'd *scotia*, as we find it in the Ionic spira both above and beneath. Sometimes also it signifies the rings or small ferules begirting the scapus of a column near the apophyges, or the plinth of a pedestal: therefore I distinguish them, though yet they may be accounted the same, seeing they usually import any small plain fillet dividing greater members; for so Philander calls almost all simple parts broader or narrower, which like fillets encompass the rest; or rather as *sycis* separates the members from contiguity, both for variety and distinction, as in the Doric trabeation, regula, sima, cymatium, &c.; in the capital, regula, cymatium, plinthus; in the cornice of the stylobata, also regula, cymatium, astragalus: but where it is no less conspicuous, is in that part of the triglyph which jetts out under the tænia, and from which the guttæ depend, where it seems to be a part of the very architrave it self. Lastly, before I altogether leave the cornice (which is indeed the top of all, and may be called the crown of the corona it self), it may not be amiss to add this short note, for joyners and such as make cornices of wainscot, or fretwork, concerning the projectures, which having relation to the height, an inch allow'd toevery foot suffice for a room of 15 foot pitch, which is one foot three inches, where there is freeze and cornice; if much higher, and that there be the whole entablature, each shall require a tenth part. To conclude, the very meanest building, farm, or out-house, deserves a moulding, cornice with a quarter round or ovolo, a cymatium and fillet.

And may thus much suffice to have been spoken of the cornice or upper member of the trabeation, which we mean by the entablature, for both these terms signifie but one and the same thing, viz. the architrave, freeze, and cornice; which I therefore the more precisely note, because some writers apply it only to the very cover and upmost top of

the orders; but so does not our country-man John Shute, whose book being printed anno 1584,* (and one of the first that was published of Architecture in the English tongue) keeps rather to the antient terms than by mixing them with such barbarous ones as were afterwards introduc'd, indanger the confusion of young students, and such as applied themselves to the art. Finally, to reform another mistake I think good to note that where we find *coronix* in our authors, it is rather meant for all that moulding projecting over the dye or square of the pedestal (by some call'd *cima*) then this conclusive superior member of the entablature which we name the cornice. But I have done, nor needs there more be added for the perfect intelligence of the most minute member, and ornament mentioned in this Parallel, or I conceive in any other author whatsoever treating concerning this Art, and naturally applicable to the order, by which we are all along to understand certain rules and members agreed on for the proportions and differences of columns, the characters, figures and ornaments belonging to every part and member, whether bigger or lesser, plain or inrich'd: or as others, a regular arrangement of the principal and constituent parts of a column, from whence there results that composition which gives it usefulness, with grace and beauty. This for consisting then of the several shapes and measures, obliges us to say something more of proportion, as being indeed the very foundation of Architecture it self, rising, as we shew, from the representation of natural things; nor is it in this Art only applicable to the dispositions and kinds of those edifices (which we have already spoken of), but to every individual member of an order, which Vitruvius will have taken from the regular dimensions and proportions of the parts of the humane body, in relation to any one moderate measure of the same body, differently multiplied in several parts: as for instance, the head for an eighth part of the whole; twice from the point of one shoulder to the other extream, &c.; thrice in the arm, four times from the hip downwards, &c.; or, as Albert Durer, by multiplying the

* In folio, and entitled, "The first and chief Grounds of Architecture vsed in all the auncient and famous Monyments; with a farther and more ample Discourse vpon the same than hitherto hath been set out by any other." 1563, and reprinted in 1584.

face from the bottom of the chin to the upper part of the forehead, reckons the whole length to be ten, *et sic de cæteris;* according to which the diameter of a column shall be ten times in the height of the Corinthian; the intercolumniation eustyle, two and a quarter, &c. of which let the curious consult our master learned interpreter, lib. 3. cap. 1. where he discourses of positive and unalterable establishments; whilst that which we mean by proportion here, is the scale by which all the parts are regulated as to their just measures and projectures, and this has by Artists been call'd the

Modul, or as Vitruvius (and some will have it) *ordonation;* explained by *modica commoditas,* to be taken for the parts or quantities by which the several members of an order are calculated and adjusted in their composition. In the mean time, to avoid all uncertainties and perplexity of measures differing in most countries, some dividing into more, others into fewer parts, to the great ease of both Architects and Workmen, by *Moduls** is to be understood the diameter or semi-diameter of a column of whatever order, taken from the rise of the shaft or superior member of the base, namely, at the thickest and most inferior part of the cylinder; from whence Monsieur de Chambray (following Palladio and Scamozzi), taking the semi-diameter divided into 30 equal parts or minutes, make it to be the universal scale. Now tho' Architects generally measure by the whole diameter (excepting only in the Doric, which they reckon by the half,) it makes no alteration here, so as the workman may take which he pleases. We proceed next to the orders themselves; nor let it be thought a needless repetition, if having given the learner (for to such I only speak) so minute and full a description of all those parts and members whereof the several orders are compos'd and distinguish'd, I go on to shew how they are put together in work, by what they have in common, or peculiar to denominate the species, and bring the hitherto scattered and dispersed limbs into their respective bodys.

We have already shew'd (speaking of capitals) that a column, which is strictly the naked post or cylinder only, does not assume the name

* Note, that to distinguish it from Modell, by which is signified the type (or geometrical representation of a building) this is to be read with the fifth vowel, that by the second.

and dignity of any order, till compleatly qualified with those parts and accessaries which give it name, pre-eminence and rank; but being so distinguish'd, they are to Architects what the several *Modes* are in Music, and *carminum genere* among the Poets: all buildings whatsoever coming properly under the regiment of some one or other of them, or at least ought to do, and they are five (according to the vulgar account), namely, Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composita. But since the first and last of these are not admitted by our great masters, as legitimate orders (to which indeed the antient Greeks claim only title), we might with Vitruvius, and our author of the "Parallel," leave them to bring up the rear; did not custom, as we said, and common use sufficiently justify our assigning this place for the

Tuscan, Rustic, or by whatever name dignified, or disgrac'd: for being seldom found in the antient fabrics of the Romans themselves, by which name it is also call'd, it seems yet to challenge some regard from its resemblance to those plain and simple rudiments of those primitive buildings, where they laid a beam on the top of two forked posts, newly cut and brought out of the forest, to support that which gave covering and shade to the first Architects, such as they were, and we have describ'd; till time and experience, which mature and perfect all things, brought it into better form and shape; when the Asiatic, Lydians, who are said first to have peopled Italy, brought it into that part of it call'd Tuscany. Nor let it altogether be despis'd because of its native plainness, which rarely admits it into buildings where ornament is expected; since besides its strength and sufficiency (which might commute for its want of other beauty, and give place at the ports and entrances of great cities, munitions, magazines, amphitheatres, bridges, prisons, &c. that require strength and solidity), we find it capable also of such illustrious and majestic decorations, as may challenge all the Grecian orders to shew any thing approaching to it, so long as those three famous Columns, those of Trajan and Antoninus's at Rome, and a third of Theodosius's at Constantinople, stand yet triumphant, and braving so many thousands of the other orders, which lie prostrate, buried in their dust and ruins. Nor is this the first example (as some pretend) as appears by that antient Pillar erected to Valerius Maximus,

sirnam'd Corvinus, on which was plac'd a raven, in memory of what happen'd in the famous duel between that hero and the gygantic Gaule. Thus whilst the rest of the orders are assisted to support their charge and heavy burdens by their fellows, and a conjugation of entablature not allow'd to this, the Tuscan stands alone like an island, steady and as immoveable as a rock.

This column, with its base and capital, is in length seven diameters, taken at the thickest part of the shaft below; the pedestal one; the base one module or half diameter, which divided into two equal parts, one shall be the plinth, the other for the torus and cincture, which being but a fourth part of the breadth in this order only, makes a part of the base (peculiar to it self alone), as in the other it does of the shaft it self.

The capital is one module, which divided into three equal parts, one shall be for the abacus, the other the ovolo, the third parted into seven, whereof one is the list, and the remaining six for the column. The lower astragal is double the height of the list under the ovolo. Note, that Vitruvius makes no difference 'twixt the capital of this order from the Doric, as to proportions, tho' Artists dispute it, who (as was said) allow it a semi-diameter.

Now, tho' they have not granted it any fixt and certain entablature, but chosen what they thought fit out of other orders, yet they seldom give it less than a fourth part of the height of the shaft, like the Doric, which commonly, and very properly, supplies the place of the Tuscan, and that with a great deal of more grace, where they stand in consort, as in arches, and the like. The distance or intercolumniation of this order, sometimes amounting to four diameters, sometimes requires an architrave of timber; or if of stone, to be plac'd much nearer, unless (as we said) in vaulting and underground work, to which some almost wholly condemn it.

The *Doric*, so nam'd from Dorus King of Achasis, reported to have been the first who at Argos built and dedicated a temple to Juno of this order, is esteem'd one of the most noble, as well as the first of the Greeks, for its masculine, and, as Scamozzi calls it, Herculean aspect, not for its height and stature, but its excellent proportion, which fits it in all respects, and with advantage, for any work wherein the Tuscan is

made use of, and renders that column (among the learned) a supernumerary, as well as the Composita.

The Doric, base and capital, challenges eight diameters set alone; but not so many by one, in porticos and mural work.

The capital, one module, with its abacus, ovolo, annulets, hypotrachelium, astragal, and list beneath the capital, making a part of the shaft or column.

The entablature being more substantial than the rest of the Greek orders, requires a fourth part of the height of the columns; whereas the others have commonly but a fifth.

The architrave one module, compos'd but of a single fascia, as best approv'd, (tho' the modern sometimes add a second) with a tænia or band which crowns it.

The freeze with its list, which separates it from the cornice, is 1 modl. $\frac{1}{4}$. The cornice holds the same proportion, with this note, that when the column is above 7 diameters, both freeze and architrave have their regulated measure, one being of a single module, the other being three quarters, and the remainder being a fourth part of the column is cast into the cornice.

This order had of old no pedestal at all, and indeed stands handsomely without it; but where it is us'd, Palladio allows it two diameters and a third of the column, and is often plac'd upon the attic-base, for antiently it had none. We find it sometimes fluted with a short edge without interstice, as there is in other orders; but that which is indeed the proper and genuine character of the Doric, is (with very moderate enrichment besides) the triglyph and metop in the freeze, with guttæ in the architrave beneath; the due collocation and placing of which, often subjects our Architects to more difficulty than any other accessary in the other orders; because of the intercolumniation, which obliges them to leave such a space 'twixt two columns, as may not be less than for one triglyph to five, counting what falls just on the head of the columns; which if plac'd at the entrance of a building, the distance must be for three, which to adjust is not very easy, seeing the intercolumniation ought to correspond with the distance of the spaces of the triglyphs and metops; which point

of criticisme is the cause we often find them quite left out in this order, which suits so well in the *pycnostyle* and *acrostyle.*

The *Ionic,* invented or introduc'd by Ion, sent by those of Athens with a colony into that part of Greece bearing his name, (and where he erected a temple to Diana,) consists of proportions between the solid and manly Doric, the delicate and more feminine Corinthian, from which it but little differs, save in the matron-like capital; it contains eighteen modules or nine diameters (tho' by one less at first), together with the capital and base, which last was added to give it stature.

The entablature is allowed a fifth part of the height of the column of which the base takes one module, (with sometimes a small moulding of twenty minutes,) the capital very little exceeding a third; but its distinguishing characteristic is the voluta, concerning which sundry Architects have recommended their peculiar methods for the tracing and turning that ornament, especially Vignola and Goldman. The famous Mich. Angelo had one after his own mode, and so others; but that which has been chiefly followed, is what Philibert de Lorme contends to be of his own invention.

This column is fluted with four and twenty plaits; the spaces or interstices not sharp and edg'd like the Doric (which is allowed but twenty,) tho' of the same depth and hollow to about a third part downward, where they are convexly staved, and thence nam'd *radiant,* by some *rudent,* tho' of old we find them fluted the whole length. Thus as the capital resembled the modest tresses of a matron, so did the fluting, the folds and plaits of their garments.

The pedestal is of two diameters and as many thirds. Several other observations pretend to this order, to render it elegant, which are left to the curious, but these are the more essential.

The *Corinthian* had her birth from that luxurious city; trick'd up and adorn'd like the wanton sex, and is the pride and top of all the orders: for the rest it agrees with the proportion of the Ionic, excepting only in the capital; in a word, it takes with its base nine diameters and three quarters, and sometimes ten. If fluted, with as many as the Ionic, half as deep as large; the listel or space between the groves, a third of the

depth; yet not so precisely, but that according to the compass and station of the column, the flutes may be augmented to thirty and above.

Our modern Architects, for the most part, allow but one fifth of the height of this column to the entablature, comprehending base and capital: I say for the most part, but in the noblest and most intire examples of antiquity, which is that of the Roman Pantheon, the entablature is indeed somewhat deeper; but with this circumspection to be imitated, that the fabric to which it is applied, be great and magnificent as that famous temple is, and which will depend on the judgment of the Architect.

The *Capital* is of one diameter, or two modules in height; the abacus a sixth or seventh part of the diameter taken at the bigger end of the column, which is universally to be understood in the measure of all the orders. The rest shall be divided into three equal parts: one for the first border or *toure* of leaves; the other for a second; the third part divided in two; and of that which is next the abacus, the volutas are form'd. Of the other, the cauliculi, the bell or burst under the leaves, resembling Callimachus's basket, under which they are carv'd, fall exactly with the hollow of the flutings. In the mean time there is no small inquiry about the foliage, of what species of thistle the antients form'd this florid ornament, which is generally attributed to the *Branchæ Ursinæ*, but of a tender, more indented and flexible kind, than the wild and prickly, which we see us'd in the Gothic buildings; whilst the Composita capitals stuck it with laurel and olive leaves, emerging out of the vessel, with the voluta above the echinus, and as Palladio would have it (especially of the olive) the sprigs plac'd from five to five like the fingers of one's hand, as becoming it better than four, and commends some capitals he had seen whose cauliculi were fac'd with oaken leaves. Note, that the scrolls seeming to be form'd out of the cauliculi, the roses in the middle of the abacus, was sometimes by the antients of the same breadth, which since they make to bend on the middle voluta.

The *Base* of this order is fifteen minutes of a module. The *Pedestal* requires a fourth part of the height of the columns, and shall be divided into eight parts: one to the cymatium, two for the base (which is the Attic), the rest for the zoccole or die; and thus do the

three Greek orders represent those three species of building, the solid, the modest-mean, and the delicate, between the simple plain, the gay, and wanton, which are the Latin extreams; whilst the Gothic is risen from the corruption of them all; for after all, there's none has been more grossly abused, than this flourishing and noble order, by such as with their impertinence have sometimes rendered it neither Corinthian nor Composita, which is the fifth and last.

The *Composita* being the junior of all the rest, and foreigner to the Greek, is of a Roman extraction, and therefore by some called Italian; and tho' not without sufficient insolence, taking place of the Corinthian, between whom and the Ionic she's but a spawn and mungrell, as well as the Tuscan, and so reckoned among judicious Architects, and by our master himself not so much as own'd an order, as not thinking it possible to invent a more noble and compleat than the Corinthian. They would fain, it seems, have one to bear the country's name, and that, as they insulted over and brav'd the rest of the world, should sit triumphant over the rest of the orders, from whom they have pluck'd their fine and gawdy plumage, priding it over the Corinthian, from whom and the Ionic she only differs one diameter more in height.

The *Capitals*, four angular scrolls, take up all that space which in the Corinthian is partly fill'd with the cauliculi and stalks, and now and then an eagle or griffon is found to nestle among the foliage, of which it has a series of two rows, and under the ovolo the Ionic neck-lace; whilst others affirm, that the variety of the capital changes not the species, which consists (as Perrault will have it) in the length of the shaft only; so as no body is to wonder at the prodigious licentiousness which some we find have run into, to gratify their ambition. The French (of all the nations under Heaven, being the fondest of their own inventions, how extravagant soever, and to impose them on all the world beside) call it, forsooth, the Gallic order, and with a confidence peculiar to themselves, to alter and change what for almost two thousand years, none has been so bold to attempt with that exhorbitance; for they have garnish'd this capital with cocks-feathers and cocks-combs too among the flower-de-luces, ridiculously enough; hanging the leaves and stalks about with the chains and ribbons of the orders of the St. Esprit and

St. Michael, with its dangling cockle-shells, in imitation doubtless of Xerxes's tying the scarfs and garters of his concubine and misses, among the boughs of the famous platan; whilst one would think we might be content with what the Romans have already set for a pattern on those antient columns of this order; as I am sure the judicious author of the "Parallel" would have been, who, contrary to the genius of his country-men, had the greatest aversion to the least innovation in this profession; what (as we said) the Romans have left us being abundantly more graceful, and rather in excess. Wherefore, by another nice distinction, this learned commentator calls that the Composita which keeps to its fix'd rules and stated proportions; and that which others every day invent, the *de composit*, or as his term is, *compo-composit*, and so sets it up for a sixth order. But to proceed.

The *Entablature* has by some been allow'd a fourth part of the column, but by Palladio only five, as to the Corinthian.

The *Base* is as the *Attic*, or a compound of it and the Ionic.

The *Pedestal* has a third of the height of the shaft: not but that any of these proportions so establish'd (as sometimes, and upon just occasion) may be varied according to the quality and grandeur of the building, as to the inlarging or diminishing of a member, if the judicious Architect see cause, and to be more graceful, which is a good rule in all such cases in the other orders, and for which Vitruvius gives excellent precepts, as he likewise does to their number and placing in single or double ranks, with their different application, as whether close to the wall or to the angle and extremes, where, if insulat and without touching, more thickness is allowable; since, being surrounded by the air only, it is made to appear so much the slenderer, as that some which have been found but of seven diameters only, have become their stations better than if they had held their intire dimensions. There now remains the

Caryatides, of which, and of the Persian, we have an ample account in the "Parallel" out of Vitruvius, introduced as a mark of triumph over the Caryans of Peloponnesus, whom the Greeks, having vanquish'd with their confederates, caus'd the images and resemblances of both sexes and nations (as Slaves, Atlantes and Talamones,) to be plac'd

and stand under massie weight and superstructure, instead of columns, the women to signifie those of Carya, whom they only spared; and the men, as captive Persians, which gave denomination to the order, if at least they may be call'd so for distinction sake only; since they differ in nothing either of height, substance, or entablament from the feminine Ionic, and masculine Doric; but how, or where they had originally been employed in any remarkable building, is not so perspicuous from any antient *vestigia* at present remaining: but as they seem most properly to be plac'd at entrances, and before arches and porticos, instead of pillasters, so doubtless they gave occasion to many Gothic absurdities, and extravagant postures of men, monkeys, satyrs, &c. for the bearing up of cornices, in place of mutuls and cartouses, to that shameful impudence as we see them not seldom in our very Churches.

There remain yet of columns divers other sorts, (to mention only the duilian, rostral, mural, obsidional, funebral, astronomial, and other symbolical monuments, which may upon some particular occasions have their places,) but no more that can honestly derive a legitimate pedegree; for some are wreath'd, others spiral and the like: but as we meet them not in any approved author, or antient fabric, so are they very sparingly to be made use of, if at all. Indeed the famous Architect, Cavalier Bernini, has cast a set of these torsed columns of a vast height, twisted about again with branches, among which are *Puti*, little *Angels*, *Pope Urban's Bees*, and other embossed Sculptures, all of gilded copper, to sustain the *baldacchino*, or sacred canopy, over the high altar under the cupola at St. Peter's, which are exceedingly magnificent; but it does not always succeed so well where it is practic'd. 'Tis yet reported that there was an antient wreath'd column found somewhere, wound about with a serpent, (as painters represent the tree in Paradise) taking nothing away from the straightness of the shaft; for so the antients prefer'd the solid and substantial in all their works, admitting nothing to bear any weight that should seem in the least to plie, yield, or shrink under it, as those sorts of columns appear to do: but as the great masters, and such as Mich. Angelo, &c. invented certain new corbells, scrolls, and modilions, which were brought into use, so their followers, animated by their example (but with much less judgment),

have presum'd to introduce sundry baubles and trifling decorations (as they fancy) in their works, ambitious of being thought inventors, to the great reproach of this noble study; so dangerous a thing it is to innovate either in art or government, when once the laws and rules are prudently settl'd and establish'd, without great consideration and necessity: and, therefore, tho' such devices and inventions may seem pretty in cabinet-work, tables, frames, and other joyners work, for variety, to place china-dishes upon, one would by no means encourage or admit them in great and noble buildings. Lastly,

As to the placing of the orders and stations of columns in work: the simplest, strongest, and most substantial, are ever to be assign'd to support the weaker. The Romans indeed sometimes set the Composita above the Corinthian, but it was not approv'd of by the judicious, nor in truth should they appear together in the same building. Generally, then, the rule is this, to place the highest and richest order over the more solid and plain; especially where they are to decore the face and fronts of buildings, consisting of two or three stages: but whether at all, or not, their proportions should be chang'd or abated, is nicely disputed by our Architects, of which see Monsieur Perrault on Vitruvius lib. vii. cap. 7. speaking of scenes; concluding, that it ought to be done very sparingly, and with great consideration. In the mean time, columns plac'd over arches produce this inconvenience, that the arches of any of the five orders, if well proportion'd (suppose, for instance, Doric), it will become defective in the Ionic and Corinthian, by reason of the intercolumnation; the distance hindering their collocation so exactly over one another as become them. There is after all a lesser sort of column than any we have spoken of, which now and then we find plac'd over a much greater, next the roof, or rather a kind of pillaster after the Attic mode. To conclude.

The position of double columns upon the same pedestal, I find quite condemned by M. Blondell as intollerable, accounting it licentious ever among the antients; which (as great artists do not always agree) Monsieur Perrault as learnedly defends and vindicates; and that one is not so precisely oblig'd to rules and examples, but that in some cases they may safely be departed from for the better; since it were to put

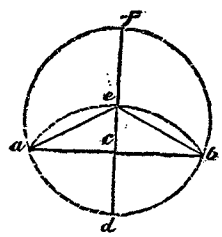
a stop to the improvements of all arts and inventions whatsoever, none of which were consummately perfect at the first; besides that, there is nothing positive in the case: however, as to this particular, the antients did frequently use to join columns, two and two very near to one another upon the same pedestal, leaving a distance of two intercolumnations in one; which, tho' Perrault, holds to be a little Gothic and much affected by his country-men the French (as they do all novelties), so they would have it pass for a peculiar manner of disposition: the Pseudo style is yet we find made use of by great Architects, and therefore to be referr'd to able judges.

Notwithstanding, inasmuch as there do yet happen some superstructures which both in works and books of this magnificent science have likewise names of doubtful signification, and to satisfie all that may be farther desir'd for the rendering of this undertaking more useful and instructive, I will in brief proceed to what is used to appear further in buildings, where they did not flatten the roofs and cover of edifices, and which tho' certainly of all other the most graceful, is of necessity alterable according to the climate.

Those roofs which exalted themselves above the cornices had usually in face a triangular plain or gabel within the mouldings (that when our workmen make not so acute and pointed they call a pediment) which the antients nam'd

Tympanum; but this is to be taken now and then for the whole frontispiece from the cornice to the upmost part of the *fastigium* or superior angle of it, and is commonly circumscrib'd with the same cornice that the subjacent order is of. It is properly plac'd at the front and entrance, and over the porches, windows, niches, &c. to protect them from the injuries of the weather; and therefore very impertinently broken or flatted by some, which exposes all that is under to many inconveniences; nor should it be at all allowed, save where an absolute necessity of setting in sight (not otherwise to be had) pleads for it: now tho' they are commonly made triangular, we frequently find them semi-circular (or of some other section) whereof the base is the diameter. Some again have a double tympanum, as in that Tuscan example describ'd by Perrault, Vitr. l. 3. where the standing out of

the porch from the rest of the main wall of a temple of that order requires it. I say before a temple, since they were never made in the fronts of any other buildings; the ancients dwelling-houses being generally flat at the top, Julius Cæsar being the first whom they indulg'd to raise his Palace in this fastigious manner, as Salmasius tells us in Solin. I need not add, that the die of a pedestal, and other flat and naked parts in out-side work and pannels of wainscot, is sometimes call'd tympana, since it may be to better purpose, to give some directions about the proportion and accessaries belonging to it, it being much disputed; Vitruvius allowing neither of dentelli, or modillion, but a simple cornice onely; tho' we find them both very ornamentally applied; some affecting to place them according to the slope, others perpendicular to the horizon, and not to the cornice which they seem to support, as well as beautifie; or rather to the posture of the rafter ends, which they represent. We sometimes find dentelli under the modillion, but by none approv'd; a single row of teeth, or a plain list only, more becoming on those occasions, as well as for the height of the drum or tympan (by which some distinguish the round from the pointed; which they name frontons,) which some noble statue or bass relieve may require a more than ordinary elevation of. In the mean time, D' Aviler's figure following may give some direction to workmen.



Divide the line *a b* (which suppose the *hypothenuse* of the base) into two equal parts at the point *c*, let down the perpendicular *f e d* indefinite, in which *e d* being equal to *a b* from *d* as the centre, describe the arch *a e b*, and where it intersects the perpendicular, as at *e*, there shall be the *fastigium* or point of the *tympane*.

There are other methods in Serlio, and the masters: some *isocele*, whose angles opposite to the base are more obtuse; others yet lower,

and higher even to a full diameter, as were those Pliny call'd *plastæ* for statues and taller figures, as also at the cima or point, and at each angle there stood of those smaller pedestals we spake of for the placing of statues, busts, urnes, lamps of fire, pine cones, bowles, or the like ornaments, and these *stylobata* were call'd

Acroteria, from ἄκρον *summa pars*; we may properly name them pinacles, for so *pinnæ* and battlements were made sometimes more sharp, towring, or spiry, as pleased the workman. Where they stood in ranges (as not unfrequently), with rail and balausters upon flat buildings, they still retain'd their name, with this only difference, that such as were plac'd between the angular points were (like ranges of pillars) styl'd the medium or middle *acroteria*: for the most part a small die without any base, in proportion somewhat less than the breadth of the neck of the column (if there stand any directly under it), and equal in height to the middle of the middle tympane and that at the very *fastigium* may be allow'd an eighth part more.

They did likewise cover (especially temples, and such magnificent and sacred buildings) with a *cupola*, which is that dome or hemispherical concave made in resemblance of the heavens, and admitting the light at the top centre or navil only, without any lantern, as is to be seen in that incomparable piece of the Pantheon yet extant: this is much in vogue yet in Italy, and of late in France, especially at Rome and Florence, but it is commonly with the lantern and other apertures to let in day without exposure to the weather, as appears by that on the summit of Saint Peters; but it takes away, in my poor judgment, something from the solemness and natural resemblance of the other, which yet are happly better to be endur'd in the more eastern countries where the weather is constant; as we see it practic'd in what the pious Helena erected in the Holy Land, and her son Constantine the Great, or rather, that at present, by the Emperor Justinian, (one Anthemius of Trales, and Isador the Miletan being the Architects,) upon that magnificent structure of Santa Sophia yet remaining at Constantinople, and to this day imitated by the Turks for the covering of their Mosques; and that it was an oriental covering and invention, the Θόλος of the

Greeks was doubtless deriv'd from the Hebrew תלהי *thala*, signifying to suspend or hang as it were in the air; but the Italian name seems to come from *cuppa* a cvue or great washing-bowl, which it much resembles. As to the name dome, whether from the Greek δῶμα, a covering, as Du Cange, or as Vossius, *domus*, I am not concern'd (but when they call it dome, it ever signifies the cathedral); 'tis commonly erected over the middle of the building where the isles cross, and ought to be in height half the diameter of the church, meaning the cuppa only (by some nam'd the pyramis), and not the lantern or flos, by Architects so call'd, from some flower, or like ornament which was placed upon it. In the mean time, we find some of these coverings in other shapes, and multangular, not exceeding eight; but they are nothing so graceful as the dome-spheroid: sometimes also they are made to let in greater light by a sort of lucar windows; by which are meant those *subtegularian* windows that appear in our roofs above the cornices, of which some are square with pediments, others round or oval and oxe-eyed as they term them, most accommodate to the cupola, and had need have twice and an half the height of breadth, by reason of the distance, with circular frontoons, whilst windows in upright walls ought not to be above a fifth part less wide than those beneath them, which are ever to be even with the cornices of the ceiling. Antiently, windows were open to the very floor, or only clos'd with a ballustre and raile, much safer, and as commodious altogether to look into streets, or enjoy the prospect as our late *meniana* and balconies are, which jette out, and rest only upon scrolls and mutules. For reasons already mention'd arched vaults in cellars should have arched apertures and windows.

Other accessories and ornaments are also used in buildings which I will only touch.

Niches, quasi nidi, nests, of old *concha*, are a kind of Pluteus or smaller tribunals (as they are yet called in Italy) wherein statues are placed to protect them from the down right injuries of the weather, as well as for ornament to plain and simple walls: as to their regular sections (tho', as we have already noted, there be nothing determin'd) one may allow them double, half, or quarter more of their breadth, and half for the cavitie, whether circular or square; the rest suitable to the

character of the main building, and proportion of the statue design'd, and therefore in placing an Hercules, Commodus, or larger figure, a rustic, or Doric work and ornament would become them better than the Corinthian or Composit delicacy; fitter for the less robust and more effeminate, whether naked as the Greek statues, or clad as were the Roman: and so in respect to situation, if low, or even to the area, or much higher, the statelier and taller figures should be plac'd in the lower niches; the shorter over those, and their niches thrice the height of the breadth, tho' the figure exceed not that of the imposts. Square niches have a third of their largeness in depth, and twice the height: when there happens a very large peere or square (as sometimes between the windows), they should observe the proportion of the aperture both for height and breadth, with suitable decoration: but between columns or pillasters standing one upon the other, niches are not so proper, because they fill the spaces too much; and where more than one is plac'd, the interval should be equal to their breadth; and never to admit them at the coines of a building, as frequently we see them abroad to inshrine some Saint, that the image may be seen in several streets; in a word, the too thick and frequent niches become no building, and are unsufferable where a cornice is broken to let them into groups and assemblies of more figures, as the action may require. The niche is to be suited, and should begin at the floor or pavement with plinth or pedestal, higher than for a standing figure, which is ever to be allow'd the first; and if plac'd in a spacious court or garden, the pedestal should be higher, so as the statue may be viewed round about: as to farther decoration, it were absurd to carve a mask, satyr's or lyon's head, as we sometimes see them upon the key-stone, least standers by take the statue for some two headed monster; nothing more becoming it within, than the usual esculop, whether wrought in the stone, or plaster: indeed niches shew best without much ornament, columns, or pillasters, unless plac'd at the end of some long gallery, portic, vestibule of church, exchange, or courts of justice, &c. Oval niches do handsomely for busts and vases, if not set in too deep; and therefore may be allow'd to stand on a scroll or mutule: lastly, when niches are made very much larger and higher, beginning from the pavement, they were call'd

Tribunals, as of old it seems applied to all high and eminent places, where the *Tribunes* of the people us'd to sit as judges. We have a noble resemblance of this in that magnificent throne described 1 *Reg.* 10. 19. built by Solomon, which seems to me to have been such an ample niche, in which a principal person might sit, as it were, half canopied over within the thickness of the wall.

In walls likewise did they insert many noble and most exquisite sculptures and historical fables, half wrought up, emboss'd, and swelling, and sometimes more than half, which eminencies they now call in Italy by the name of *basse*, and *mezzo relievo*. These were sometimes wrought in marble, as in that famous abacus and stylobata, yet extant, of Trajan's Pillar. Their ordinary placing was in the fronts of edifices, as is yet to be seen in divers palaces at Rome, and especially in their villas and retirements of pleasure, which are frequently incrusted with them, but vilely imitated in our exposed fretworks about London, to the reproach of Sculpture, especially where it pretends to figures on the out sides of our citizens houses. I well remember there was in one of the courts of Nonsuch,* several large squares of historical relieue moulded off, or wrought in stucco by no ill artist (I think Italian), which upon the demolition of that royal fabrick, I hear, have been translated, and most ornamently plac'd by the late most Honourable Earl of Berkeley, at his delicious villa, Durdens in Surry, not far from Nonsuch, which is thus describ'd by Camden, (as lately publish'd by the very learn'd Mr. Gibson,)† where, speaking of that kingly palace, he calls it "magnificent to so high a pitch of ostentation, as one would think the whole art of Architects were crowded into this simple work:" and then as to the relieuo (which appears to have stood expos'd there ever since the reign of Henry VIII. who built the house), "so many images to the life, upon the walls thereof; so many wonders of an accomplish'd workmanship, as even vie with the remains of Roman antiquity." Indeed, this sort of decoration

* "At the extremity of the town (of Epsom) stands *Durdans*, formerly belonging to the Earl of Berkeley, and built out of the materials of *Nonsuch*, a palace erected by King Hen. VIII. not far from hence, and given by K. Charles II. to the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, who pulled it down, and sold these materials. It is built *à la Moderne*: the front to the downs, and the other to the garden, are very regular and noble."—Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Surrey, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 218.

† Afterwards Bishop of London.

has of late been supplied by painting in fresco, and that by very able hands, especially Signior Verrio, &c. as it is frequently in Italy by the most famous masters; which I wish the inclemency of our severer climate were as favourable to as the work deserves.

Ornaments, however gay and fine they appear to the eye, and are in many cases very laudable and necessary, there is yet no small judgment required, how and when to place them appositely, so as they do not rather detract from the beauty of the work than at all contribute to it. Now by ornament we understand whatsoever of Sculpture and Carving is not of constant use, or absolutely necessary in all members; such as frutages, festoons, chaplets, wreaths, and other coronary works; frets, guilloches, modilions, mutuls, chartoches, dentelli, metops, triglyphs, ovola, pine-cones, niches, statues, busts, relievos, urns, &c.; in a word, all sorts of mouldings. Vitruvius, under the name of ornament, reck'ning the whole entablature, in which the frieze seems to be the most proper field for decoration, as the most conspicuous place, and where, tho' the Sculptor shew'd his address and invention, the antients (who spared nothing which might accomplish the publick buildings) were not all so lavish, in over frequent and unnecessary gayities. Their temples, amphitheatres, circus's, courts of justice, fora, ports and entries of cities, prisons, bridges, basilica, royal palaces and other buildings of state, were grave and solid structures, void of those little membrets, trifling mouldings, and superfluous carvings, which take away from that majestic and *grand maniere* that most becomes them; reserving those richer accessories and costly finishings for theatres, triumphal arches, historical columns, and other ostentatious pomps: nor even in these did they use them profusely, but with great judgment, symbolical to the subject and occasion. And therefore those antient ornaments would not suit so properly with the ages since, and may I conceive lawfully be chang'd, without presumption or injury to any essential member; as if (for instance) instead of sphinxes and griffons plac'd before the Pagan Temples (guardians of treasure which was kept in those sacred buildings), angels should be set before our churches; and in the Doric friezes, instead of ox-sculls, the priests *secespita, guttæ, acerra, simpula*, and other sacrificing utensils, we chang'd them in our churches

(where that order best beseems them) into cherubs, flaming hearts, books laid open, the patin, chalice, mitre, crosier, &c. The frontons of magazines and public munitions had the sculps of antique casks, targets, battle-axes, thunderbolts, the battering-ram, catapults, &c. which we may answer with our modern artillery of cannon, bombs, mortars, drums, trumpets, and other warlike engines; and to their rostra, rudders, anchors, tridents, scalops, &c. the wonder-working nautic-box, with whatever else of useful and conspicuous has improv'd our navigation. The tympan before courts of justice may become her statue, sitting on a cube, with fasces, axes, and other emblems of magistracy.

Thermæ were adorn'd with jarrs, ampullæ, strigils in the friezes; the *Mausolea*, urns, lamps, and smoaking tapers; *Hippodroms*, *Circus's*, had the statues of horses on the fronts, metæ, obolises, &c. The publick *Fountains* were seldom without the river-gods, Nymphs, Naides, Tritons, Hipoppotoms, Crocodiles, &c. *Theatres* were set out with mascara, satyrs heads, Mercury's caduceus, the statues of Apollo, Pegasus, the Muses, little Cupids, and Genii, laureat busts, &c. *Arches triumphal* with relievo of the conqueror's expedition, trophies, spoiles and harness, palms and crowns. And where *Tables* for inscriptions were inserted to continue, or but only for a shorter time, as to celebrate some solemn entrie, a Princes coronation, royal nuptials, adorn'd with devises, and compartments for pomp and show, the contrivance was under the direction of the *architectus scenicus*, and requir'd a particular talent and address, poetic and inventive. In sum, all ornaments and decorations in general should be agreeable to the subject, with due and just regard to the order, which the antients religiously observ'd; tho' where (as we said) it was not absolutely essential, leaving out or putting in as they thought convenient; for excepting the dress and tire of the Ionic, Corinthian, and Composita capitals, they were not obliged to charge the other members with costly ornaments; so as they frequently left out the metors and triglyph in the friezes of the first (as we have already noted), the dentelli, ovolo, and quarter round, in the grand cornice of the latter, plain and without carving; neither did they often fill the pedestals with relieuo, nor the staves in the flutings; and rarely ever allow the corona any enrichment at all, or so much as rounded; and were free to leave the Doric

plancere naked, or with simple guttæ only. They were careful not to multiply larger mouldings, which sometimes they alter'd, and now and then would separate them with a smaller list or simple fillet; sometimes using the carved astragal, and at another the plain; always leaving the list of the superior cornice flat, to shew us that the safest rule to go by is to follow the character of each respective order; and indeed how oddly would the Tuscan or Doric become the Corinthian coifure, or the spruce and florid Corinthian a Tuscan entablature. The same is to be considered in the key-stone of arches; plain in the Tuscan and Doric, with a moderate projecture. The Ionic scroll, serving as a *prothyrides*, on such occasions may be richly flower'd and carv'd in a Corinthian or Composit entrance, and where they support tables and *mensulæ* for some inscription. Roses, lyons-heads, escalops, and other decorations, are allowable under the corona with this rule, that whether here, or under any roof or cieling interlacing fretts, be ever made as right angles. Lastly, as to *pocliæ*, rails and balusters, so to humour the order, that the Tuscan be plain, but not too gouty, or too close to one another, or far assunder, that is, not exceeding twice the diameter of the necks; nor are they oblig'd to a constant shape, for some swell below, others above, and some are made like termes, all of them having their peculiar grace and beauty. What is said of Tuscan, is to be understood of the rest; so as the Corinthian and Composita may be carv'd and enrich'd without any scrupule, for any thing that appears to the contrary among the antients, or our ablest masters. To conclude, not only the roofs of houses and their fronts had their adornments, but the floors also were inlaid with pavements of the most precious materials, as of several coloured stones and woods, and this they call'd

Emblema, continued to this day by the Italians in their *Pietra Comessa;* of which the most magnificent and stupendious chappel of Saint Laurence at Florence, Paul the First at Sancta Maria Maggiore in Rome, are particular and amazing instances, where not only the pavement, but likewise all the walls, are most richly incrusted with all sorts of precious marbles, serpentine, porphirie, ophitis, achat, rants, coral, cornelian, lazuli, &c. of which one may number nearly thirty sorts, cut and laid into a fonds or ground of black-marble, (as our Cabinet-makers

do their variegated woods,) in the shape of birds, flowers, landskips, grotesks, and other compartiments most admirably polished, a glorious and everlasting magnificence. But where it is made of lesser stones, or rather morsels of them, assisted with small squares of thick glass, of which some are gilded or cemented in the stuc or plaster, it is call'd Mosaic-work, *opus musivum*, and it does naturally represent the most curious and accurate sort of painting, even to the life, nor less durable than the former, as is most conspicuous in that front of St. Mark's Church at Venice, the nave or ship of Giotto under the cupola of Saint Peter's at Rome, and the altar-piece of Saint Michael near it. These are the *tesselata* and *vermiculata*, or *pavimenta osarota* of the antients, which no age or exposure impairs, but of which I do not remember to have seen any publick work in our country. In the mean time, not to be forgotten are the floorings of wood which her Majesty the Queen Mother has first brought into use in England at her Palace of Somerset-House, the like whereof I directed to be made in a bed-chamber at Berkeley-House. The French call it *parquetage*, a kind of *segmentatum opus*, and which has some resemblance to these magnificencies, because it is exceeding beautiful, and very lasting. And this puts me in mind of that most useful Appendix joyn'd to Mr. Richards' late Translation of the first Book of Palladio, and those other Pieces of La Muet the French Architect, wherein, besides what he has publish'd concerning these kinds of timber-floors, &c. you have at the conclusion of that Treatise a most accurate account of their contignations and timberings of all sorts of stories, roofings, and other erections, with their use, scantlings, and proper names, which, for being so perspicuously describ'd, deserves our commendation and encouragement.

May this then suffice, not only for the interpretation of the terms affected to this noble art, but to justifie the title, and in some measure also for the instruction and aid of divers builders, on some occasions wherein they not seldom fail; especially in the country (where, for the saving a little charge, they seldom consult an experienc'd Artist, besides the neighbour Brick-layer and Carpenter,) till some more dextrous and able hand, and at greater leisure, oblige the publick and our countrymen

with such a body and course of Architecture, as with others, Monsieu Blondel, D'Avilar and, *instar omnium*, the learned Perrault (by hi version and useful comments on Vitruvius), have done for theirs.

Eum Architectum oportet usu esse peritum & solertem, qui demere aut adjicere præscriptis velit.

J. E

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house to her Grace the Duchess of Somerset; and Mr. Turner*, formerly of Wimbledon in Surry, who, being certainly amongst the most expert of their profession in England, are no less to be celebrated for their free communications to the publick, by divers observations of theirs, which have furnished to this design. And it is from the result of very much experience, and an extraordinary inclination to cherish so innocent and laudable a diversion, and to incite an affection in the Nobles of this nation towards it, that I begin to open to them so many of the interior secrets, and most precious rules of this mysterious art, without imposture, or invidious reserve. The very Catalogue of Fruits and Flowers, for the Orchard and the Parterre, will gratifie the most innocent of the senses, and whoever else shall be to seek a rare and universal choice for his plantation.

Touching the method, it is so obvious, that there needs no farther direction; and the consequent will prove so certain, that a work of the busiest pains is by this little instrument rendered the most facile and agreeable, as by which you shall continually preserve your Garden in that perfection of beauty and lustre, without confusion or prejudice; nor indeed could we think of a more comprehensive expedient, whereby to assist the frail and torpent memory through so multifarious and numerous an employment (the daily subject of a Gard'ners care), than by the economy and discipline which we have here consigned it to, and which our industrious Gard'ner may himself be continually improving from his own observations and experience. In the mean time, we have, at the instance of very many persons, who have been pleased to acknowledge the effects of a former less perfect impression, thought good to publish an Edition in a smaller volume, that as an Enchiridion it may be the more ready and useful; but the *Kalendar* might be considerably augmented, and recommend itself to more universal use, by taking in

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* Mr. Turner was an apothecary in London, and Herbarist to James the First and Charles the First. His work, entitled "Paridisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris," was dedicated to Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles the First, in the year 1629. In 1640 Parkinson published his "Theatrum Botanicum," a valuable work. It appears that Parkinson had the superintendence of the Royal Gardens at Wimbledon, which were broken up and sold by order of the Parliament in 1649.

the monthly employments of all the parts of agriculture, as they have been begun to us in Columella,* Palladius, de Serres, Augustino Gallo, Vincenzo Tanara, Herrera, our Tusser†, Markham, and others; especially if well and judiciously applied to the climate and several countries. But it were here besides our institution, nor would the pages contain them; what is yet found vacant has been purposely left, that our Gard'ner may supply as he finds cause; for which reason likewise we have rang'd both the Fruits and Flowers in prime after somewhat a promiscuous order; and not after the letters of the alphabet, that the method might be pursued with the least disorder. Lastly,

The Fruits and Flowers in prime are to be as well considered in relation to their lasting and continuance, as to their maturity and beauty.

J. Evelyn.

*** *The references to the "Discourse on Earth," are only to be found in the Third Edition folio, printed with "Sylva" and "Pomona," &c.* 1706.

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* Col. de R. R. lib. 11, c. 11. Pall. lib. 1. Tit. 1.

† Tusser's "Five Hundred points of good Husbandry," which was first published in the year 1557, may still be perused with benefit to the reader, being full of useful hints, as well as forming an interesting picture of the agricultural progress of those days.

THE GARDEN.*

To JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

I never had any other desire so strong, and so like to covetuousness as y^t^ one, wch I have had always, y^t^ I might bee master at last, of a small Hous and larg Garden, wth very moderat conveniences joyned to them, and there dedicat the remainder of my life, onely to the culture of them, & study of Nature,

> And there, with no design beyond my wall,
> Whole, and entire to lye,
> In no unactive Eas, and no unglorious Poverty

Or, as Virgil has said, shorter and better for mee that I might there *studiis florere ignobilis otîi*, (though I could wish, meethinks, y^t^ he had rather said, *nobilis otii*, when hee spoke of his own,) but severall accidents of my ill fortune have disappointed mee hitherto, and still do, of y^t^ fælicitie; for though I have made the first and hardest step to it, by abandonning all ambitions and hopes in this world, and by retiring from the nois of all busines, and almost company, yet I stick still in the Inne of a hired Hous and Garden, amoung weeds and rubbish; and w^th^out y^t^ pleasantest work of human industry, ye improvement of something wch wee call (not very properly, but yet wee call) our own. I am gon out from Sodom, but I am not arrived yet at my little Zoar. Oh let mee escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my Soul shall live. I do not look back yet, but I have ben forced to stop and make too many halts. You may wonder, Sir, (for this seems a little too extravagant and Pindarical for prose) what I mean by all this preface; it is to let you know, y^t^ though I have mist, like a chymist, my main end, yet I account my affections and endeavours well rewarded by something wch I have gotten by y^e^ by, wch is, that they have procured to mee some part in y^r^ kindnes and esteem, and thereby the honour of haveing my name so advantageously recommended to posterity by ye Epistle you

* Carefully corrected by the original manuscript in the hand-writing of Abraham Cowley, now in the possession of W. Upcott, and to whom it was kindly presented by the late Lady Evelyn.

are pleased to prefix to the most usefull book y^t^ has ben written of y^t^ kind, and wch is to last as long as Months and Years. *Cum Sole et Lunâ Tu quoq; semper eris.*

Amoung many other arts and excellencies wch you enioy, I am glad to find this favourite of mine the most prædominant; that you choos this for y^r^ Wife though you have, like Solomon, hundreds of other arts for your Concubines. Though you know them, and beget sonnes upon them all (to wch you are rich enough to allow great legacies) yet the Issue of this seems to bee designed by you to ye main of the estate: You have taken most pleasure in it, and bestowed most charges upon its education; and I doubt not to see y^t^ Book, wch you are pleased to promise to the world, and of wch you have given us a larg earnest in y^r^ Calendar, as accomplished as any thing can bee expected from an extraordinary Witt, and no ordinary expences, and a long experience. I know no body y^t^ possesses more private happines then you do in y^r^ Garden, and yet no man who makes his happines more publique by a free communication of ye art and knowledg of it to others. All wch I myself am able yet to do, is onely to recommend to mankind the search of y^t^ fælicity wch you instruct them how to find and to enjoy.

I.

Happy art Thou whom God does bless
W^th^ ye full choice of thine own happiness!
And happier yet, becaus thou'rt blest
W^th^ prudence how to choos the best!
In Books and Gardens thou hast plac'd aright
(Things wch thou well dost understand,
And both dost make wth thy laborious hand)
Thy noble, innocent delight:
And in thy virtuous Wife, where thou again dost meet
Both pleasures more refin'd and sweet:
The fairest garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wisest books.
Oh who would change theis soft, yet solid joys,
For empty shows and senceless noise,
And all wch rank Ambition breeds,
W^ch^ seem such beauteous flowers, and are such poisonous weeds?

II.

When God did Man to his own likenes make,
As much as Clay, though of the purest kind,
By the great Potters art refin'd,
Could the Divine impression take:
Hee thought it fit to place him where
A kind of Heav'en too did appear,
As far as Earth could such a likenes bear:
That man no happines might want,
Wch earth to her first master could afford;
He did a garden for him plant
By ye quick hand of his omnipotent word.
As ye cheif help and joy of human life,
Hee gave him yt first gift, first, even before a Wife.

III.

For God, the universale Architect,
'T had ben as easy to erect
A Louvre, or Escuriall, or a Tower
That might with Heaven communication hold,
As Babel vainly thought to do of old:
Hee wanted not the skill or power,
In the world's fabrick those were shown,
And the materials were all his own.
But well hee knew what place would best agree
With innocence and with fælicitie:
And wee elsewhere still seek for them in vain,
If any part of ether still remain;
If any part of ether wee expect,
This may our judgment in ye search direct;
God the first garden made, and the first city, Cain.

IV.

Oh blessed shades! oh, gentle cool retreat,
From all th' immoderat heat
In wch the frantick world does burn and sweat!
This, does ye Lion-star, Ambitions rage;
This Avarice, the dog-stars thirst assuage;
Every where els their fatall power wee see,
They make and rule mans wretched destinie:
They nether set, nor disappear,
But tyrannize ore all ye year;
Whil'st wee ne're feel their flame or influence here.

The birds y^{t} dance from bough to bough,
And sing above in every tree,
Are not from fears and cares more free
Then wee who ly, or sit, or walk below,
And should by right bee singers too.
What princes quire of musick can excel
(That wch wthin this shade does dwel?
For wch wee nothing pay or give,
They like all other poets live
Without reward or thanks for their obliging pains;
'Tis well if they become not prey):
The whistling winds add their less artfull straines,
And a grave base the murmuring fountains play;
Nature does all this harmony bestow,
But to our plants, arts, musick too,
The pipe, theorbo, and guitarr wee owe;
The lute itself, wch once was green and mute,
When Orpheus strook th' inspired lute,
The trees danc'd round, and understood
By sympathy the voice of wood.

V.

Theis are the spels wch to kind sleep invite,
And nothing does within resistance make:
W^{ch} yet wee moderately take;
Who would not choos to bee awake,
While hee's encompasst round with such delight,
To th' ear, the nose, the touch, the tast, and sight?
When Venus would her dear Ascanius keep
A pris'oner in the downy bands of sleep,
She odorous herbs and flowers about him spred,
As the most soft and sweetest bed;
Not her own lap would more have charm'd his head.
Who y^{t} has reason, and his smel,
Would not amoungst roses and jasmin dwel,
Rather then all his spirits choak
With exhalations of dirt and smoak?
And all th' uncleannes which does drown
In pestilentiall clowds a populous town?

The earth it self breaths better perfumes here,
Then all the female men or women there,
(Not without cause 'tis thought) about them bear.

VI.

When Epicurus to the world had taught
That pleasure was the chiefest good,
(And was perhaps i'th'right, if rightly understood,)
His life hee to his doctrine brought,
And in a gardens shade y^{t} sovereign pleasure sought.
Whoever a true Epicure would bee,
May there find cheap and virtuous luxurie.
Vitellius his Table, wch did hold
As many creatures as the Ark of old,
That Fiscal Table, to wch every day
All countries did a constant Tribute pay,
Could nothing more delicious affoord,
Then Natures liberality,
Helpt by a little art and industry,
Allows the meanest gard'ners board.
The wanton tast no fish or fowl can choos,
For wch the grape or melon shee would loos,
Though all th' inhabitants of sea and air
Bee listed in the gluttons bill of fare;
Yet still the fruits of earth wee see
Plac'd the third story high in all his luxurie.

VII.

But with no sense the garden does comply;
None courts or flatters, as it does the eye:
When the great Hebrew King did almost strain
The wound'rous treasures of his wealth and brain,
His royal southern guest to entertain;
Though shee on silver floores did tread,
With bright Assyrian carpets on them spred,
To hide the metals poverty:
Though shee lookt up to roofs of gold,
And nought around her could behold
But silk, and rich embrodery,
And Babylonian tapestry,

And wealthy Hirams princely dye,
Though Ophirs starry stones met every where her eye;
Though shee herself, and her gay host were drest
In all the shining glories of the east;
When lavish art her costly work had done,
The honour and the prize of bravery,
Was by ye garden from ye palace wonne;
And every rose and lilly there did stand
Better attir'd by Natures hand:
The case thus judg'd against the king wee see,
By one who not bee so rich, though wiser far than hee.

VIII.

Nor does this happy place onely dispense
Such various pleasures to the sense;
Here health it self does live,
That salt of life which does to all a relish give;
Its standing pleasure, and intrinsick wealth,
The bodies virtu, and the souls good fortune, health.
The tree of life when it in Eden stood,
Did its immortal head to heaven rear;
It lasted a tall cedar till the flood;
Now a small thorny shrub it does appear;
Nor will it thrive too every where:
It here is always freshest seen;
'Tis only here an ever-green.
If through the strong and beauteous fence
Of temperance and innocence,
And wholesome labours, and a quiet mind,
Any diseases passage find,
They must not think here to assail
A land unarmed or without a guard;
They must fight for it, and dispute it hard,
Before they can prevail:
Scarce any plant is growing here
Which against Death some weapon does not bear.
Let cities boast y^t^ they provide
For life the ornaments of pride;
But 'tis the Garden and ye Feild,
That furnish it with staff and sheild.

IX.

Where do ye wisdome and ye power divine
In a more bright and sweet reflextion shine?
Where do wee finer strokes and colours see
Of the Creators real poetrie,
Then when wee wth attention look
Upon ye third days volume of the book?
If wee could open and intend our eye,
We all, like Moses, should espy
Ev'n in a bush the radiant Deity.
But wee despise theis his inferior ways,
(Though no less full of miracle and praise)
Upon ye flowers of heaven wee gaze;
The stars of earth no wonder in us raise,
Though theis perhaps do more then they,
The life of mankind sway.
Although no part of mighty nature bee
More stored with beauty, power, and mysterie;
Yet to encourage human industrie,
God has so ordered y^t^ no other part
Such space and such dominion leaves for Art.

X.

Wee no where Art do so triumphant see,
As when it grafts or buds the tree;
In other things wee count it to excell,
If it a docile scholar can appear
To Nature, and but imitate her well;
It over-rules, and is her master here.
It imitates her makers power divine,
And changes her sometimes, and sometimes does refine:
It does, like grace, the fallen tree restore
To its blest state of Paradise before:
Who would not joy to see his conquering hand
Oe'r all the vegetable world command?
And the wild gyants of the wood receive
What law hee's pleas'd to give?

Hee bids th' ill-natur'd crab produce
The gentler apples winy juice;
The golden fruit y^t^ worthy is
Of Galatea's purple kiss;
Hee does the savage hawthorn teach
To bear the Medlar and ye Pear;
Hee bids the rustique Plum to rear
A nobler trunck, and bee a Peach,
Even Daphnes coyness hee does mock,
And weds the Cherry to her stock;
Though shee refus'd Apollos suit;
Ev'n she, the chast and virgin tree,
Now wonders at her self, to see
That shee's a mother made, and blushes in her fruit.

XI.

Meethinks I see great Dioclesian walk
In the Salonian gardens noble shade,
W^ch^ by his own Imperial hands was made:
I see him smile, meethinks, as hee does talk
W^th^ the Ambassadours who come in vain
T'entice him to a throne again:
If I, my friends (said hee) should to you show
All the contents which in this garden grow,
'Tis likelier much y^t^ you should with mee stay,
Then 'tis y^t^ you should carry mee away:
And trust mee not, my friends, if every day,
I walk not here with more delight,
Than ever, after the most happy fight,
In triumph to the Capitol I rod,
To thank ye Gods, and to bee thought, my self almost a God.

A. Cowley.

Chertsea, Aug. 16 1666.

KALENDARIUM HORTENSE.

♒ JANUARY.

Hath xxxi days — long, 8h 0m. ——— Sun rises 8h 0m — sets 4h 0m. *

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

TRENCH the ground, and make it ready for the Spring: prepare also soil, and use it where you have occasion; for which purpose make plentiful provision of neats, horse, and sheeps dung especially, that you may have some of two years preparation, by now and then stirring and opening it to the air, and lastly, screening it, reserve it for use in some hard-bottom'd shady place, a little excavated, that the rain wash not away the vertue of it: suffer no weeds to grow on it; have some heaps of sweet under-pasture natural mould, and fine loam, to mingle with your dung, as occasion requires.

Note, that the dung of pigeons and poultry, mix'd with mould, is excellent for the fig-tree (to which I now advise you to lay it), asparagus, strawberries, &c. but then it must have pass'd its first heat, lest, apply'd before, it *burn* the plant.

Horse-dung, if not exceedingly rotted, will infect the ground with knot-grass, the very worst of garden-weeds; and is therefore only proper for moist and cold grounds, and to be us'd for the hot-bed.

Abricots and peaches require rather a natural, rich, and mellow soil, than much dung.

Dress your sweet-herb beds rather with a new moulding every second year, than with over-dunging or rank soil.

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* For the rising and setting of the sun, and length of the days, I compute from the first of every month, London lat.

Mould made of the rotting of weeds, &c. is apt to produce the same weeds *.

Dig borders, &c. Uncover, as yet, roots of trees, where ablaqueation is requisite †.

Plant quick-sets, and transplant fruit-trees, if not finish'd: set vines ‡, and begin to prune the old: prune the branches of orchard fruit-trees, especially the long planted, and that towards the decrease; but for such as are newly planted, they need not be disbranched till the sap begins to stir, that is, not till March; that so the wound may be healed, with the scar, and stub, which our frosts do frequently leave: besides, one then best discerns the fruit-buds. In this work cut off all the shoot of August, unless the nakedness of the place incline you to spare it: consult my French Gard'ner, Part I. Sect. 3 §. For this is a most material address, towards which these short directions may contribute.

Learn first to know and distinguish the bearing and fruit-buds from the leaf-buds: the fruit-buds are always fuller and more turgid: these you are carefully to spare, and what you prune from the rest cut off slanting above the bud, with a very sharp knife, leaving no rags.

In taking off a whole branch, or limb, cut close to the stem, that the bark may cover it the sooner.

Those buds which either put forth just between the stem and wall (in mural-trees only), or opposite to them, are to be rubbed off as soon as they appear, sparing only the collateral branches.

Keep your wall and palisade-trees from mounting too hastily, that they may form beautiful and spreading branches, shap'd like a ladies fann, and close to the ground.

Take the water-boughs quite away, which are those that on standards being shaded, and drip'd upon, remain smooth and naked without buds.

Where you desire mural fruit-trees should spread, garnish, and bear, cut smoothly off the next unbearing branch.

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* Vide "Discourse of Earth," p. 21.

† See the Directions in my Treatise of Earth, p. 24, folio edit.

‡ See Mr. Rose's Vineyard vindicated, c. v. § "Pomona," c. 8.

Forbear pruning wall-fruit that is tender, till February.

Where branches are so thick and intangl'd that they gall one another, or exclude the sun and air, thin the place at discretion.

You may now begin to nail and trim your wall-fruit and espaliers.

Cleanse trees of moss, &c. the weather moist.

Gather cyons for graffs before the buds sprout; and about the latter end graff them in the stock, pears, cherries, and plums; and remember this for a special rule, that you always take the cyon from some goodly and plentifully bearing tree: for if it be from a young tree, or one which has not yet born fruit (tho' of never so excellent a kind), it will be a long time e'er your graff produce any fruits considerable.

Now also remove your kernel-stocks to more commodious distances in your nursery, cutting off the top root *. Set beans, pease, &c.

Sow also (if you please) for early cauly-flowers.

Sow chervil †, lettuce, radish, and other (more delicate) salletings, if you will raise in the hot-bed.

In over-wet, or hard weather, cleanse, mend, sharpen, and prepare garden-tools ‡.

Turn up your bee-hives, and sprinkle them with a little warm and sweet wort; do it dexterously.

Fruits in prime, and yet lasting.

Apples.—Kentish pippin, russet pippin, golden pippin, french pippin, kirton pippin, holland pippin, john-apple, winter queening, marigold, harvey-apple, pomewater, pome-roy, golden doucet, apis, reineting, Lones pear-main, winter pear-main, &c.

Pears.—Winter musk (bakes well), winter Norwich (excellently baked), winter bergamot, winter bon-crestien (both mural), vergoules, the great surrein, &c.

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* Vide March.

† *Scandix cerefolium.* This plant, so celebrated by the ancients, has nearly disappeared in the English kitchen-garden, nor is it any longer regarded in our salads, or admitted into modern practice, although it still holds a considerable rank in all these situations on the Continent.

‡ This is a part of the gardener's duty which has been most lamentably neglected in modern times.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Set up your traps for vermine; especially in your nurseries of kernels and stones, and amongst your bulbous roots; which will now be in danger. A paste made of coarse honey, wherein is mingled green-glass beaten, with copperas, may be laid near their haunts. About the middle of this month, plant now your anemony roots, and ranunculus's, which you will be secure of without covering, or farther trouble. Preserve from too great and continuing rains (if they happen), snow, and frost, your choicest anemonies and ranunculus's sow'd in September or October for earlier flowers: also your carnations, and such seeds as are in peril of being wash'd out, or over-chilled and frozen, covering them under shelter, and striking off the snow where it lies too weighty; for it certainly rots and bursts your early-set anemonies and ranunculus's, &c. unless planted now in the hot-beds; for now is the season, and they will flower even in London. Towards the end, earth-up with fresh and light mould the roots of those auricula's which the frost may have uncover'd, filling up the chinks about the sides of the pots where your choicest are set, but they need not be hous'd: it is a hardy plant.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Winter aconite, some anemonies, winter cyclamen, black hellebor, brumal hyacinth, oriental jacinth, levantine, narcissus, hepatica, primroses, laurus-tinus, mezereon, præcoce tulips, &c. especially if raised in the hot-bed. Note,

That both these fruits and flowers are more early or tardy, both as to their prime seasons for eating, and perfection of blowing, according as the soil and situation are qualify'd by nature or accident. Note also,

That in this recension of monthly flowers, it is to be understood for the whole period that any flower continues, from its first appearing to its final withering.

♓ FEBRUARY

Hath xxviii days — long, 09h 24m. ——— Sun rises 7h 13m. — Sets 04h 45m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Prune fruit-trees and vines as yet; for now is your season to bind, plash, nail, and dress, without danger of frost: this to be understood of the most tender and delicate wall-fruit, not finish'd before; do this before the buds and bearers grow turgid; and yet in the nectarine and like delicate mural-fruit, the later your pruning the better, whatever has been and still is the contrary custom.

And let your gard'ner endeavour to apply the collateral branches of his wall-fruits, as near as possible he can (without violation and unnatural bending and reverting) to the earth or borders; so as the fruit (when grown) may almost touch the ground: the rest of the branches following the same order will display the tree like a ladies fan, and repress the common exuberance of the leading and middle shoots, which usually make too hasty an advance. A gard'ner expert in this and the right art of pruning, may call himself a workman *sans reproch.*

Remove graffs of former years graffing. Cut and lay quick-sets; and trim up your palisade hedges and espaliers. Plant vines as yet, other shrubs, hops, &c.

Set all sorts of kernels and stony seeds, which field-mice will certainly ruine before they sprout, unless prevented: also sow beans, pease, rounsevals, corn-sallet, marigold, anniseeds, radish, parsenips, carrots, onions, garlick, &c. And plant potatoes* in your worst ground.

Now is your season for circumposition by tubs or baskets of earth, and

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* "The potatoe first became an object of national importance in 1662-3, as appears by the record of the Royal Society held March 18th in that year; when a letter was read from Mr. Buckland, a Somerset gentleman, recommending the planting of potatoes in all parts of the Kingdom, to prevent famine. This was referred to a Committee, and, in consequence of their report, Mr. Buckland had the thanks of the Society: such members as had lands were entreated to plant them with potatoes; and Mr. Evelyn was desired to mention the proposals at the close of his Sylva."—Phillips's Hist. of Cultivated Vegetables, vol. II. p. 87.

for laying of branches to take root. You may plant forth your cabbage-plants.

Rub moss off your trees after a soaking rain, and scrape and cleanse them of cankers, &c. draining away the wet (if need require) from the too much moistned roots, and earth up those roots of your fruit-trees, if any were uncover'd. Continue to dig and manure, if weather permit. Cut off the webs of caterpillars, &c. from the tops of twigs and trees to burn. Gather worms in the evenings after rain.

Kitchin-garden herbs may now be planted, as parsly, spinage, onions, leeks, and other hardy pot-herbs. Towards the middle or latter end of this month, till the sap rises briskly, graff in the cleft, and so continue till the last of March: they will hold apples, pears, cherries, plums, &c. The new moon and the old wood is best. Now also plant out your caulyflowers to have early; and begin to make your hot-beds for the first melons and cucumbers to be sow'd in the full; but trust not altogether to them. You may all this month, and the former, have early sallets on the hot-bed, and under glass frames and bells. Sow asparagus. Lastly,

Half open your passages for the bees, or a little before (if weather invite), but continue to feed weak stocks, &c.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

Apples.—Kentish, kirton, russet, holland pippins; deux-ans, winter queening, harvy sometimes, pome-water, pome-roy, golden doucet, reineting, Lones pearmain, winter pearmain, &c.

Pears.—Bon-chrestien of winter, winter poppering, little dagobert, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Continue baits, vermine-traps, &c. Sow alaternus seeds in cases, or open beds; cover them with thorns, that the poultry scratch them not out. Sow also lark-spurs, &c.

Now and then air your hous'd carnations, in warm days especially, and mild showers; but if like to prove cold, set them in again at night.

Furnish (now towards the end) your aviaries with birds before they

couple, &c. and hang up materials for them to build their nests with.

Note, That such birds as feed not on seeds alone should be separated by a partition of wyre from those who feed on bruised seeds, pastes, fleshy or pulpy mixtures; as the sky-lark, wood-lark, throstle, robin-redbreast, &c.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Winter aconite, single anemonies, and some double, tulips præcoce, hyacinthus, stellatus, vernal crocus, black hellebore, single hepatica, persian iris, leucoium bulbosum, dens caninus three leav'd, vernal cyclamen white and red, mezereon, ornithogal. max. alb. Yellow violets with large leaves, early daffodils, &c.

♈ MARCH

Hath xxxi days — long, 11h 22m. ——— Sun rises 6h 19m — sets 5h 41m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Yet stercoration is seasonable, and you may plant what trees are left, tho' it be something of the latest, unless in very backward or moist places.

Now is your chiefest and best time for raising on the hot-bed melons, cucumbers, gourds, &c. which about the sixth, eighth, or tenth day, will be ready for the seeds; and eight days after prick them forth at distances, according to the Method, &c.

If you will have them later, begin again in ten or twelve days after the first; and so a third time, to make experiments. Remember to preserve the hot-bed as much as possible from rain; for cool it you may easily, if too violent, but not give it a competent heat, if it be spent, without new-making *.

Now is the best time for pruning young murals, and, indeed, other wall-trees. See the reason in January.

Graff all this month, beginning with pears, and ending with apples, unless the spring prove extraordinary forwards †.

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* See "Discourse of Earth," &c.

† See our "Pomona," c. 3.

Now also plant peaches and nectarines, but cut not off the top-roots, as you do of other trees; for it will much prejudice them. Prune last years graffs, and cut off the heads of your budded stocks. Take off the littier from your kernel-beds (see Octob.), or you may forbear till April. Stir your new-planted ground, as directed in "Disc. of Earth," p. 14, and for the nursery, p. 15.

You may as yet cut quick-sets, and cover such tree roots as you laid bare in autumn.

It were profitable now also to top your rose-trees (which always bear on the fresh sprouts of the same spring) a little with your knife near a leaf-bud, and to prune off the dead and withered branches, keeping them lower than the custom is, and to a single stem. Cut away some branches of the monthly rose-tree close, after the first bearing.

Slip and set sage, rosemary, lavender, thyme, &c.

Note, that rosemary thrives better by cutting off the sprigs, than by ragged slips, which leaves an incurable scar on the old plant. Cut them, therefore at a little distance from the stem, and this so soon as it flowers, which is commonly in this month.

Where the soil is clay, or over moist, mingle it plentifully with brick-dust.

Sow in the beginning endive, succory, leeks, radish, beets, chard-beet, scorzonera, parsnips, skirrets. Sow skirrets in rich, mellow, fresh earth, and moist, and when about a finger long; plant but one single root in a hole, at a foot distance. Sow also parsly, sorrel, bugloss, borage, chervil, sampier (to re-plant in May), sellery, smallage, alisanders, &c. Several of which continue many years without renewing, and are most of them to be blanch'd by laying them under littier, and earthing up.

Sow also lettuce, onions, garlick, orack, purslain, turnips, (to have early) monthly pease, &c. these annually. Begin to tie up some lettuce.

Transplant the beet-chard which you sow'd in August, to have most ample chards.

Sow also carrots, cabbages, cresses, nasturtium, fennel, majoran, basil, tobacco, &c. and transplant any sort of medicinal herbs.

Whatsoever you now sow or plant of this sort, water not over hastily, nor with too great a stream, for it hardens the ground, without penetrating; rather endeavour to imitate the natural shower; but spare not water if necessary.

Never cast water on things newly planted, nor on flowers, but at convenient distance, so as rather to moisten the ground, without sobbing the leaves of the plant, which ends in scorching.

Mid-March dress up (with a little fresh manure) and string your strawberry-beds, clipping away all their runners till they blossom. And note, that you can hardly over-water your strawberry-beds in a dry season; yet better not water at all than too sparingly. Uncover your asparagus, spreading and loosning the mould about them, for their more easy penetrating; flourishing the beds thinly with a little fine fresh manure. Also may you now transplant asparagus roots to make new beds *. Uncover also artichoaks cautiously, and by degrees. The like your fig-trees, cutting off the dead wood.

By this time your bees sit; keep them close night and morning, if the weather prove unkind.

Turn your fruit in the room where it lies, but open not yet the windows.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

Apples.—Golden ducket [doucet], pepins, reineting, Lones pearmain, winter pearmain, winter bon-cretienne, john-apple, &c.

Pears.—Later bon-chrestien, double blossom pear.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Stake and bind up your weakest plants and flowers against the winds, before they come too fiercely, and in a moment prostrate a whole year's labour.

Plant box, &c. in parterres. Sow pinks, sweet-williams, and carnations, from the middle to the end of this month. Sow pine-kernels, firr-seeds, bays, alaternus, phillyrea, and most perennial greens, &c.; or you may stay till somewhat later in the month. Sow auricula-seeds,

* See "Discourse of Earth," p. 38.

in pots or cases, in fine willow earth, a little loamy, and place what you sow'd in September (which is the more proper season) now in the shade, and water it.

Plant some anemony-roots, to bear late and successively, especially in and about London, where the smoak is any thing tolerable; and, if the season be very dry, water them well once in two or three days; as likewise ranunculus's. Fibrous roots may be transplanted about the middle of this month; such as hepaticas, primroses, auriculas, cammomile, narcissus, tuberose, matricaria, gentianella, hellebore, and other summer flowers. Set leucoium; slip the keris, or wall-flower; and, towards the end, lupines, convolvolus's, Spanish or ordinary jasmine. You may now, a little after the Æquinox, prune pine and fir trees. See September.

Towards the middle or latter end of March sow on the hot-beds such plants as are late bearing flowers or fruit in our climate; as balsamine, and balsamum mas, pomum amoris, datura, Æthiopic apples, some choice amaranthus, dactyls, geraniums, hedysarum clypeatum, humble and sensitive plants, lentiscus, myrtle-berries (steep'd awhile), capsicum indicum, canna indica, flos africanus, mirabile peruian. nasturtium ind. indian phaseoli, volubilis, myrrh, carrobs, marcoc, *sive* flos passionis, and the like rare and exotic plants, which are brought us from hot countries. Note, that the nasturtium ind. african marygolds, volubilis, and some others, will come (though not altogether so forwards) in the cold-bed, without art: but the rest require much and constant heat, and therefore several hot-beds, till the common earth be very warm by the advance of the sun, to bring them to a due stature, and perfect their seeds: therefore, your choicest amaranthus being risen pretty high, remove them into another temperate hot-bed; the same you may do with your African and sensitive plants, especially, which always keep under glasses *.

About the expiration of this month carry into the shade such auriculas, seedlings, or plants, as are for their choiceness reserved in pots.

Transplant also carnation seedlings, giving your layers fresh earth, and setting them in the shade for a week; then likewise cut off all

* See "Discourse of Earth," pp. 40, 41.

the sick and infected leaves, for now you may set your choice ones out of covert, as directed in February.

Now do the farewell frosts and easterly winds prejudice your choicest tulips, and spot them; therefore cover such with mats, or canvas, to prevent freckles, and sometimes destruction. The same care have of your most precious anemonies, auriculas, chamæ-iris, brumal jacynths, early cyclamen, &c. Wrap your shorn cypress tops with straw wisps, if the Eastern blasts prove very tedious, and forget not to cover with dry straw, or pease hame, your young exposed evergreens, as yet seedlings, such as firr, pine, phillyrea, bays, cypress, &c. 'till they have pass'd two or three years in the nursery, and are fit to be transplanted; for the sharp Easterly and Northerly winds transpierce and dry them up. Let this also caution you upon all such extremities of the weather during the whole winter; but be mindful to uncover them in all benign and tolerable seasons and intermissions; it being these acute winds, and seldom or never the hardests frosts or snows, which do the mischief. About the end, uncover even your choicest plants, but with caution, for the tail of the frosts yet continuing, and sharp winds, with the sudden darting heat of the sun, scorch and destroy them in a moment: and in such weather neither sow nor transplant.

Sow stock-gillyflower seeds in the full, to produce double flowers.

In the mean time, let gentlemen and ladies who are curious, trust little by mangonisme, insuccations, or medecine, to alter the species, or indeed the forms and shapes of flowers considerably, that is, to render that double which nature produces but single, &c. but by frequent transplanting, removing, &c. inriching the mould, to multiply and double; and by sterving and hardning the earth, and consequently taking from the roots the freer nourishment, for variation and change. Make much of this document.

Now you may set your oranges, lemmons, myrtles, oleanders, lentisci, dates, aloes, amomums, and like tender trees and plants, in the portico, or with the windows and doors of the green-houses and conservatories open, for eight or ten days before April, or earlier, if the season invite (that is, if the sharp winds be past), to acquaint them gradually with the air; I say gradually and carefully, for this change is the most

critical of the whole year; trust not, therefore, the nights too confidently, unless the weather be thorowly settled. Now is also your season to raise stocks to bud oranges and lemmons on, by sowing the seeds early this month, in such mould as is mentioned in May. Let the seeds be of the Sevil orange, half a dozen in a pot is enough, plunging it in the hot-bed; renew'd some time in May. Thus they will have shot near a foot before winter, and at the end of three years be fit for inoculation; which you may now also bud at the end of this month, placing two buds opposite to each other, within an inch of the earth. Make much of this direction.

Some of the hardiest evergreens may now be transplanted, especially if the weather be moist and temperate. Lastly,

Bring in materials for the birds in the aviary to build their nests withal.

Flowers in prime, and yet lasting.

Anemonies, spring cyclamen, winter aconite, crocus, bellis, white and black hellebore, single and double hepatica, leucoion, chamæ-iris of all colours, dens caninus, violets, fritillaria, chelidonium (small with double flowers), hermodactyls, tuberous iris, hyacinth zeboin, brumal, oriental, &c. junquills, great chalic'd, dutch mezereon, persian iris, auriculas, narcissus with large tufts, common, double, and single primroses, præcoce tulips, spanish trumpets or junquils, violets, yellow dutch violets, ornithogalum max. alb. crown imperial, grape flowers, almonds and peach blossoms, rubus odoratus, arbor judæ, &c.

♉ APRIL

Hath xxx days — long, 13h 23m. —— Sun rises 5h 18m — sets 6h 42m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Sow sweet marjorum, hyssop, basil*, thyme, winter savory, scurvy-grass, and all fine and tender seeds that require the hot-bed.

Note, that sweet herbs should be stirr'd up, and new moulded, to make them strike fresh roots.

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* This excellent herb is but little regarded at present, notwithstanding the introduction of French cookery into this country.

Sow also lettuce, purslan, caulyflower, radish, leeks, &c.

One may sow radish and carrots together in the same bed, so as the first may be drawn, whilst the other is ready. Sow radish, lettuce, purslan, sampier, parsnips, carrots, on the same ground, gathering each kind in their seasons, leaving the parsnips to winter: but it were good to change the ground for carrots and parsnips now and then.

Remember to weed them when they are about two inches high, and a little after to thin them with a small haugh.

Plant artichoak-slips, &c.

Set French-beans, &c. And sow turnips, to have them early.

You may yet slip lavendar, thyme, penny-royal, sage, rosemary, &c. and the oftener you clip and cut them the more will they thrive. Sage so dress'd at the spring and autumn will cause it to continue long and fair, without re-planting.

To have excellent salleting all the year round, sow turnip-seed, radish, lettuce, purslan, borrage, tarragon, and all other kinds, in very rich ground, and in winter and spring on the hot-bed, cover'd, &c. drawing them root and all as soon as they open a leaf as broad as a threepenny piece, and so repeat sowing monthly.

Geld and prune strawberries. Now also wall-trees, especially the peach, should have a second pruning, shortning the branches just above the knit fruit.

Towards the middle of this month begin to plant forth your melons and cucumbers, and so to the latter end, your ridges well prepared.

Gather up worms and snails after evening showers; continue this after all summer rains.

Soot-ashes, refuse sweepings of tobacco-stalks, made into a fine powder or dust, and strewed half an inch in thickness at the foot of trees, and now and then renewed, prevents pismires, and other crawling insects, from invading the fruit, &c.

Weed and haugh betimes. (See July.) In such bordures as you plant wall-fruit, or espaliers, (which bordures should be, at the least, four or five foot in breadth,) plant neither herbs nor flowers, that you may be continually stirring the mould with the spade, and (as need is)

recreating it with composts. This may be instead (and far better) of hand-weeding; only you may adorn the outward verge with an edging of pink, limon, thyme, veronica, &c. renewing them when you perceive them to grow sticky and leave gaps; and you may sprinkle the rest of the surface with lettuce, radish, turnip-seeds, for tender salleting, so you be sure to pull them up root and all by that time they are an inch high, and shew a leaf no broader than a three-pence.

Open now your bee-hives, for now they hatch; look carefully to them, and prepare your hives, &c.

Fruit in prime, or yet lasting.

APPLES.—Pippins, deux-ans, west-berry apple, russeting, july-flowers, flat reinet, &c.

PEARS.—Later bon-crestien, oak-pear, &c., double blossom, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Sow divers annuals to have flowers all summer; as double marigolds, digitalis, delphinium, cyanus of all sorts, candy-tufts, garden pansy, muscipula, scabius, scorpoides medica, holyhocks, columbines, bell-videre, which renew every five or six years, else they will degenerate, &c.

Continue new and fresh hot-beds to entertain such exotic plants as arrive not to their perfection without them, till the air and common earth be qualified with sufficient warmth to preserve them abroad. A catalogue of these you have in the former month.

Transplant such fibrous roots as you had not finish'd in March (for this is the better season), as violets, hepatica, primroses, hellebore, matricaria, &c. Place auricula seedlings in the shade.

Sow pinks, carnations, which you may continue to trim up, and cleanse from dead and rotten leaves, viz. your old roots. Sow sweet-williams, &c. to flower next year: this after rain. Set lupines, &c.

Sow leucoium in full moon, sprinkle it thin, frequently remove them, and replant in moist weather the following spring.

Sow also yet pine-kernels, fir-seeds, phillyrea, alaternus, and most perennial greens. Vide September.

Now take out your indian tuberoses *, parting the off-sets (but with care, lest you break their fangs, for it is from off-sets only that you may expect flowers in due time, and not from the mother bulb), then pot them in natural † (not forc'd) earth; a layer of rich mould beneath and about this natural earth, to nourish the fibres, but not so as to touch the bulbs: then plunge your pots in a hot-bed temperately warm, and give them no water till they spring, and then set them under a South wall: in dry weather water them freely, and expect an incomparable flower in August. Thus likewise treat the narcissus of japan, or guernsey lilly, mingling the earth with sea sand, for a later flower; although that nice curiosity, set only in a warm corner, expos'd to the South, without any removal at all for many years, has sometimes prospered better. Sea sand mingled with the mould more plentifully towards the surface, exceedingly contributes to the flourishing of this rare exotick. The protuberant fangs of the yuca are to be treated like the tuberoses. Make much of this precious direction.

Set out and expose flos cardinalis. Slip and set marums. Water anemonies, ranunculus's especially, and plants in pots and cases once in two or three days, if drought require it.

Note, that even anemonies, and flowers of that class, should be discreetly prun'd, where they mat too thick; as also gillyflowers and carnations, to produce fair flowers.

But carefully protect from violent storms of rain, hail, tails of the frosts, and the too parching darts of the sun, your pennach'd tulips, ranunculus's, anemonies, auriculas, covering them with matrasses supported on cradles of hoops, which have now in readiness. Now is the season for you to bring the choice and tender shrubs, &c. out of the conservatory, such as you durst not adventure forth in March; let it be in a fair day; only your orange-trees may remain in the house till May (see the caution there), to prevent all danger. Yet if the weather prove benign you may adventure, about the middle of this month, giving a refreshment of water, not too cold: about four gallons of

* This beautiful flower has been much neglected of late years. † See May.

heated water to twenty, will render it blood-warm, which is the fittest temper on all occasions throughout the year. Above all things, beware both of cold spring, pump, or stagnant shaded waters; that of the river is best, but of rain incomparable. In heat of summer, let the water stand in the sun till it grow tepid. Cold applications, and all extreams, are pernicious.

Now is the season (about the beginning of this month) to prune and cut off the tops of such trees as have shot above four or five inches.

You may now graff these tender shrubs, &c. by approach, viz. oranges, lemmons, pomegranads, jasmines, &c.

Now, towards the end of April, you may transplant and remove your tender shrubs, &c. as spanish jasmines, myrtles, oleanders, young oranges, cyclamen, pomegranads, &c.; but first let them begin to sprout, placing them a fortnight in the shade. But about London it may be better to defer this work till mid-August. Vide also May, from whence take directions how to refresh and trim them. Prune now your spanish jasmine within an inch or two of the stock; but first see it begin to shoot. Mow carpet-walks, and ply weeding, &c. Be diligent in ridding this work before they run to seed and grow downy, and speedily to rake away what you pull or haugh up, lest they take root and fasten again, and infect the ground.

Note, that an half-spit deep stirring and turning up of the earth about your bordures of mural trees, &c. is to be preferred to hand-weeding, and more expeditious.

Towards the end (if the cold winds are past), and especially after showers, clip phillyrea, alaternus, cypress, box, myrtles, barba jovis, and other tonsile shrubs, &c.

Here, to take off a reproach which box may lie under, (otherwise a most beautiful and useful shrub, for edgings, knots, and other ornaments of the coronary-garden,) because its scent is not agreeable to many, if immediately upon clipping (when only it is most offensive) you water it, the smell vanishes, and is no more considerable.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Anemonies, ranunculus's, arricula ursi, chamæ-iris, crown imperial,

caprifolium, cyclamen, bell-flower, dens caninus, fritillaria, gentianella' hypericum frutex, double hepatica's, jacinth starry, double dasies, florence iris, tufted narcissus, white, double, and common, English double, primrose, cowslips, pulsatilla, ladies smock, tulips medias, ranunculus's of Tripoly, white violets, musk grape-flower, geranium, radix cava, caltha palustris, parietaria lutea, leucoium, persian lilies, pæonies, double jonquils, muscaria reversed, cochlearia, persian jasmine, acanthus, lilac, rosemary, cherries, wall-pears, almonds, abricots, peaches, white thorn, arbor Judæ * blossoming, &c.

II MAY

Hath xxxi days — long, 15^h 9^m. ——— Sun rises at 4^h 25^m — sets 7^h 42^h.

In the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Sow sweet marjoran, basil, thyme, hot and aromatick herbs and plants, which are the most tender. Transplant sampier to some very warm exposure, as under a South wall. You cannot provide too much of this excellent ingredient to all crude sallads.

Sow purslan, to have young; lettuce, large-sided cabbage, painted beans, &c. Plant out cabbages and caully-flowers, nasturces, betechard, sellery.

Look carefully to your melons; and towards the end of this month forbear to cover them any longer on ridges, either with straw or matrasses, &c.

Prune fig-trees.

You may now give a third pruning to peach-trees, taking away and pinching off unblossoming branches.

Break and pull off all crumpl'd dry'd leaves and wither'd branches of mural trees, and cleanse them from snails, caterpillars, &c. every where.

Fig-trees may be graffed by inarching.

Ply the laboratory, and distil plants for waters, spirits, &c.

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* This early-flowering tree has never become common in this country

Continue weeding before they run to seeds; carefully observing the directions of April and July, as of extraordinary importance both for saving charge, improvement of the fruit, and the neat maintaining of your garden.

Now set your bees at full liberty, look out often, and expect swarms, &c.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

APPLES.—Pippins, deux-ans, or john-apples, west-berry apples, russettings, gilly-flower apples, the maligar, &c. codling.

PEARS.—Great kairville, winter bon-chrestien, black pear of Worcester Surrein, double-blossom pear, &c.

CHERRIES, &c.—The May-cherry*, strawberries, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Now forasmuch as gentlemen are very inquisitive when were the best and securest season for exposing their orange-trees †, and more tender curiosities, I give them this for a rule the most infallible: that they observe the mulberry-tree, when it begins to put forth and open the leaves (be it earlier or later), bring your oranges, &c. boldly out of the conservatory; 'tis your only season to transplant and remove them. Let this be done with care, if the tree be too ponderous to be lifted perpendicularly by the hand alone, by applying a triangle and pully, and so with a rope, and a broad horse-girth at the end, lapped about the stem (to prevent galling), draw out the tree, with competent mould adhering to it, having before loosned it from the sides of the case, and so with ease transfer it into another. Let the cases be filled with natural earth (such as is taken the first half spit from

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* Have we lost an early variety of this fruit, or is our season later?

† Orange-trees were the principal ornament of the English greenhouse in Evelyn's time, as they still continue to be of those on the Continent.

The Queen of Charles the First had an orange-house and orange-garden at Wimbledon, in Surrey, which were sold by order of the Parliament in 1649; when 42 orange-trees were valued at £420, and one lemon-tree at £20; and 18 orange-trees, that had not borne fruit, sold for £90. See Phillips's Pomarium Britannicum.

just under the turf of the best pasture-ground *, in a place that has been well fother'd on), mixing it with one part of rotten cow-dung, (some prefer horse-dung,) or very mellow soil, screen'd and prepar'd some time before. If this be too stiff, sift a little lime discreetly with it, or rather sea-coal ashes, or the rotten sticks and stuff found in hollow willows; and if it want binding, a little loamy earth. Then cutting the too thick and extravagant roots a little, especially at bottom, set your plant, but not too deep; rather let some of the roots appear. If you see cause to form the heads of your trees, by cutting off any considerable branch, cover the wound or amputation with a mixture of bees-wax, rosin, and turpentine; of the wax and turpentine each one ounce, of rosin two; some add a little tallow. Lastly, settle it with temperately enriched water (such as is impregnated with neat and sheeps dung especially, set and stirr'd in the sun some few days before, but be careful not to drench them too much at first, but giving it by degrees day after day, without wetting the stem or leaves), having before put some rubbish of lime-stones, pebbles, shells, faggot-spray, or the like, at the bottom of the cases, to make the moisture passage, and keep the earth loose, for fear of rotting the fibres. See November. Then set them in the shade for a fortnight, and afterwards expose them to the sun; yet not where it is too scorching by the reflection of walls, but rather where they may have the gentle shade of distant trees, or a palisade thin hedge or curtain drawn before them, which may now and then be sprinkl'd with water, as seamen do their sails. The morning sun, till about three in the afternoon, is best. Be not yet over-hasty in giving them the full sun; for in your discreet acquainting them with this change consists their prosperity during all the summer after †.

Give now also your hous'd plants (such as you do not think requisite to take out) fresh earth at the surface, in place of some of the old earth (a hand depth or so), and loosning the rest with a fork, without wounding the roots. Let this be of excellent rich soil ‡, such as is

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* See "Discourse of Earth," pp. 40, 41. † Ibid. p. 41. ‡ Vide July.

throughly consum'd, and will sift, that it may wash in the vertue, and comfort the plant. Brush and cleanse them likewise from the dust contracted during their enclosure. If you do not transplant or remove them about the middle of the month, take off the surface-earth about an inch or two deep, and put cow-dung of the last year's preparation in place of it, covering it over with the same mould. (See July.) But now for a compendium, and to gratifie gentlemen with what is most effectual, as well as easie. Let them always be provided with a plentiful stock of old neats'-dung, well air'd and stirr'd for two years. Then with three parts of this, and one of the bottom of the tanner's pit (with some addition of a light under-turf mould), they will be provided with an incomparable composition, not only for their orange-trees, but for all other sorts of verdures. But after all, where there is to be found a natural earth, with an eye of loam in it (such as is proper for most flowers, carnations especially), mixing it with well-consumed horse-dung, and something of a drying nature, such as is the ashes of sea-coal, in due proportion, to keep it loose and from clogging, you need seek for nothing more. Neither shall they need much to trim the roots (unless they find them exceedingly matted and straggling), or put so much loose trash at the bottom of their cases; but it were good to change them once in three or four years into larger ones, if they prosper. The least size of cases ought to be of sixteen inches, the middle sort of two foot, and the largest near a yard diameter, supported from the ground with knobs or feet, four inches.

These last directions have till now been kept as considerable secrets amongst our gard'ners. (Vide August and September.)

Shade your carnations and gilly-flowers after mid-day about this season. You may likewise sow clove gilly-flowers, new-moon. Sow also your stock-gilly-flowers in beds, full-moon.

Continue watering ranunculus's. Transplant forth your amaranthus's where you would have them stand. Sow antirrinum; or you may set it.

Gather what anemony-seed you find ripe, and that is worth saving; preserve it very dry. You may plant single anemonies. Prune jasmine close, within half an inch.

Cut likewise the stalks of such bulbous flowers as you find dry.

Towards the end take up those tulips which are dry'd in the stalk; covering what you find to lie bare from the sun and showers. And if you find any to be canker'd, bury them immediately in the earth again, before they be dry; 'tis the best cure.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Late set anemonies and ranunculus omn. gen. anapodophylon, blattaria, chamæ-iris, augustifol. cyanus, cytisus, maranthe, cyclamen, helleborine, columbines, caltha palustris, double cotyledon, digitalis, fraxinella, gladiolus, geranium, horminum creticum, yellow hemerocallis, strip'd jacinth, early bulbous iris, asphodel, yellow lillies, lychnis, jacea, bellis double, white and red, millefolium luteum, phalangium orchis, lilium convallium, span. pinks, deptford pinks, rosa common, cinnamon, guelder, and centifol. &c. oleaster, cherry-bay, trachelium, cowslips, hesperis, antirrhinum, syringas, sedums, tulips serotin, &c. valerian, veronica double and single, musk violets, ladies slipper, stock-gilly-flowers, spanish nut, star-flower, chalcedons, ordinary crowfoot, red martagon, bee-flowers, campanellas (white and blue), persian lilly, honey-suckles, buglos, homer's moly, and the white of dioscorides, pansis, prunella, purple thalictrum, sisymbrium (double and simple), leucoium bulbosum serotinum, peonies, sambucus, rosemary, stæchas, sea-narcissus, barba jovis, laurus, satyrion, oxyacanthus, tamariscus, apple blossoms, &c.

♋ JUNE

Hath xxx days — long, $16^h\ 17^m$. ——— Sun rises $3^h\ 51^m$ — sets $8^h\ 9^m$.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Sow lettuce, chervil, radish, &c. to have young and tender salleting.

About the midst of June you may inoculate peaches, abricots, cherries, plums, apples, pears, &c. On what stocks, see November.

You may now also (or in May before) cleanse vines of exuberant branches and tendrels, cropping (not cutting) and stopping the second

joint, or immediately before the fruit, and some of the under branches which bear no fruit; especially in young vineyards, when they first begin to bear, and thence forwards, binding up the rest to props. More ample directions for the nursery this month's beginning, see "Discourse of Earth," p. 15.

Gather herbs in the full to keep dry. They keep and retain their vertue and sweet smell, provided you take the same care as you do in hay, that you expose them not in too thin but competent heaps, which you may turn and move till they be reasonably dry, not brittle, and the sooner it be dispatch'd the better. The gard'ner therefore should attend it himself; for there is very great difference in the vertue of plants, according as they are dry'd.

To preserve the colour of flowers or herbs, they should be dry'd in the shade; but they will be apt to contract mustiness unless shewed to the sun a little.

Now is your season to distill aromatick plants, &c.

Water lately planted trees, and put moist and half-rotten fearn, &c. about the foot of their stems, having first clear'd them of weeds, and a little stirr'd the earth.

Now because the excessive scorchings of this and the two following months (and not seldom the winters also), do frequently indanger the untimely falling both of blossom and fruit before their maturity, place a vessel of impregnated water near the stem of the tree, and lap a reasonable long piece of flannel, or other woollen or linnen clout about it, letting one end thereof hang in the water, by which the moisture ascending will be suck'd thro' the very bark, and consequently nourish and invigorate the tree to re-produce its former verdure. The water is to be supply'd as you find it convenient, and no longer, lest it sob your stem too much. This manner of refreshing is more to be preferr'd than by suffering it to drop only upon the earth (which yet in other occasions is profitable) *per lingulam;* which, if too plentifully, endangers the chilling and rotting of the fibres.

Note, that sick trees, as orange, &c. frequently impair'd by removes, carriage, ill handling, and other accidents, are many times recover'd by a milk diet; that is, diluting it with a portion of water discreetly

administer'd, as you find amendment. Sometimes also by plunging them in the hot-bed; or by letting the tree down into a pit of four or five foot depth, covering the head, and the rest of the tree above, with a glaz'd frame. Either of these remedies profit according as the plant is affected, wanting warmth or nourishment.

Ply weeding as in the former month.

Look to your bees for swarms and casts; and begin to destroy insects with hoofs, canes, and tempting baits, &c. Gather snails after rain, &c.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

APPLES.—Juniting (first ripe), pippins, john-apples, robillard, red Fennouil, &c. French.

PEARS.—The maudlin (first ripe), madeira, green-royal, St. Lawrence pear, &c.

CHERRIES, &c.—Duke, flanders, heart (black, red, white), lukeward, early flanders, the common cherry, spanish black, naples cherries, &c.

Rasberries, corinths*, strawberries, melons, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Transplant autumnal cyclamens now, if you would change their place; otherwise let them stand. Take up iris chalcedon.

Gather the ripe seeds of flowers worth the saving, as of choicest oriental jacinth, narcissus (the two lesser, pale, spurious daffodils, of a whitish green, often produces varieties), auriculas, ranunculus's, &c. and preserve them dry. Shade your carnations from the afternoon sun.

You may now begin to lay your gilly-flowers†. Sow some annuals to flower in the later months.

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* Currants were formerly considered to be a species of the gooseberry, and had no other name until they were called Corinths, from their similitude to the small Zante grapes (the currants of the grocers), which grew in great abundance about Corinth, and which now bear also the corrupted name of currants.

† This alludes to the clove gilly-flower, *Dianthus Caryophyllus*. The name of gillyflower was common to several plants, as the stock-gillyflower, and the wall-gillyflower. Our great Lexicogra-

Take up your rarest anemonies and ranunculus's after rain (if it come seasonable, not before), the stalk wither'd, and dry the roots well. This about the end of the month. In mid-June inoculate jasmine, roses, and some other rare shrubs. Sow now also some anemony seeds. Take up your tulip bulbs, burying such immediately as you find naked upon your beds, or else plant them in some cooler place; and refresh over-parch'd beds with water. Water your pots of narcissus of Japan (that precious flower), &c. Stop some of your scabious's from running to seed the first year, by now removing them, and next year they will produce excellent flowers. Also you may now take up all such plants and flower-roots as endure not well out of the ground, and replant them again immediately; such as the early cyclamen, jacinth oriental, and other bulbous jacinths, iris, fritillaria, crown imperial, martagon, muscaris, dens caninus, &c. The slips of myrtle set in some cool and moist place, do now frequently take root. Also cytisus lunatus will be multiplied by slips in a damp place, such as are an handful long of that spring, but neither by seeds nor layers. Look now to your aviary; for now the birds grow sick of their feathers; therefore assist them with emulsions of the cooler seeds bruised in their water, as melons, cucumbers, &c. Also give them succory, beets, groundsel, chickweed, fresh gravel, and earth, &c.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Amaranthus, anemonies single, antirrhinum, asphodel, campanula, convolvolus, cyclamen, clematis panonica, cyannus, blattaria, digitalis, gladiolus, hedysarum, geranium, horminum creticum, hieracium, hesperis, bulbous iris, and divers others, lychnis var. generum, martagon (white and red), millefolium (white and yellow), nasturtium indicum,

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pher concludes that the word is corrupted from July flower, because Lord Bacon says, "in July come gillyflowers of all varieties;" and Mortimer is also quoted, who writes, "Gillyflowers, or rather July flowers, are called from the month they blow in;" or, says Johnson, "from *Giroflée*, of the French." It is evidently not derived from July, since Chaucer, who frequently uses French words, spells it gilofre. The learned Dr. Turner, in his History of Plants of 1568, calls it gelouer. Gerard, who succeeded Turner, and after him Parkinson, call it gilloflower, and thus it travelled from its original orthography, until it was called July-flower. Flora Historica, vol. II.

nigella, aster atticus, hellebore, alb. gentiana, trachelium, ficus indica, fraxinella, shrub nightshade, jasmines, honey-suckles, genista hisp. carnations, pinks, armerius, ornithogalum, pansy, phalangium virginianum, larksheel (early), philosella, roses, thlaspi creticum, &c. veronica, viola pentaphyl. campions or sultans, mountain lillies (white, red), double poppies, palm christi, stock-gilly-flowers, corn-flag, holly-hock, muscaria, serpillum citratum, phalangium allobrogicum, oranges, rosemary, gelder, and cynomon roses, tuber-rose, lentiscus, pomgranade, the lime-tree, &c.

♌ JULY

Hath xxxi days — long, $15^h\ 59^m$. ——— Sun rises $4^h\ 0^m$ — sets $8^h\ 1^m$.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Sow lettuce, raddish, &c. to have tender salleting.

Sow later pease, to be ripe six weeks after Michaelmas.

Water young planted trees, and layers, &c. and re-prune now abricots and peaches, saving as many of the young likeliest shoots as are well placed; for the now bearers commonly perish, the new ones succeeding. Cut close and even, purging your wall-fruit of superfluous leaves, which hinder from the sun, but do it discreetly; as also vines.

It were now fit (and especially when the fruit is either forming or requires filling, and before if the season be very dry), to give plentiful refreshments to your mural fruit-trees, pouring it leisurely into holes made with a wooden-pointed stake, at competent distance from the stem, and so as not to touch or wound any of the roots. You may leave the short stakes in the holes for a while, or fill them with mould again. Thus may you feed your vines with blood, sweet, and mingled with water, &c. But this, and all other summer refreshings, is only to be done early in the morning, or late in the evenings.

You may now also begin to inoculate.

Let such olitory-herbs run to seed as you would save.

Towards the latter end, visit your vineyards * again, &c. and stop the exuberant shoots at the second joint above the fruit (if not finish'd before), but not so as to expose it to the sun, without some umbrage.

Remove long-sided cabbages planted in May, to head in autumn; 'tis the best cabbage in the world. Remember to cut away all rotten and putrify'd leaves from your cabbages, which else will infect both earth and air.

Now begin to streighten the entrance of your bees a little, and help them to kill their drones, if you observe too many: setting the new-invented cucurbit-glasses of beer mingled with honey, to entice the wasps, flies, &c. which waste your store. Also hang bottles of the same mixture near your red roman nectarines, and other tempting fruits and flowers, for their destruction; else they many times invade your best fruit. Set therefore up hoofs of neats'-feet for the earwigs, and remember to cleanse and shake them out at noon, when they constantly repair for the shade. They are cursed devourers; nor ought you to be less diligent to prevent the ants, which above all invade the orange-flower, by casting scalding brine on their hills and other receptacles.

Look now also diligently under the leaves of mural-trees for the snails; they stick commonly somewhat above the fruit. Pull not off what is bitten, for then they will certainly begin afresh.

Have still an eye to the weeding and cleansing part. Begin the work of haughing as soon as ever they begin to peep; you will rid more in a few hours than afterwards in a whole day; whereas, neglecting it till they are ready to sow themselves, you do but stir and prepare for a more numerous crop of these garden-sins: I cannot too often inculcate and repeat it.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

Apples.—Deux-ans, pippins, winter russeting, andrew apples, cinnamon-apple, red and white juneting, the margaret-apple, &c.

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* Vineyards were common in England in the time of Evelyn. See "Pomarium Britannicum," 3d edit. p. 185.

PEARS.—The primat, russet pears, summer pears, green chesil pears, orange pear, cuisse madame, pearl pear, &c.

CHERRIES.—Carnations, morella, great-bearer, morocco cherry, the egriot, bigarreux, &c.

PEACHES.—Nutmeg, isobella, persian, newington, violet, muscat, rambouillet.

PLUMS, &c.—Primordial, myrobalan, the red, blue, and amber violets, damasc. denny damasc. pear-plum, damasc. violet, or cheson plum, abricot-plum, cinnamon plum, the king's plum, spanish, morocco-plum, lady Eliz. plum, tawny, damascene, &c. figgs.

Rasberries, gooseberries, corinths, strawberries, melons, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Slip stocks, and other lignous plants and flowers. From henceforth to Michaelmas you may also lay gilly-flowers and carnations for increase, leaving not above two or three spindles for flowers, and nipping off superfluous buds, with supports, cradles, canes, or hoofs, to establish them against winds, and destroy earwigs.

The layers will (in a month or six weeks) strike root, being planted in a light loamy earth, mixed with excellent rotten soil, and sifted. Plant six or eight in a pot to save room in winter. Keep them well from too much rains; yet water them in drought, sparing the leaves. If it prove too wet, lay your pots side-long; but shade those which blow from the afternoon sun, as in the former month.

Yet also you may lay myrtles, laurels, and other curious greens.

Water young planted shrubs and layers, &c. as orange-trees, myrtles, granades*, amomum especially, which shrub you can hardly refresh too often, and it requires abundant compost; as do likewise both the myrtle and granade-trees; therefore, whenever you trim their roots, or change their earth, apply the richest soil (so it be sweet and well consum'd) you can to them, &c. Clip box, &c. in parterres, knots, and compartiments, if need be, and that it grow out of order: do it after rain.

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* Note, that the granade flourishes best in earth not over-rich.

Graff by approach, inarch, and inoculate jasmines, oranges, and other your choicest shrubs.

Take up your early autumnal cyclamen, tulips, and bulbs (if you will remove them, &c.) before mentioned; transplanting them immediately, or a month after, if you please, and then cutting off and trimming the fibres, spread them to air in some dry place. But separate not the off-sets of tulips, &c. until the mother bulb be fully dry.

Gather tulip-seed, if you please; but let it lie in the pods.

Gather now also your early cyclamen-seed, and sow it presently in pots.

Remove seedling crocus's sow'd in September constantly at this season, placing them at wider intervals till they begin to bear.

Likewise you may take up some anemonies, ranunculus's, crocus, crown imperial, persian iris, fritillaria, and colchicums; but plant the three last as soon as you have taken them up, as you did the cyclamens; or you may stay till August or September ere you take them up, and replant colchicums.

Remove now dens caninus, &c.

Take up your gladiolus now yearly, the blades being dry, or else their off-sets will poison the ground.

Latter end of July, treat your orange-trees, &c. as directed in May, by refreshing the surface of the cases, to nourish and keep the fruit cool and in vigour. Sift your beds for off-sets of tulips, and all bulbous roots; also for anemonies ranunculus's, &c. which will prepare for replanting with such things as you have already in pots, to plunge or set in the naked earth till the next season; as amaranths, canna ind. mirabile peruv. capsicum ind. nasturtium ind. &c. that they may not lie empty and disfurnished.

You may sow some anemonies, keeping them temperately moist.

Continue to cut off the wither'd stalks of your lower flowers, &c. and all others, covering with earth the bared roots, &c.

Now (in the driest season) with lime, brine, pot-ashes (which is the very best of all, because being cast on fine turf it destroys the worms, and improves the grass, which most other applications mortify), and water, or a decoction of tobacco refuse, water your gravel-walks, &c.

to destroy both worms and weeds, of which it will cure them for some years.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Amaranthus, asphodel, antirrhinum, campanula, clematis, cyanus, convolvolus, sultana, veronica purple and odoriferous, digitalis, eryngium planum ind. phaseolus, geranium triste, nocte olens, and creticum, gladiolus, gentiana, hesperis, nigella, hedysarum, fraxinella, lychnis chalcedon, jacea (white and double), nasturt. ind. millefolium, musk-rose, flos africanus, thlaspi creticum, veronica mag. et parva, volubilis, balsam-apple, holy-hoc, corn-flower, alkekengi, lupines, scorpion-grass, caryophyllata omn. gen. stock-gilly-flower, scabiosa, mirab. peru, spartum hispan. monthly rose, jasmine, indian tuberous jacinth, limonium, linaria cretica, pansies, prunella, delphinium, phalangium, periploca virgin, flos passionis, flos cardinalis, yucca, oranges, amomum plinii, oleanders (red and white), agnus castus, arbutus, olive, ligustrum, tilia, &c.

♍ AUGUST

Hath xxxi days — long, 14^h 33^m. —— Sun rises, 4^h 43^m — sets 7^h 17^m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Inoculate now early, if before you began not, and gather your bud of that year. Let this work be done before you remove the stocks.

Prune off yet also superfluous branches and shoots of this second spring; but be careful not to expose the fruit without leaves sufficient to screen it from the sun, furnishing and nailing up what you will spare to cover the defects of your walls. Continue yet to cleanse your vines from exuberant branches that too much hinder the sun. Do this discreetly, lest the fruit shrivel, being too much expos'd.

Pull up the suckers.

Clip roses now done bearing.

Sow radish, especially the black, to prevent running up to seed, pale tender cabbages, cauly-flowers for winter plants, corn sallet, marigolds,

lettuce, carrots, parsnips, turnips, spinage, onions; also curl'd endive, angelica, scurvy-grass, &c.

Strip or tread down onions, and strip the leaves of beets, carrots, parsnips, &c. to improve the roots.

Note, that if plants run up to seed over-hastily (as they will be apt to do, being early sown, and the weather hot), pull their roots a little out of the ground, and lay them along in it somewhat slanting, and clap some mould about them.

Cauly-flowers over-speeding to pome and head (before they have quite perfected their heads) should be quite eradicated, and may be buried in a cellar, or some cool place, both root and stalk up to the very head, and so they will furnish goodly heads, without sun or exposure abroad.

Likewise now pull up ripe onions and garlick, &c.

Towards the end sow purslan, chard-beet, chervil, &c.

Transplant such lettuce as you will have abide all winter.

Gather your olitory-seeds, and clip and cut all such herbs and plants within one handful of the ground before the full. Lastly,

Unbind and release the buds you inoculated, if taken, &c.; likewise stop and prune them.

Pluck up strawberry runners, extirpate the tall stalks, and purge the old tufts and leaves.

Now *vindemiate*, and take your bees towards the expiration of this month, unless you see cause (by reason of the weather or season) to defer it till mid-September; but, if your stocks be very light and weak, begin the earlier.

Make your summer perry and cider. See "Discourse of Cider," at the end of our "Pomona."

Fruits in prime, and yet lasting.

Apples.—The ladies longing, the kirkham apple, john-apple, the seaming apple, cushion apple, spicing, may-flower, sheeps snout.

Pears.—Windsor, sovereign, orange, bergamot, slipper pear, red catherine, king catherine, denny pear, prussia pear, summer poppering, sugar pear, lording pear, &c.

Peaches and Abricots.—Roman peach, man peach, quince peach, rambouillet, musk peach, grand carnation, portugal peach, crown peach, bourdeaux peach, lavar peach, maudlen, minion peach, the peach des pot, savoy malacoton, which lasts till Michaelmas.

Nectarines.—The muroy nectarine, tawny, red roman, little green nectarine, cluster nectarine, yellow nectarine.

Plums.—Imperial, blue, white dates, yellow pear-plum, black pear-plum, white nutmeg, late pear-plum, great anthony, turkey-plum, the jane-plum.

Other Fruit.—Cluster-grape, muscadine, corinths, cornelians *, mulberries, figs, filberts, melons, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Now (and not till now, if you expect success) is the just season for the budding of the orange-tree. Inoculate, therefore, at the commencement of this month, upon seedling stocks of four years growth. And to have excellent buds, cut off the head of some very old orange-tree of a good kind, which making large shoots, will furnish the best.

Now likewise take up your bulbous iris; or you may sow their seeds, as also those of larks-heel, candy-tufts, columbines, iron-colour'd fox-gloves, holly-hocks, and such plants as endure winter, and the approaching seasons.

Plant some anemony roots to have flowers all winter, if the roots escape, and take up your seedlings of last year, which now transplant for bearing. Also plant dens caninus, autumnal crocus, and colchicums. Note, that English saffron may be suffered to stand for increase to the third or fourth year without removing.

You may now sow narcissus and oriental jacinths, and re-plant such

* This fruit is no longer seen in our orchards or at our tables. Phillips says, in his "Sylva Florifera," "The cornelian cherry, *cornus mascula,* is now removed from the orchard to the shrubbery; but in this latter situation it is at present so seldom seen, that many persons do not even know that this beautifully-transparent fruit exists, which flourished in the earliest English gardens, graced the desserts of our forefathers, and furnished their dames with fruit for tarts, rob, and marmalade." Vol. I. p. 185.

as will not do well out of the earth; as fritillaria, hyacinths, martagon, dens caninus, lillies.

Gilly-flowers may yet be slipp'd.

Continue your taking up of bulbs, dry them, and lay them up; lillies, &c. of which before.

Gather from day to day your alaternus seed as it grows black and ripe, and spread it to sweat and dry before you put it up; therefore move it sometimes with a broom or whisk, that the seeds clog not together, unless you will separate it from the mucilage; for then you must a little bruise it wet: wash and dry them in a cloth.

Water well your balsamine fœm.

Most other seeds may now likewise be gather'd from shrubs, as you find them ripen.

About mid-August transplant auriculas, dividing old and lusty roots; also prick out your seedlings. They best like a loamy sand, or light moist earth, yet rich and shaded. You may likewise sow auricula.

Now, towards the latter end, you may sow anemony seeds, ranunculus's, &c. lightly cover'd with fit mould in cases, shaded, and frequently refreshed. Also cyclamen, jacinths, iris, hepatica, primroses, fritillaria, martagon, fraxinella, tulips, &c. but with patience, for some of them, because they flower not till three, four, five, six, and seven years after, especially the tulips, unless you sow the seeds so shallow that they cannot penetrate or sink above an inch or two; which is a secret. Therefore disturb not their beds (but hand-weed them), and let them be under some warm place, shaded yet, till the heats are past, lest the seeds dry; only the hepaticas and primroses may be sow'd in some less expos'd beds.

Now, about Bartholomew-tide, is the only secure season for removing and laying your perennial greens, oranges, lemons, myrtles, phillyreas, oleanders, jasmines, arbutus, and other rare shrubs, as pomegranads, monthly roses, and whatever is most obnoxious to frosts; taking the shoots and branches of the past spring, and pegging them down in very rich earth, and soil perfectly consum'd, watering them upon all occasions during the summer; and by this time twelvemonth they will be ready to remove, transplanted in fit earth, set in the shade, and kept

moderately moist, not over-wet, lest the young fibres rot: after three weeks set them in some more airy place, but not in the sun till fifteen days more. Vide our observations in April and May, for the rest of these choice directions.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Amaranthus, anagallis, lusitanica, aster atticus, blattaria, spanish bells, belvedere, carnations, campanula, clematis, cyclamen vernum, datura turcica, eliochryson, eryngium planum et amethystinum, geranium creticum, and triste. Yellow stocks, hieracion minus alpestre, tuberose hyacinth, limonium, linaria cretica, lychnis, mirabile peruvian, yellow millefolium, nastur. ind. yellow mountain hearts-ease, maracoc, africanus flos, convolvolus's, scabious, asphodils, delphinium, lupines, colchicum, leucoion, autumnal hyacinth, holly-hock, starwort, heliotrop, french marigold, daisies, geranium nocte olens, common pansies, larks-heels of all colours, nigella, helleborus, balsamin. fœm. Lobels catch-fly, thlaspi creticum, rosemary, musk rose, monthly rose, oleanders, spanish jasmine, yellow indian jasmine, myrtles, oranges, pomegranads (double and single flowers), shrub spiræa, agnus castus, the virginian martagon, malva arborescens, &c.

♎ SEPTEMBER

Hath xxx days — long, 12h 37m. ——— Sun rises 5h 41m — sets 6h 19m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Gather now (if ripe) your winter-fruits, as apples, pears, plums, &c. to prevent their falling by the great winds. Also gather your wind-falls from day to day. Do this work in dry weather.

Release inoculated buds, or sooner, if they pinch. You may yet inoculate peaches.

Sow lettuce, radish, spinage, chervil, parsnips, skirrets, &c. cauly-flowers, cabbages, onions, &c. scurvy-grass, anniseeds, &c. And fill your vacant beds with sallading, this month and the next.

Now you may transplant most sorts of esculent or physical plants, &c. Also artichoaks and asparagus-roots *.

Sow also winter herbs and roots, and plant strawberries out of the woods. Set them a foot or more asunder.

Bind up and blanch sellery, chardon, &c. but tie not up in wet weather.

Towards the end, earth up your winter-plants and sallet-herbs, and plant forth your caulyflowers and nursery-cabbages under shelter, for winter store, which were sown in August. Prepare compost (see January); and for trenching and preparing the earth, see "Discourse of Earth," p. 14.

No longer now defer the taking of your bees, streightening the entrances of such hives as you leave to a small passage, and continue still your hostility against wasps, and other robbing insects.

Cider-making continues.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

Apples.—The belle-bonne, the william, summer pear-main, lording-apple, pear-apple, quince-apple, red-greening ribb'd, bloody pippin, harvy, violet-apple, &c.

Pears.—Hamden's bergamot (first ripe), summer bon-chrestien, norwich, black worcester (baking), greenfield, orange, bergamot, the queen hedge-pear, lewis-pear (to dry excellent), frith-pear, arundel pear (also to bake), brunswick-pear, butter-pear, winter poppering, bing's-pear, bishop's pear (baking), diego, emperor's-pear, cluster-pear, messire jean, rowling-pear, balsam-pear, bezy d'hery, pear Evelyn, &c.

Peaches, &c.—Violet peach, admirable, purple peach, malacoton, and some others, if the year prove backwards.

Almonds, &c. Quinces. Figs perfectly ripe.

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* See "Discourse of Earth," p. 38.

Little blue grape, muscadine-grape, frontiniac, parsly, great blue grape, the verjuice grape, excellent for sauce, &c.

Barberries, &c. Melons as yet.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Plant some of all the sorts of anemonies in good, rich, natural earth, especially the latifol. after the first rains, if you will have flowers very forward; but it is surer to attend till October, or the month after, lest the over moisture of the autumnal seasons give you cause to repent.

Now is the most proper season to sow auricula-seeds, setting the cases in the sun till April. (See April.)

Begin now also to plant some tulips, unless you will stay till the latter end of October, to prevent all hazard of rotting the bulbs. Plant daffodils and colchicum.

All fibrous plants, such as hepatica, hellebore, camomile, &c. also the capillaries, matricaria, violets, primroses, &c. may now be transplanted; as likewise iris chalcedon, cyclamen, &c.

Now you may also continue to sow alaternus, phillyrea (or you may forbear till the spring), iris, crown imperial, martagon, tulips, delphinium, nigella, candy-tufts, poppy; and generally all the annuals which are not impaired by the frosts.

Sow primroses likewise. Remove seedling digitalis, and plant the slips of lychnis at the beginning.

Your tuberoses will not endure the wet of this season, therefore set the pots (having laid them side-long to drain) into your conserve, and keep them very dry. It is best to take them out of the pots about the beginning of this month, and either to preserve them in dry sand, or wrap them up in papers, and so put them in a box near the chimney.

Bind now up your autumnal flowers and plants to stakes, to prevent sudden gusts, which will else prostrate all you have so industriously raised.

Now you may take off gilly-flower-layers with earth and all, and plant them in pots or borders shaded.

Crocus will now be rais'd of seeds.

You may yet transplant evergreens, and other rare shrubs of the last month.

Prune pines and firs a little after this Æquinox, if you omitted it in March (much the better season). Vide March.

About Michaelmas, sooner or later, as the season directs, the weather fair, and by no means foggy, retire your choice greens and rarest plants (being dry), as oranges, lemons, indian and spanish jasmine, oleanders, barba jovis, amomum plin. cytisus lunatus, chamelæa tricoccos, cistus ledon clusii. dates, aloes, sedums, &c.* into your conservatory; ordering them with fresh mould, as you were taught in May and July, viz. taking away some of the upmost exhausted earth, and stirring up the rest, fill the cases with rich and well-consumed soil, to wash in and nourish the roots during winter; but as yet leaving the doors and windows open, and giving them free air, so the winds be not sharp and high, nor weather foggy; do thus till the cold being more intense, advertise you to inclose them altogether. Myrtles will endure abroad near a month longer.

The cold now advancing, set such plants as will not endure the house into the earth; the pots two or three inches lower that the surface of some bed under a Southern exposure. Then cover them with glasses, having cloathed them first with sweet and dry moss; but upon all warm and benign emissions of the sun, and sweet showers, give them air, by taking off all that covers them. Thus you shall preserve your costly and precious marum syriacum, cistus's, geranium nocte olens, flos cardinalis, marcocs, seedling arbutus's (a very hardy plant when greater), choicest ranunculus's and anemonies, acacia, ægypt, &c. Thus governing them till April. Secrets not till now divulged.

Note, that cats will eat and destroy your marum syriacum, if they can come at it; therefore guard it with a furse or holly-branch.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Amaranthus tricolor (and others), anagallis of portugal, antirrhi-

* This contains a catalogue of nearly all the green-house plants of the day in which the Author lived.

num, african flo. amomum plinii, aster atticus, belvedere, bellis, campanula's, colchicum, autumnal cyclamen, clematis, chrysanthemum angustifol. eupatorium of canada, sun-flower, stock gil. flower, geranium creticum and nocte olens, gentianella annual, hieracion minus alpestre, tuberous indian jacinth, linaria cretica, lychnis, constant. (single and double), limonium, indian lilly, narciss. pomum aureum, amoris, et spinosum ind. marvel of peru, millefolium (yellow), moly monspeliens. nasturtium indicum, persian autumnal narcissus, virginian phalangium, indian phaseolus, scarlet beans, convolvolus divers. gen. candy-tufts, veronica, purple volubilis, asphodil, crocus, or english saffron, garnsey lilly, or narcissus of japan, poppy of all colours, single and double, malvæ arborescens, indian pinks, æthiopick apples, capsicum ind. gilly-flowers, passion flower, datura (double and single), portugal ranunculus's, spanish jasmine, rhododendron (white and red), oranges, myrtles, balaustia, musk rose, and monthly rose, &c.

♏ OCTOBER

Hath xxxi day — long, 10h 47m. ——— Sun rises 6h 38m — sets 5h 22m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Trench grounds for orcharding and the kitchen-garden, to lie for a winter mellowing *. Finish what you begun the last month.

Plant dry trees: 1. Fruit of all sorts, standard, mural, or shrubs which lose their leaf, and that so soon as it falls; but be sure you chuse no trees for the wall of above two years graffing at the most, sound and smooth †.

Now is the time for ablaqueation, and laying bare the roots of old, unthriving, and over-hastily blooming trees; stirring up new planted grounds, as directed in March.

Moon now decreasing, gather winter-fruit that remains, weather dry; take heed of bruising; lay them up clean, lest they taint. Cut and prune roses yearly, reducing them to a standard not over tall.

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* See "Discourse of Earth," p. 13. † Ibid. p. 39; and "Pomona," cap. 6.

To prevent bruising by windfalls and gusts, now usually hapning, lay some sweet straw under your fruit-trees.

Plant and plash quick-sets.

Remove graffs after the second year, unless dwarfs, which you may let stand till the third.

Save and sow all stony and hard kernels and seeds, such as black cherry, morellos, black heart, all good; pear-plum, peaches, almond-stones, &c. Also nuts, haws, ashen, sycamore, and maple keys; acorns, beech-mast, apple, pear, and crab kernels, for stocks; or you may defer it till the next month, towards the latter end, keeping them dry and free from mustiness, remembering to cover the beds with littier. See Directions in our "Sylva for Forest Trees," and "Pomona," c. 1.

You may yet sow genoa lettuce, which will last all the winter *, radish, &c. Make winter cider and perry. Towards the latter end plant abricots, cherries, plums, vines, winter pears, &c.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

Apples.—Belle-et-bonne, william, costard, lording, parsley-apples, pearmain, pear-apple, honey-meal, apis, &c.

Pears.—The caw-pear (baking), green-butter-pear, thorn-pear, clove-pear, roussel-pear, winter bon-chrestien, town-pear, lombart-pear, russet-pear, saffron-pear, and some of the former month, violet-pear, petworth-pear, otherwise called the winter-windsor, lansac, bearn-pear, admirable, violet peach, ramboullet, paves, &c.

Bullis, and divers of the September plums, the chasselas, and other grapes, pines, arbutus †, &c.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Now your narcissus tuberose, not enduring the wet, must be set into the house, and preserved very dry till April. (See September.)

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* Especially under glass bells, or frames, with a little straw over them, when the hard frosts come; but then touch them not till they thaw, lest you break the glasses.

† The arbutus, or strawberry-tree, was rare in Evelyn's time. This fruit has never been held in estimation in England, although it frequently ripens well in this country. It is common in the markets of Constantinople.

Continue sowing what you did in September, if you please. Likewise cypress may be sown, but take heed of the frost; therefore forbear much clipping. (Vide March.) Also,

You may plant some anemonies *, especially the tenuifolias, and ranunculus's in fresh sandish earth, taken from under the turf, but lay richer mould at the bottom of the bed, which the fibres may reach, but not to touch the main roots, which are to be cover'd with the natural earth two inches deep; and so soon as they appear secure them with mats or dry straw from the winds and frosts, giving them air in all benign intervals, if possible once a day.

Plant also ranunculus's of Tripoly, vernal crocus's, &c. Remove seedling hollyhocks, or others.

Plant now your choice tulips, &c. which you fear'd to interr at the beginning of September; they will be more secure, and forward enough: but plant them in natural earth somewhat impoverish'd with very fine sand, else they will soon loose their variegations: some more rich earth may lie at the bottom, within reach of the fibres (as above). Now have a care your carnations catch not too much wet; therefore retire them to covert, where they may be kept from the rain, not the air, or lay them on their sides, trimming them with fresh mould.

All sorts of bulbous roots may now also be safely buried; likewise iris's, &c.

You may yet sow alaternus and phillyrea seeds. It will now be good to beat, roll, and mow carpet walks and camomile; for now the ground is supple, and it will even all inequalities. Finish your last weeding, &c.

Sweep and cleanse your walks, and all other places, from autumnal leaves fallen, lest the worms draw them into their holes, and foul your gardens, &c.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Amaranthus tricolor, &c. aster atticus, amomums, antirrhinum,

* The observations on planting anemonies, ranunculuses, and tulips, have not been improved upon since the Author's time; and were they more generally attended to, we should see these flowers in greater beauty than the generality of modern gardens present them.

colchicum, saffron, cyclamen, clematis, heliotrops, stock-gilly-flower, geranium triste, ind. tuberose, jacinth, limonium, lychnis (white and double), pomum amoris and æthiop. marvel of peru, millefol. luteum, autumnal narciss. pansies, aleppo narciss. sphærical narciss. nasturt. persicum, gillyfl. virgin phalangium, pilosella, violets, veronica, arbutus, span. jasmine, and yellow ind. jasmine, monthly rose, oranges, myrtles, balaustor, pomegranade.

NOVEMBER

Hath xxx days — long, 8h 52m. —— Sun rises 7h 34m — sets 4h 26m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Carry compost out of your melon-ground, or turn and mingle it with the earth, and lay it in ridges ready for the spring. Also trench, and fit grounds for artichoaks, &c. *

The hot-bed must now supply for sallets, young lettuce, cresses, chervil, &c. and trust not to the accidental mildness of the weather, so as to neglect timely cover to your tender olitories. Shelter fig-trees. Plant also gooseberries, raspis, corinths, and other shrub fruit.

Note, that the leaves fallen in the woods may supply for long-dung, laid about artichoaks and other things, even to the end of March.

Continue your setting and transplanting of trees; lose no time, hard frosts come on apace. Yet you may lay bare old roots †.

Remember in all transplantings to observe the former aspects and quarter of the compass, as of much importance, whatever some fancy. Nor set any deeper than it stood, establishing it against winds. You cannot plant too early in autumn, wind South or West.

To sow moderately dry, plant moist, a general rule; but cover not too thick with earth what you sow, for nature covers nothing. You cannot sow too shallow, so you preserve the seeds from birds.

Plant young trees, standards, or mural ‡.

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* See "Discourse of Earth," p. 38. † Ibid. p. 39. ‡ Ibid. p. 39.

Furnish your nursery with stocks to graff on the following year.

Prepare now stocks for all sorts of fruit. The proper ones are, the crab-stock for standards. For dwarfs, stocks of the paradise or sweet apple-kernel, which are likewise to be had from layers and suckers. Pears, on the pear-kernel stock or sucker. Dwarfs, on the suckers of the portugal quince.

Cherry standards, on the black cherry-stone stock. Dwarfs for walls or palisades, on the morello stock, black heart, or small, bitter, early cherry-stock.

Peaches, inoculate on the peach or plum-stock. If you bud upon the almond, let it be on a stock which has never been removed, and so continue. But the best way to prepare these stocks, see in M. de la Quintinye's Compleat Gard'ner, vol. ii. part vi. p. 172, too long here to be inserted.

Nectarines, on peach, or pear-plum stock. Abricots, on the white pear-plum stocks.

Plums, on plum-stocks. The white and black pear-plum stock are best, and from the stones of damsons, and may all be gotten also from their suckers.

Graff the medlar on the white-thorn or quince stock, near the ground, it will bear the second year.

Figs and mulberries will be propagated by their suckers, cuttings, and layers; of all which see our Treatise of Earth, for their culture in the nursery.

Sow and set early beans and pease till Shrovetide; and now lay up in your cellars for spending, and for seed, to be transplanted at spring, carrots, parsnips, turnips, cabbages, caulyflowers, &c.

Cut off the tops and stalks of asparagus, and cover it with long dung, or make beds to plant in spring, &c.

Now, in a dry day, gather your last orchard-fruits.

Take up your potatoes for winter spending; there will enough remain for stock, tho' never so exactly gathered *.

Ablaqueation now profitable, and to visit the roots of old trees, purge

* This shows how little the cultivation of this excellent root was understood.

the sickly, and apply fresh mould. Cover also your most delicate stone-fruit and murals, skreening them with straw-hurdles, as long as the East and Northern winds continue, even to the end of March, to be sure of fruit. Stand therefore not so much upon the beauty, as for its preservation and production.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

APPLES.—The belle-bonne, the william, summer pearmain, lording-apple, pear-apple, cardinal, winter chestnut, calvil, shortstart, &c. and some other of the former two last months.

PEARS.—Messire jean, lord-pear, long bergamot, warden (to bake)*, burnt-cat, sugar-pear, lady-pear, amadot, ambret, ice-pear, dove-pear, virgoule, deadman's pear, winter bergamot, bell-pear, &c.

Arbutus, bullis, medlars, services.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

Sow auricula seeds thus: prepare very rich earth, more than half dung; upon that sift some very light sandy mould, and the earth gotten out of old hollow willow trees, and then sow. Set your cases or pans in the sun till March or April.

Cover your peeping ranunculus's, &c. And see the advice in March for evergreen seedlings, especially if long snows and bitter winds be feared: prepare, therefore, store of coverings.

Now is your best season (the weather open) to plant your fairest tulips in places of shelter, and under espaliers; but let not your earth be too rich. (Vide October.) Transplant ordinary jasmine, &c.

About the middle of this month (or sooner if weather require) quite enclose your tender plants, and perennial greens, shrubs, &c. in your conservatory, secluding all entrance of cold, and especially sharp winds; and if the plants become exceeding dry, and that it do not actually freeze, refresh them sparingly (see April) with qualified water mingled with a little sheep's or cow-dung. If the season prove exceeding

* The fifteenth Plate of P. Tempest's "Cryes of the City of London, drawne after the Life," and published in the seventeenth century, represents a female carrying a covered vessel on her head, with these words subjoined, "*Hott bak'd Wardens hott.*"

piercing, (which you may know by the freezing of a dish of water or moistned cloth, set for that purpose in your greenhouse,) kindle some charcoals, and when they have done smoaking, put them in a hole sunk a little into the floor, about the middle of it; unless your greenhouse have a subterranean stove *, which moderately and with judgment temper'd, is much to be preferr'd. In the mean time, I could wish that some curious person would make trial of what we have described at the end of this Kalendar. At all other times, when it does not actually freeze, or the weather not rainy or misty, and that the air is warm'd by the beams of a fine day, (and the sun darts full upon the house, without the least wind stirring, shew them the light through the glass windows, (for light is half their nourishment, philosophically consider'd,) but inclose them again before the sun be gone off, if it be inclin'd to frost, otherwise keep open house all night long.

Note, that when, thro' continuance of hard and sharp weather, housed trees grow tainted with mustiness, make fire in your stove, and open all the windows from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon. Then closing the double-shuts, (or chasses rather,) continue a gentle heat, renewing the fire at night only.

Note, that you must never give your aloes or sedums one drop of water during the whole winter; and indeed you can hardly be too sparing of water to your hous'd plants (orange-trees especially); the not observing of this, destroys more plants than all the rudenesses of the season. To know when they want refreshing, consider the leaves: if they shrivel and fold up, give them drink; if pale and whitish, they have already too much, and the defect is at the roots, which are in peril of rotting, and require larger cases. Take also this for a rule, that you are not much to regard the surface mould alone, which will oftentimes be dust, when the earth about the roots is sufficiently

* The heating of greenhouses by means of stoves was not understood at this period, but in the year 1685 this method is noticed by Evelyn, who writes thus in his Diary, 7th August of that date: "I went to see Mr. Wats, keeper of the Apothecaries' Garden of Simples at Chelsea, where there is a collection of innumerable rarities of that sort particularly, besides many rare annuals, the tree bearing jesuits bark, which had don such wonders in quartan agues. What was very ingenious, was the subterranean heate conveyed by a stove under the conservatory, all vaulted with brick, so as he has the doores and windowes open in the hardest frosts, secluding only the snow."

moist; search it, therefore, by thrusting down your hand, and as you find it, govern the watering, for in this secret of seasonably refreshing, consists the health, and even life, of all your hous'd curiosities.

Note, that water made over-rich with dung, and too frequently us'd, is apt to infect the orange-leaves, and those of other rare plants, with a black smut, which must be wip'd off.

If your aloes grow manifestly too dry, expose them a while to the air, when clear, 'twill immediately recover them; but give them not a drop of water, how dry soever their pots be.

House your choicest carnations, or rather set them under a penthouse against a South wall, so as a covering being thrown over them to preserve them in extremity of weather, they may yet enjoy the freer air at all other times.

Prepare also matrasses, boxes, cases, pots, &c. for shelter to your tender plants and seedlings newly sown, if the weather prove very bitter.

Plant roses, althea frutex, lalac, syringas, cytisus, pæonies, &c.

Plant also fibrous roots specified in the precedent month.

Sow also stony seeds mentioned in October.

Plant all forest-trees for walks, avenues, and groves.

Note, that you may transplant not only any fruit trees, but remove almost any of the foresters, even in the midst of summer, if taking the trees up with some mould about the roots, you immediately plunge them into earth made into a pap like mortar, keeping it fresh and under shade, and not suffering the ground quite to dry up and harden till rain comes down.

Sweep and cleanse your garden walks, and all other places, from autumnal leaves, the last time.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Anemonies, meadow saffron, antirrhinum, stock-gilly-flowers, bellis, clematis, pansies, some carnations, double violets, veronica, spanish and indian jasmine, myrtles, musk rose, &c.

♐ DECEMBER

Hath xxxi days — long, 7h 40m. —— Sun rises 8h 10m — sets 3h 50m.

To be done in the Orchard and Olitory Garden.

Prune and nail wall-fruit (which yet you may better defer a month or two longer), and standard trees that are hardy.

You may now plant vines, &c. * Also stocks for graffing, &c.

Sow, as yet, pomace of cider-pressings to raise nurseries; and set all sorts of kernels, stones, &c.

Sow for early beans and pease, but take heed of the frosts; therefore surest to defer it till after Christmas, unless the winter promise very moderate.

Expect no fresh sallet but from your hot-bed †.

All this month you may continue to trench ground, and dung it, to be ready for borders, or the planting of fruit-trees, &c. (See the note in January.)

Either late in this month or in January, prune and cut off all your vine shoots to the very root, save one or two of the stoutest, to be left with three or four eyes of young wood. This for the vineyard.

Now feed your weak stocks.

Turn and refresh your autumnal fruit, lest it taint, and open the windows where it lies, in a clear and serene day.

Fruits in prime, or yet lasting.

Apples.—Rousseting, pippins, leather-coat, winter reed, chestnut apple, apis, fennel apple, great-belly, the go-no-further, or catshead, with some of the precedent month.

Pears.—The squib pear, spindle pear, doyonere, virgin, gascogne bergomot, scarlet pear, stopple pear, vergoules, portail, white, red, and french wardens (to bake or roast), the dead-man's pear, excellent, &c.

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* See "Discourse of Earth," pp. 14, 26.

† See how to make it, and to force asparagus, in M. de la Quintinye, vol. ii. part vi. pp. 169, 181.

To be done in the Parterre and Flower Garden.

As in January, continue your hostility against vermine.

Preserve from too much rain and frost your choicest anemonies, ranunculus's, carnations, &c.

Be careful now to keep the doors and windows of your conservatories well matted and guarded from the piercing air; for your oranges, &c. are now put to the test. Temper the cold with a few charcoal, governed as directed in November; but never accustom your plants to it, unless the utmost severity of the season require; therefore, if the place be exquisitely close, they will even then hardly require it.

Set bayberries, &c. dropping ripe.

Look to your fountain-pipes, and cover them with fresh and warm littier out of the stable, a good thickness, lest the frosts crack them: remember it in time, and the advice will save you both trouble and charge *.

Flowers in prime, or yet lasting.

Anemonies (some), persian and common winter cyclamen, antirrhinum, black hellebore, laurus-tinus, single primroses, stock-gilly-flo. iris clusii, snow flowers or drops, yucca, &c.

For by such a Kalendar it is that a Royal Garden or Plantation may be contrived according to my Lord Verulam's design, *pro singulis anni mensibus*, for every month of the year.

But, because it is in this cold season that our gard'ner is chiefly diligent about preserving his more tender, rare, exotic, and costly shrubs, plants, and flowers, we have thought fit to add the Catalogue as it is (much after this sort) collected to our hands, by the learned and industrious Doctor Sharrock (tho' with some reformation and improvement) of all such as, according to their different natures, do require more or less indulgence. And these we have distributed likewise into the three following classes.

* This was one of the expensive and principal ornaments of the pleasure-gardens of Evelyn's day, and we cannot but regret that it has so nearly disappeared in this country, since it might frequently be introduced so as to add to the charms of the grove, and to the benefit of the parterre.

I. CLASSE.

Being least patient of cold, and therefore to be first set into the Conservatory, or other ways defended.

Acacia ægyptiaca, aloe american. amaranthus tricolor, aspalathus cret. balsamum, helichryson, chamelæa tricoccos, nasturtium indicum, indian narcissus, ornithogalum arab. ind. phaseol. capsicum ind. pomum æthiop. aureum spinosum, summer sweet majoran, the two marums syriac, &c. dactyls, pistacio's, the great indian fig, lilac flo. alb. lavendula multif. clus. cistus ragusæus flo. alb. colutea odorata, cretica, narcissus tuberosus, styrax arbor, &c.

II. CLASSE.

Enduring the second degree of Cold, and accordingly to be secured in the Conservatory.

Amomum plinii, carob. chamela alpestris, cistus ledon. clus. citron, vernal cyclamen, summer purple cyclamen, digitalis, hispan. geranium triste, hedysarum clypeatum, aspalathus creticus, spanish jasmine, virgin. jasmine, suza iris, jacobæa marina, alexandrian laurel, oleanders, limonium elegans, myrtles, oranges, lentiscus, levantine tufted narcissus, gill. flo. and choicest carnations, phalangium creticum, asiatic double and single ranunculus's, narcissus of japan, cytisus rub. canna indica, thymus capitatus, verbena nodi flo. cretica, &c.

III. CLASSE.

Which, not perishing but in excessive Colds, are therefore to be last set in, or rather protected under mattrasses, and slighter coverings, abroad in the earth, cases, boxes, or pots, &c.

Abrotanum mas. fœm. winter aconite, adianthum verum, bellis hispan. calceolus mariæ, capparis, cineraria, cneorum matthioli, cytisus maranthæ, rub. lunatus, eryngium planum totum cæruleum, fritillaria mont. genista hispan. flo. alb. pomegranads, orient. jacinth, bulbous iris, laurels, cherry laurel, lychnis (double white), matricaria (double flo.) olives, pancratium, papaver spinosiss. marcoc, rosemary, sisyrichium, tupentine tree, teuchriummas tithymal. myrtifol. veronica

(double flo.), single violets, lavender, serpentaria trifol. &c. ornithogalum arab. (white and doub.), narcissus of constantinople, late pine apples, moly, persian jasmine, opuntia, or the smaller indian fig, jucca, seseli æthiop, agnus castus, malva arborescens, cistus mas. althæa frutex, sarsaparilla, cupressus, crithmum marinum, &c.

For to these might innumerable others be added; but we conceive them sufficient, and more than (we fear) some envious and mercenary gard'ners will thank us for; but they deserve not the name of that communicative and noble profession. However, this as a specimen of our affection to the publick, and to gratify divers honourable and industrious persons, whose inclination to this innocent toil has made them spare no treasure nor pains for the furniture of their parterres with variety; the miscarriage whereof being sometimes universal to the curious, has made us the more freely to impart both what we have experimentally learned from our own observations, and from others of undoubted candor and ingenuity.

A NEW CONSERVATORY, OR GREEN-HOUSE.

'Tis now after many severe winters observation, both whilst they made use of the ordinary iron stoves, and other inventions, to moderate the sharp air in the Green-house (as they call it), and even since the subterranean caliducts have been introduc'd, I often took notice, that tho' the most tender and nicer plants, such as commonly are brought in out of the air, for their preservation (during the rigid frosts and piercing winds), did out-live and escape those rigorous seasons for the most part, and some of them make considerable advance, producing and maintaining both fruit and flowers; yet, that even the hardiest among them very rarely pass'd their confinements without sickness, a certain langour or taint, discoverable by their complexions: many of their leaves parch'd about their edges, or falling, dry, and depriv'd of their natural verdure, with other symptoms, which can proceed from no other (so likely) cause, as their being kept from breathing (as I presume to

call it) the pure and genuine air, impregnated with its nitrous pabulum, which is not only the nourishment and life of animals, but of all plants and vegetables whatsoever.

This, whilst I could not but impute to the consumption of that inspiring balsamick nouriture, by reason of dry heat emitted from the common stoves, pans of charcoal, and other included heaters, which continually prey'd upon, wasted, and vitiated the stagnant and pent-in air, without any due and wholsom succession of a more vital and fresh supply: it came into my thoughts, that there might haply be found out some contrivance whereby to remedy this inconvenience, with considerable improvement, and no great charge or difficulty; if, instead of that imprison'd and effæte air within the green-house, there might a constant stream of fresh and untainted be let in and issue out as freely, and that so qualified in its intermediate composition (which is another consideration I suspend the mentioning at present) as should be very agreeable to the nature and constitution of the several plants that were to pass their hybernation in the green-house.

Communicating these thoughts to some of the Royal Society* (not only approving but concurring with the proposal), it produced the following Scheme, which I recommend to the curious at adventure, the speculation being, I think, so very rational, and (by some experiments on that element demonstrated) the practice so little chargeable, and the benefit of so great concernment to our gard'ner.

In describing this, I shall not need to say any thing concerning the necessary dimensions or ornaments of the structure: every experienc'd gardener will consider, that of whatsoever length his green-house be, the depth should not much exceed twelve or thirteen feet (tho' as our stove is, and may be contriv'd, it may be of much greater capacity), nor the height above ten or eleven at most. That being placed at the most advantageous exposure to the sun, that side be made to open with large and ample windows or chasses (for light itself, next to air, is of wonderful importance), the joints and glazing accurately fitted and cemented. And (to the end that having occasion at any time to go into

* Sir Christopher Wren, and Mr. Hooke.

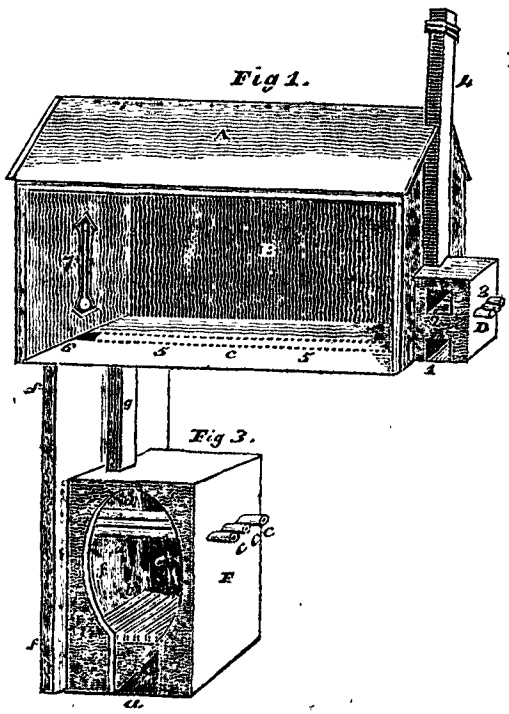
the house, no crude air rush in) I add, that it were convenient a porch were so made that the door of it may shut very close after the gard'ner, before he open the green-house door, which he is to shut again at his going out, before he open the door of the porch at which he entred from abroad. And this may be contriv'd to a small wicket, at the end of the green-house, without being oblig'd to open any of the larger valves and double doors without necessity. This work of the doors, windows, and porch requiring good season'd stuff, and a skilful workman, I pass to the explanation of the following Table.

At one of the ends of the conservatory or green-house ('tis not material whether the East or West) erect on the outside wall your stove, be it of brick, or (which I prefer) of Rygate-stone, built square, of the ordinary size of a plain single furnace, (such as chymists use in their laboratories for common operations,) consisting of a fire-hearth and an ash-hole only; which need not take up above two feet from out to out. Let it be yet so built that the fire-grate stand about three feet higher than the floor or area of the house. The flue, shaft, fire, and ash-hole, to be without, tho' joining close to the end wall, as in *Figure* I. which represents the conservatories inside, with the South side quite open, and stove abroad in the air.

Note, that in the following Plate or Perspective of the Green-house, Fig. I. D. the stove-pipes at 3 are plac'd a little *too low* and near the grate; and somewhat *too high* from it in Fig. 3. *c c c*; easily reform'd in the structure of the furnace.

FIGURES 1. AND 3.

The whole Green-house and Furnace in Perspective.



A. The roof, whether round or flat within.

B. The North blind wall.

C. The area, or floor within.

D. The stove or furnace.

1. The ash-hole. } The mouths
2. The fire-hearth. } of both to be fitted with doors or plugs, for regulating of the heat.

3. The extremities of certain pipes, passing thorow the brickwork and furnace, and projecting both without and within the house.

4. The funnel or shaft applied to the wall without, which carries up both the smoke of the fuel and exhausted air of the green-house, thorow the air-pipe, &c.

5. The air ground-pipe, laid the whole length of the green-house, in the middle of the floor, a little under the ground or pavement thereof, and reaching from end to end.

6. The hole, or opening at the end of the ground pipe, opposite to the stove end; which hole is to be left open, or govern'd with its register, to attemper the air, which entring by the furnace-pipes, circulates thro' this to the grate of the stove, and blowing the fire, issues out of the funnel.

7. The thermometer hanging over the nose of the ground-pipe, by which to govern the heat.

F. Represents the whole stove, or furnace.

a. The ash-hole.

b. The fire-grate.

c c c. The projection of the air-pipes which pass thorow the furnace and green-house end wall into the house.

d d. The air-pipes to be seen as they pass thro' the furnace.

e. The funnel, or shaft.

f f. Part of the end wall of the green-house, thorow which the air-pipes pass, and project their noses.

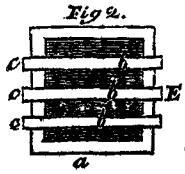


FIG. 2.—E. Represents the furnace air-pipes, and how they are plac'd to pass thro' the fire and brickwork, with the projecture of their noses, to take fresh air from without, and carry it into the house.

a. The frame, or square of brickwork, on which they lie horizontally to receive the heat of the fire.

b b b. The air-pipes.

c c c. The noses of the pipes projecting beyond the brickwork both without and within.

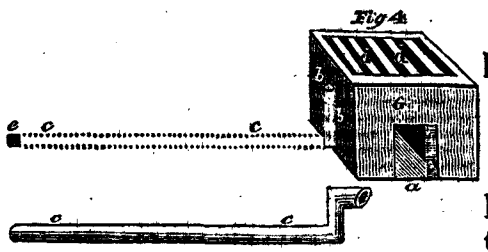


FIG. 4.—G. Represents the ash-hearth.

a. The ash-hole.

b b. One of the ends of the floor-pipe, turning up, and inserted into the ash hearth, within a little of the grate.

c c c c. The ground, or floor pipe, communicating with the inserted pipe *b b.*

d d. The fire-grate.

e. The register at the other end of the ground-pipe.

Thus the fresh air entring perpetually thorow the heated earthen pipes into the conservatory, and as constantly circulating thorow the orifice of the floor pipe, will give continual supply of qualified air and nutrition to the plants, as far as concerns that element; and as they are placed nearer or farther from the noses of the stove-pipes, enjoy the several climates and degrees of warmth which shall be found most natural and agreeable to them.

The best pipes, and only proper for this purpose, are such as are made of the best crucible-earth; for should they be of the best cast iron, a too intense heat of seacoal or charcoal fire would indanger their melting. Let, therefore, the fire be rather constant than vehement.

I doubt not but one single pipe of competent bore would be as effectual as three or four, which should not be of above inch and half bore.

Note, that any sort of fuel whatsoever may be used safely in this stove.

I conclude all with a Catalogue of such excellent Fruit-trees, as may direct gentlemen to the choice of that which is good, and store sufficient for a moderate plantation. Species and curiosities being otherwise boundless, and without end.

[Note, that (M) signifies mural, or wall fruit; (S) standard; (D) dwarf.]

Apples.—Kentish, russet, holland, golden (S), and golden russet pippin, pearmain, Loane's permain, hervy-apple, reinet flat (S), deux-ans, or john, passe-pome, pome apis, cour pendue, calvile of all sorts, golden mundi (excellent), july-flower, queen, marigold, winter queening, leather-coat, chesnut, kirkham, cats-head, juniting (red and white, first ripe), codling (Kentish, &c.) red strakes and genet moyle (cider).

Pears.—Bonne Chrestienne (M) summer and winter, bergamot (ordinary), bergamot de busy, vergoleuse (excellent), poire a double fleure, windsor sovraigne, green-field, boeurie du roy, ambret, chessom, espine d'yever, petit muscat, petit blanquet, blanquet musque (S), orange bergamot, petit rouslet (excellent), cuisse madame, boudin musque, mouille en bouche, brute e bonne, king pear, lewes, bezy d'hery, rouslet de rhemes, vert longue, cussolet, rousslet campagne, petit topin, messire jean, amadot, french king, jargonelle, st. andrew (D), ambrosia, vermilian, lunsac, elias rose, calliot rosat, swans egg, musque robin, golden de xaintonge, poire sans pepin, popering, rolling pear of lewes, madera, hampdens bergamot (S), norwich, worcester, arundel, lewes warden (best without compare), dove, squib, stopple, deadmans (S), winter musque, chesil, catherine (red, king), sugar, lording; red squash, bosbery, and watford (for perry).

Quinces.—Portugal, brunswick, barbery.

Peaches and Nectarins.—Admirable (M), alberge, Sir H. Capels, alberge (small yellow), almond violet, bourdin, belle cheuvreuse, elruge nectarin (excellent), maudlin, mignon, morella, musque

violet, murry nectarin, red roman nectarin, nutmeg (white, red), man peach, newington (excellent), persique, rambullion, syon (excellent), orleans, savoy mala cotton, &c.

ABRICOTS.—Musk abricot, bishop of london, fulham (excellent)(M), orange, great bearer, or ordinary.

PLUMS.—Perdrigon (white, blue), primordial, reine claud (S), and mirabel, white nutmeg (M), pear-plum (white, black), peasecod, prune de l'isle vert, damasq. violet date, catharine, date (S) white, damazeene, damson (white, black), muscle, chessom, imperial, jane, saint julian, queen-mother, morocco, bullas (white, black).

FIGS.—Scio (M) white and purple, blue (D), yellow, dwarf.

CHERRIES.—Carnation (D), Hartlib, duke flander (S), and kentish, black cherry of Sir William Temple (M), black heart (true), black orleans, great bearer, duke, luke ward, morocco, prince royal, petworth amber, croone, bleeding heart, may cherry, begareux, egriot, guynnes, cluster, cologne, Darking wild cherry for wine, excellent.

VINES.—Amboise, frontinac (grizlin excellent, white excellent, blue), burgundian grape, early blue, muscatell (black, white excellent), morillon, chassela, cluster grape, parsley, raisin, bursarobe, burlet, corinth, large verjuice (excellent for sauces and salleting).

GOOSEBERRIES.—Crystal, amber great, early red, english and great yellow.

CORINTHS.—White and red (English, Dutch), black (medicinal).

RASPIS.—White and red (large), black (wild).

MULBERRIES.—Black or red, white virginia, for the silkworm.

BERBERRIES.—Great berberry, berberry, without stones.

STRAWBERRIES.—Common wood, english garden, american or virginian, polonian, white coped, long red, the green strawberry, scarlet, &c.

MEDLARS.—The great dutch, neapolitan, and one without stones.

SERVICES*.—Wild, pear sorb, azerole.

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* This fruit, which is a native of England, is now as little known, and as rare in the London market, as the fruits of the most distant parts of the world; and the service-berry tree is now so thinly scattered over the country, that many farmers do not even know its existence.

WALNUTS.—The early, great double, tender scull and hard, bird-nut.

FILBERTS.—White and red avelans, large hasel, long, thin, and great round nuts.

CORNELIONS.—White, red, &c.

Most of which, and innumerable more, dispers'd (for most part) after the several months in the foregoing Kalendar, were here recited for such as will be contented with a confin'd and choice furniture for their plantations. And such as would not be impos'd upon, will find the best ware and dealing at Brampton Park near Chelsey, cultivated by Mr. Wise, and the joint direction of that excellent gard'ner Mr. London, worthy of his royal title.

A Letter from Sir DUDLEY CULLUM* *to* JOHN EVELYN, *Esq. concerning the lately invented Stove for the Preservation of tender Plants and Trees in the Green-house during Winter; formerly published in the Phil. Trans. Vol. xviii. No.* 212. *p.* 191.

SIR,

I cannot but think my self oblig'd in gratitude to give you an account how well your lately invented Stove for a Green-house succeeds (by the experiment I have had of it), which certainly has more perfection than ever yet art was before master of. Sir, I have pursu'd your directions in laying my pipes (made of crucible earth), not too near the

* Eldest son of Sir Thomas Cullum, Bart. of Hawsted, co. Suffolk. He was educated at Bury school, from whence he removed to St. John's College, Cambridge in 1675. On the death of his father, he resided chiefly at his family seat, being remarkably fond of his garden, into which he introduced most of the curious exotics then known in England; and speaks in particular, in 1694, of his orange-trees, which were then much less common here than at present, as thriving in the most luxuriant manner. His green-house was 58 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 10 feet high. He corresponded with the philosophic gardener and planter, Mr. Evelyn, who directed his botanical pursuits, and whose stove for the preservation of green-house plants he adopted. He died without issue in 1720. See the Rev. Sir John Cullum's Hist. and Antiq. of Hawsted and Hardwick, 4to. 1813.

fire-grate, which is nigh upon or better than sixteen inches; and by making a trench the whole length of my house, under the paving (for the air to issue out and blow the fire), of a convenient breadth and depth (that is, eighteen inches both ways, cover'd with an arch of bricks), and at the other end of the trench, having a square iron plate answerable to that of my paving (which is eighteen inches), to take off and put on, with a round hole at the corner, of about three inches diameter, with a lid to slide open and shut, upon every end of them, as you may have seen upon some porridge-pot covers; so that by opening any of these holes, or all of them, more or less, or taking off the whole plate, I can release such a quantity of air out of the house to blow the fire, so, as to increase or diminish the blasts; and, as you were pleas'd by letter to inform me concerning distributing the air at its admission more equally thro' the house, I have inserted my pipes into a channel all along the wall, at the end of the house, with those several overtures you mention'd. All which, Sir, I assure you, prove most admirably well; and by which free and generous communication of yours, you have most highly oblig'd all the lovers of this hortulan curiosity and recreation, as well as, Sir,

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

D. Cullum.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE TO THE MYSTERY OF JESUITISM.

The following dedicatory Epistle is attached to a presentation copy of the "Mysterion tou Anomias, or another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism," Lond. 1664, 12mo. preserved in the British Museum, and to which the following manuscript note is prefixed on a fly-leaf, by which Evelyn's connection with the work is sufficiently identified: "For my most honor'd friend the hon^{ble} Sr Hen. Herbert, from his most humble servant, J. Euelyn."

To my most honour'd Friend from whom I received the Copy.

Sir,—I transmit you here the French Copy which you were pleased to consign to me, and with it the best effects of your injunction that my weak talent was able to reach to; but with a zeal so much the more propense, as I judged the publication might concern the world of those miserably-abused persons who resign themselves to the conduct of those bold impostors, and who may indeed be said to be what the Athenians mistook St. Paul for, Ξένων Δαιμονίων καταγγελεῖς, *Setters forth of strange Gods**, as well as of strange and unheard-of doctrines, whilst they take upon them thus to attribute as much to *Dominus Deus Papa*†, their *Lord God the Pope*, as to God Almighty himself. I stand amaz'd that a Church which pretends so much to puritie, and that is so furious against the least dissenters to her novelties amongst Protestants, should suffer such swarms of impure insects amongst themselves; lest these cancerous members (instead of edifying the Church and conducting consciences) eat out, in fine, the very heart and vitals of the common Christianity. For my part, after I have seen what Mr. White has lately publish'd‡ concerning the method of the Roman Court in her decrees, and of her rare

* 17 Acts xviii. † Gloss. in Extr. Jo. c. 22. de verborum signif.

‡ Extasis sive Tho. Albii Purgatio.

ability to discern as he there affords us the prospect, I have no great reason to hope for any redress of these enormities: and then to what a monstrous growth this head is like to arrive, let all the world compute by the strange pretences of these audacious sycophants. Nor let any man wonder how those other errors are crept into their religion, who in a day of so universal light permit such pernicious doctrines to be publickly asserted, to the dishonour of our B. Lord, the scandal of his beloved Spouse, and the hinderance of that glorious Unity, which none do more earnestly breathe after then he who subscribes himself, Sir, your most humble and most obedient Servant.

21 *Sept.* 1664.

1665. 2d Jan. This day was publish'd that part of "The Mysterie of Jesuitism*" translated and collected by me, tho' without my name, containing the imaginarie heresy, with 4 Letters, and other pieces.

25th Jan. This night being at Whitehall, his Ma^ty^ came to me standing in the withdrawing roome, and gave me thanks for publishing "the Mysterie of Jesuitism," which he said he had carried two days in his pocket, read it, and encouraged me, at which I did not a little wonder: I suppose Sir Robert Morray had given it to him. See Memoirs, vol. I. pp. 354, 355; and vol. II. p. 100.

Also, 1 March, 1666, we find the following notice: Gave his Ma^ty^ my book, intitl'd, "The pernicious Consequences of the new Heresy of the Jesuits against Kings and States."

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* In the library at Wotton there are three volumes, in duodecimo, upon this subject, uniformly bound in morocco, viz.

1. "Les Provinciales, or the Mystery of Jesuitisme, discovered in certain Letters written upon occasion of the present difference at Sorbonne between the Jansenists and the Molinists, displaying the pernicious maxims of the late Casuists." Second Edition, 1658.

2. The volume to which the foregoing Dedication is affixed is entitled, "Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας, that is, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism, or the new Heresie of the Jesuites, publickly maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the xii of December, 1661, declared to all the Bishops of France, 1664." In a Letter to Lord Cornbury, dated 9th Feb. 1664, Mr. Evelyn states that he undertook the translation of this second part, by command of his Lordship and his father, the Chancellor (Clarendon).

3. "The Moral Practice of the Jesuites, demonstrated by many remarkable Histories of their Actions in all Parts of the World: collected either from books of the greatest authority, or most certain and unquestionable records and memorials." This volume was translated by Dr. Tongue for Mr. Evelyn, and was printed in 1670.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT,

AND

AN ACTIVE LIFE, WITH ALL ITS APPANAGES,

Such as Fame, Command, Riches, Conversation, &c.

PREFER'D TO SOLITUDE;

IN REPLY TO A LATE INGENIOUS ESSAY OF A CONTRARY TITLE.

By J. E. Esq. S.R.S.

Ἄνθρωπος ζῶον πολιτικόν. ARIST. 1. POLIT.

Excute istos, qui quæ cupiere deplorant, et de earum rerum loquuntur fugâ quibus carere non possunt: videbis voluntariam esse illis in eo moram, quod ægrè ferre ipsos et miserè loquuntur. SEN. Ep. XXII.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. M. FOR H. HERRINGMAN, AT THE SIGN OF THE BLEW ANCHOR, IN THE LOWER WALK OF THE NEW EXCHANGE.

1667.

The volume to which the following reprint is an answer, was the production of Sir George Mackenzie, of Rosehaugh, King's Advocate for Scotland, whose numerous works were published with his life at Edinburgh in 1716—1722, in two volumes folio, and was entitled "a Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Publick Employment and all its Appendages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c." Edinb. 1665, 8vo. reprinted in London 1685 and 1693, 12mo.

Notwithstanding the asperity which is usually supposed to be attached to literary and philosophical disputes; and although the ensuing Tract is not deficient of good-humoured and gentlemanly satire, yet the annexed Letters, now first printed from the originals in the Editor's possession, which passed between Sir George Mackenzie and his amiable opponent, shew how little of the spirit of angry disputation was to be found within the breast of either.

Sir George Mackenzie to John Evelyn.

SIR, 5 *Mart.* 1667.

Iff yee had not bryb'd mee with too much compliment (wherby I am becom incapable to be a judge of these your abilities, which wer formerlie too great to be subject to my censure), I had assur'd you that your book is rarely weel writ, and yet yee have shew'd more kyndnesse to morall philosophie, in introducing this civill way of replying, then I have in pleading for these recesses to which philosophie is so oblidg'd. It is strange for ane opposit to shew no passion bot that of kyndnesse, and yee compliment mee to such ane excesse beyond my merit, that I begin to be jealouse that yee magnifie mee only to shew how easilie yee canne vanquish such as deserve praise, and that yee thus attire mee in these titles as the Romans did ther prisoners with riche robbes, that therby they might adorne so much the more these ther triumphs, to which they were destinat as trophees. But, Sir, without enquyring too superstitiuslie into your designs, I shall resolve to returne you no other answer besyds this; and to evidence how much I am proselited by your booke, I resolve to continue in employment, but I hope not so longe as I shall in the resolution of bearing the name and inclinations of

Deare Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. MACKENZIE.

For my honoured friend Master Eveline.

Thus endorsed by J. Evelyn: "Sr Geo. Mackenzie, 5 Mar. 1667, Edenburg, vpon my reply to his booke."

J. Evelyn's Answer.

S^r^,

I had often repented me of the faults you have forgiuen, that is, of my whole booke, 'til this most ciuil lett^r^, which I now receiu'd from you by the favour of Sr R. Muray: because I find, but for that attempt, I had not receiv'd the honour you have don me, by the notice you are pleased to take of y^r^ servant, nor ben so fully assur'd that my hand did not erre, when to describe y^r^ character it assembled all those perfections which make up a consum'ate vertue. S^r^, upon y^r^ acc'pt, I do justifie a victory, and a triumph too, wth no vulgar ambition: but it is to see the acquisition I have made, and to assure you that I will use it with all the modesty and deference which becomes me to a person so infinitely obliging as you are to, S^r^,

Y^rs^, &c.

Lond. 15 *Mar.* $\frac{66}{7}$. EVELYN.

TO THE

HON. SIR RICHARD BROWNE, Kt. and Bart.

LATE RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF FRANCE FOR THEIR MAJESTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, CHARLES I. AND II., GENTLEMAN OF THE PRIVY-CHAMBER, AND ONE OF THE CLERKS OF HIS MAJESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY-COUNCIL, MY MOST HONOURED FATHER-IN-LAW.

SIR,

I AM bold to present this liberal discourse with the greater confidence to you, because, you alone being witness with how little application I have been able to frame it (importuned as I was by several avocations), it may with the better grace presume upon your indulgence; there is this only which I have infinite cause to regret, that the tenuity of the oblation bears so little proportion to the duty, and the service which I owe you; but, though I might happily have oppressed you with a larger volume, I could not with a more illustrious and becoming argument; nor indeed, made choice of a fitter arbiter than yourself to determine between us, who have passed so much of your time in the public service of your Prince and Country, and in a period when a less steady virtue must have succumbed under your temptations. With what fidelity and success you discharged that Ministry, and how honourably you supported the change during the nineteen years space of your honourable character abroad, I leave others to report, and to the great and most illustrious persons of this nation, whose loyalties mingle their glorious misfortunes with yours: I say nothing of your hospitality, and of the civility of your house, which cannot but be gratefully recounted by as many as have made any stay at Paris, and that shall consider the circumstances of those lessning times: and your modesty since your Royal Master's most signal Restauration, has made it appear, that you served him without designe, as esteeming your whole fortune a sacrifice too cheap, to preserve the dignity of a charge in which his Majesties

reputation was concerned. I might here mention the constant asylum which the persecuted Clergy found within your walls upon all occasions, because I have seen the instances, and have heard them frequently acknowledged both to yourself, and to your most excellent lady, when your Chappel was the Church of England in her most glorious estate, at least in the account of Heaven; for she was then the most persecuted Church in the world; but this is already recorded by better * pens. Shall I descend to your other noble and more personal qualifications? That amidst your busie employments for the concern of States, and the interest of Kingdomes, you still held correspondence with the Muses, and conversation wth letters; so as what others know but at a great distance, and by reflection only, you derive from the fountaines themselves, and have beheld what has pass'd in the world from the very summit of Olympus: thus Xenophon, Thycidides, Polybius, Cæsar, and Tacitus, conceal nothing from you who are a critic both in the Greek and the Latine tongues, as well as in all the modern languages: to these I might add the sweetness and comity † of your disposition, the temper of your customes, the sedatenesse of your mind, your infinite contempt of vanity and gilded appearances; and, in short, all those perfections which are the result of a consummate experience, a prudent and just estimation of the vicissitude of things: but I am first to beg pardon for this attempt on your modesty, or rather indeed for this imperfect description of your virtues: but, Sir, I pretend not to oblige you by your character, but the

* Sir, the benediction the Doctor gives to you and yours, in allusion to that which issued from the Ark to Obed. Edoms house, I have a particular obligation to suffrage in, &c.

The publick exercise of our Liturgy, is the antitype we reflect upon, which, by God's singular indulgence to you, hath, when chaced out of the Temple took refuge in your house; so that we have been forced many times to argue from your oratory for a visibility of our Church; your easie admission of me to officiate in it for some moneths, and your endeavours to have such an establishment for me, as whereby, in the most difficult of times, I might have had a comfortable subsistence, and a safe protection under your sacred roof, beside the other graces and civilities I had from you, exact this open retribution of my thanks, &c. to you, whose name and memory must be ever venerable to the English Clergy, as your person hath been most obliging to many of us, &c. See Richard Watson, in his Epist. Dedicat. before Dr. Basiers Treatise of the Antient Liberty of the Britannick Church, and exemption thereof from the Roman Patriarchate, &c. Printed Lond. 1661.

† Courtesy, civility, good breeding, from the Latin *comitas*.

publick by your example; and if that have been the chief design of this little piece to declare it to the world, I attain my purpose. You have obliged me with many signal kindnesses, with a continu'd affection, a profitable and noble conversation, and in a word, with all these in one, with an excellent wife, to make this just acknowledgement, and to subscribe myself, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant, and Son-in-Law,

Says-Court, J. EVELYN.
Feb. 5, 1666-7.

TO THE READER.

I HAVE this request to make, and this account to give of the ensuing Discourse; that, as it was but the effects of a very few hours, a cursory pen, and almost but of a sitting, the Reader will be favourable in his suffrage, and not hastily pronounce against the merits of the cause. I do not speak this to justifie my discretion, that being conscious of my defects, I would presume to engage: let me be look't on but as the forelorn, who though resign'd for lost, do service in the day of battel, and lead on the rest: I dare assure the most instructed for fight, that it will be no disgrace to be o'erthrown by such an hero; who, if I discern rightly of his spirit by that of his style, is too generous to insult over the vanquish'd; and it will be no shame to resigne our arms.

I ingenuously acknowledge, that amongst so many pens as the writers of this age employ, I find not many that are better cut. On the other side, it must be granted, that he has all the topics and discourses of almost all the Philosophers who ever writ; and that, whilst he declares for solitude, I am forc'd to tread the most unfrequented and solitary paths; and if for that reason I have not oblig'd myself to the exactest method, I have yet pursu'd my antagonist, rightly paraff'd and compar'd, who has himself laid down and resum'd as pleas'd him; nor in these prolusive and oratorious contentions, is the liberty without good example: but that which would best of all justifie me, and the seeming

incoherencies of some parts of my discourse, would be the noble authors piece it self, because of the antithesis and the forms of his applications. But, as I said, I do not pretend to laurels and palms, but to provoke some stronger party to undertake our aggressor. The war is innocent, and I would be glad this way of velitation * and short discourses upon all arguments, in which other languages greatly outdo us, might exercise our reasons, and improve the English style, which yet wants the culture of our more Southern neighbours, and to be redeem'd from the province, without wholly resigning it to the pulpits and the theatre, to the neglect of those other advantages which made the Romans as famous for their eloquence as for their armes, and enabl'd them to subdue more with their tongues then with their swords. Let us consider it was but their native language, which they familiarly us'd, and brought to that perfection; and that there is nothing so course and stubborn but is polished by art.

This ingenious stranger for some expressions and some words (yet apt, and well inserted), perswade me he is so (though a subject of his Majesties), will justifie what I aim at; and the felicity which we have of gracefully adopting so many languages and idioms into our own, frustrates all pretences of not infinitely improving it. This was once the design of the Royal Society; and as it was worthy their thoughts, so I hope they will resume it. I add not this, as presuming my self to have attain'd the most vulgar talent of this kind; my business has been only the vindication of an oppress'd subject, and to do honour to employment. In the mean time, 'twere pretty, if at last it should appear that a public person has all this while contended for solitude, as it is certain a private has done for action; but as I perswade myself, if it be so, he has power to retreat from business; I protest I have not the least inclination to it, though for want of a better, I have undertaken this.

The gentleman is pleas'd to call his book but an Essay; mine hardly pretends to so much; which makes me presume he will not judge me uncivil, nor take any thing I have said in ill part, the nature of this

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* Quarrelling or disputing with words, from the Latin *velitatio*.

war consider'd. But if he shall esteem it so important, and think fit to rejoyn, I so far promise to assert his cause, and the just conceptions I have of his rare abilities, that though I would willingly incite some better pen to wait on him, that I may still enjoy the diversion and benefit of his discourses, I will for ever be silent my self, and after all I have said here to the contrary, prefer his SOLITUDE.

J. E.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, &c.

PREFERR'D TO SOLITUDE*.

It was an ill omen to the success of his argument, that *in ipso limine*, the very threshold of his Essay, he should think to establish it upon so wide a mistake as what is derived from the sense of an impious poet, and the sentences of a few philosophers; insinuating, by the unconcerned and inactive life of Him who gives life and activity to all beings, that to resemble God (wherein consists our greatest perfection) we should sit still and do nothing. *Dissolvitur autem religio, si credamus Epicuro illa dicenti* †. Be this our faith, says Lactantius, and farewell religion: and if Memmius be persuaded to gratifie his ease by being made to believe that the supreme Arbiters of our actions would take little notice of them, it was no conclusion to the more illuminated Christian, that, to approach the tranquillity of the Deity, men should pursue their ease, or hide their talents in a napkin. God is always so full of employment, that the most accurate definers of him stile him to be *actus purus*, to denote his eternal and incomprehensible activity, creating, preserving, and governing; alwaies doing justice and giving laws, rewarding the virtuous, and defending the innocent. For what Cicero affirms of the philosophic life, relates to their science, not their solitude; and so, indeed, the conscience of our duty, joined with our performance of it, renders us like our Maker, and therefore rightly inferred by Plutarch, that the lives of great persons should resemble that of the gods, who delight in such actions as proceed from beneficence, and doing good to others; since the contemplation of it alone was superior to all other satisfactions. But what if the same Cicero tell us in another place, that those who do nothing considerable in this world are

* "Feb. 1667. My 'Answer to Sir George Mackenzie on Solitude' was published, intitled, 'Public Employment, and an active Life, with all its Appanages, preferred to Solitude'." Diary, vol. I. 381.

In a Letter to A. Cowley, dated 12th March 1666, printed in the second volume of Memoirs, p. 227, he apologizes for becoming an advocate for that life which he had joined with Mr. Cowley in so much admiring, assuring him he neither was nor could be serious.

† De irâ Dei, c. 8.

to be reputed but as so many dead men in it? *Mihi enim qui nihil agit, esse omnino non videtur*, says he*; and what is yet more remarkable, as it is opposed to what he seems to press from the lazy deity of Epicurus: certainly God that would not permit the world it self to remain in idea only, but published and brought it forth to light by the very noblest of all his actions (for such was its educing out of nothing), and that of seven whole days and nights† reposed but one himself, and has been ever since preserving and governing what he made, shews us by this, and by the continual motion of the stars, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, that to resemble him (which is the sum of felicity) we should alwaies be in action, and that there is nothing more agreeable to his nature. If we have recourse to the mystic theology of the antients, we shall find there also, that even Minerva could not conceive without the operations of Vulcan, which signifies labour and the active life, no more than Jupiter himself; and that Hercules was not admitted into the cœlestial courts, 'till he had first produc'd the trophies of his heroic atchievements. To all this the mythology of the heathens refer; and therefore, doubtless, if beatitude be our *summum bonum* (as all consent it to be), 'twas well said of the philosopher, εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξις ἐστιν, that beatitude was action‡, and that action, by way of transcendancy, was proper only to man.

But to pursue the method of our ingenious author. Whilst he is thus eloquently declaiming against public employment, fame, command, riches, pleasure, conversation, and all the topics of his frontispiece, and would perswade us wholly to retire from the active world, why is he at all concern'd with the empty breath of fame, and so very fond of it, that without remembering the known saying, *Nemo eodem tempore assequi potest magnam famam, & magnam quietem*, would have men celebrated for doing nothing? Verily, there is more of ambition and empty glory in some solitudes, and affected retreats, than in the most exposed and conspicuous actions whatsoever. Ambition is not only in public places, and pompous circumstances, but at home, and in the interior life; heremits themselves are not recluse enough to seclude that

* Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. 2. † Gen. ch. 2. verse 2.

‡ Arist. 7. de Repub. c. 3. Ethic. l. 1. c. 12.

subtle spirit—vanity*: *Gloriari otio iners ambitio est:* 'tis a most idle ambition to vaunt of idleness, and but a meer boast to lie concealed too apparently, since it does but proclaim a desire of being observed. Wouldst thou be indeed retir'd, says the philosopher, let no man know it. Ambition is never buried; repress'd it may be, not extinguish'd.

Neocles, brother to Epicurus, as Suidas tells us, was the father of that wary expression, *Latenter esse vivendum*, whence Balzac assumed it. What says Plutarch? Even he that said it, said it that he might be known. I will not add how severely he pursues it (because our author may be concern'd, that a second impression has, I'm told, transmitted us his name), but if it be the property of those who are excessively ambitious themselves to redargue † the glory and dignity of their corrivals, that they alone may possess it, the resemblance was not inept, which compar'd those decriers of public employment to the slaves in gallies ‡, whose faces are averse from the place to which they tend, and advance forward whilst they seem to go backwards. That which renders public employment culpable is, that many affect greatness, few virtue, for which honours are alone desirable; be good and you cannot be too popular, community makes it better; for permit me to affirm, that there is an honourable and noble ambition, and nothing, I think, which more distinguishes man from brutes, their low and useless apetites; whilest this μικροψυχία, this despising of glory, is the mother of sloth, and of all unworthy actions; well, therefore, did the philosopher assign its contrary, magnanimity §, and even some sort of ambition too, a kind of rank amongst the virtues; and we know *contemptus famæ*, *contemni virtutes*, and that even life it self (if the circumstances be handsome) will be parted withal to preserve it.

But let us suppose the motives why men pursue greatness to be some of the particulars here enumerated; may we not as well affirm Celador flies it for the appendant burthen, and because 'tis expensive, out of closeness and avarice, humour, or want of ability? Some grow sullen and peevish that they be not advanc'd; others are naturally hypocon-

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* Sen. Ep. 78.

‡ Plut.

† To refute, from the Latin *redarguo*.

§ μεγαλοψυχία, Eth. ad Eud. c. 5.

driacs and saturnine, tempers of the basest aloy. But when opulent and great persons (says he) undertake publick charges, the very rabble have so much of prudence as to condemn them for mad; when philosophers, they serve their country, not their inclinations, &c. None, indeed, but the rabble make that judgment; for, being commonly mad, they think all others like themselves; and when philosophers pretend it, it seems by him they cease to be philosophers, and then 'tis no matter what they say. The truth is, men then begin to praise retirement, when either no longer vigorous and capable to act, that their spirits and bodies fail, through age, infirmity, and decay of senses, or when they cannot otherwise attain to what they aspire; which sufficiently justifies the preference of employment, since to be thus happy they must first begin to dote. Nor does the merchant traffick so dearly for solitude, but for his ease, and the difference is wide between them. If to be owner of a stately house, to be bravely furnish'd, to have a fair lady, a rich coach, and noble retinue; if to eat good meat, drink the most generous wine, and make more noise amidst his jolly friends than ever he did either at sea or the camp, be a merchants or a souldiers solitude, who would not desire the pretty retreat which he describes? For this (I take it) 'tis that both merchants plow the seas, that lawyers break their brains, and souldiers fight battels; in sum, to live at ease and splendidly, who before, and whilest employ'd, were the pillars and ornaments of their country. When Cæsar is brought for an instance, *aliquando licebit mihi vivere*, were it possible to wrest it to the sense of this argument, it ought yet so far to disswade us from the pursuit of his example, as 'tis perfectly opposite to an evangelical, as well as moral position. No man (saith St. Paul) liveth to himself*. No man, says Cicero is born for himself. Certainly the great Augustus had learn'd that lesson too well to affect repose for himself only, or with an intention to relax the excellent government which rendred that age of his so happy above others. He knew justice and fortitude were active vertues, and that princes are shepherds, whose function 'tis not to play all day on the pipe, and make love to Amarillis, but to attend to the good of their

* Rom. xiv. 7.

flock. Nor, indeed, should they trifle their hours in giving audience to bouffoons, or sport with apes. Would it become an Emperor, who should march before legions, and give laws to kingdoms, to play with cockle-shells, or be stabbing flyes when Ambassadors are attending him, as Domitian did? For what can this *mihi vivere* less signifie in a Prince, whose greatest glory proceeds from actions, profitable and publick, and to live for others, such as renown'd the memory of this gallant hero? whilest the rest, abandoning themselves to ease, effeminacy, and phantastique pleasures (like Tiberius in his *Capriæ*), became the pity of their age, and the subjects of tragedy and satyr. Cæsar, then, breath'd after retirement for relaxation only, and that he might revert to his charge with the more courage and vigour. Thus Scipio and Lælius went apart, thus Cicero and Varro, and not to sing verses to the forests and rocks, and dialogize with echoes, the entertainments of solitude. Neither does he less erre in preferring it to publick business in respect of dignity, seeing that which takes care for the being of so many societies, is infinitely more honourable than what has only regard to it self; and if his logic hold, *quod efficit tale, est magis tale*, those are most to be reputed happy who render others so, since God and nature come under the consideration. Could his happy man remain in that desirable estate without the active lives of others to protect him from rapine, feed and supply him with bread, cloaths, and decent necessaries? For 'tis a grand mistake to conceive that none are employ'd but such as are all day on horse-back, fighting battels, or sitting in tribunals. What think you of plowmen and artificers? nay, the labours of the brain, that excogitates new arts, and produce so many useful things for humane society, opposed to our gentleman-hawker and hunter, who rises so early, and takes so much pains to so little purpose? A good architect may, without great motion, operate more than all the inferior workmen who toil in the quarries, and dip their hands in mortar. And when the historian had summ'd up a world of * gallant persons who fought bravely for their country, he did not esteem those to be less honourably employed who serv'd it by their counsel. The commonwealth

* Εἰτὶς διὰ γνωώης ὤνησε τινας, εἴτε δι' ὅπλων. Ælian.

is an assembly regulated by active laws, maintain'd by commerce, disciplin'd by vertue, cultivated by arts, which would fall to universal confusion and solitude indeed, without continual care and publick intendency; and he that governs as he ought, is master of a good trade, in the best of poets sense as well as mine:

> Strive thou, brave Roman, how to govern well,
> Be these the arts in which thou dost excell;
> Subjects to spare, and the bold rebels quell *.

For when Epicurus (who chose the private life above all) discourses of publick ministers, he is forc'd to acknowledge that to be at helme is better than lying along in the ship; not as 'tis indeed more honourable and conspicuous alone, but because 'tis more noble *beneficium dare quàm accipere;* and the sentence is of God as well as man; for so the Apostle†, it is more blessed to give than to receive. But 'tis not for nothing that patron of the idle does now and then so much celebrate action, and public employment; since unless *salva fit respublica,* the commonwealth be secure, even the slothful man himself cannot enjoy his sloth.

We may with more justice condemn the ambition of Pyrrhus than derive any advantage from his reply. For my part I think we are obliged to those glorious conquerors for the repose, knowledge, and morality they have imparted to us; when, but for their atchievements and heroic actions, more than half the world had still remained barbarous, and the universe but one vast solitude indeed. The activity of men does best cover their frailties: arts and industry having supplyed that which nature had denyed us; and if felicity consist in perfection, certainly whatever makes us to approch it neerest, renders us most happy. But his wise-mans wit consists, it seems, in repute only. *I had rather be wise than so reputed;* and then this is no more advantage to Solitude than the melancholy and silence he speaks of; the one being the basest of humors, and the other the most averse from instruction, which is the parent of virtue; whilst felicity in this article appears the result of

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* Æn. 6. Tu regere imperio populos ——

† Acts xx. 35.

cheat and imposture, and in making men seem what indeed they are not; whereas active persons produce themselves to the world, and are sooner to be judged what they are by what they do, according to that well known test, *officium indicat virum.* As therefore truth is preferable to hypocrisie, so is employment before this solitude. Had he affirm'd peace was better than war, he had gain'd my suffrage almost to an unjust one; but whilst his antitheta are Solitude and Employment to state the period of felicity, he as widely mistakes, as one that should affirm from the text, that the milk and honey of Canaan dropp'd into the mouths of the Israelites without a stroke for it; whilst it cost so many years travels in the desert, and bloody battels, and that the wisest and happiest men in it, were the most active and the most employed.

To instance in the passion of statesmen breathing after self-enjoyment, and that to possess it a moment, they are even ready to disoblige their dearest interest, is not certainly to commend retirement, but declaim against it. Had David been well employed, fair Bathsheba had washed in her garden securely, and poor Uriah outlived many a hard siege. 'Tis an old saying and a true one, *Quem Diabolus non invenit occupatum, ipse occupat,* the Devil never leaves the idle unbusied; but if nature, inclination, and pleasure vote (as is pretended) for Solitude, even the most contemplative men will tell us, as well as philosophers and divines, that nature is deprav'd, inclination propense to evil; and pleasure itself, if not simply evil, no moral virtue. Publick employment is not unnatural in its ascent, for there are degrees and methods to it; but if ambitious men will needs leap when they may safely walk, or run themselves out of breath when they may take time and consider, the fault is not in the steps but in the intemperance of the person. Those who indeed arrive to greatness by their vices, sit in slippery places, whilst virtue only is able to secure her favourites; and in these sublunar orbs, if men continue humble and govern their passions amidst the temptations of pride and insolence; if they remain generous, chast, and patient against all the assaults of avarice, dissolution, and the importunity of clients; how does such a person's example improve the world, illustrate and adorn his station? how infinitely exceed the miser's diamond and all his tinsell, which shines indeed, but is lock'd up in the dark, and like a candle is set

under a bushell? Men of parts should produce their talents, and not enclosing themselves as conjurors within their circles, raise a thousand melancholy devils that pervert their abilities, and render them, if not dangerous, useless to their generation. Anaxagoras was a wary person, yet he conversed with Pericles; Plato with Dion; Panetius with Scipio; Cato with Athenodorus, and Pythagoras with all the world. Would Philosophers be more active and Socratical, Princes and great men would become philosophers, and states consummately happy; you know who said it. The truth is, 'a wise man is a perpetual magistrate *,' and never a private person; not one city or place, but the world is his dominion; whilst those who introduce the example of Dioclesian and the Fifth Charles, to justifie the honour and delices of Retirement, take for the one a proscribed Prince, whose former tyrannies had deprived him of a kingdom, and his fears of a resumption; and for the other a decrepid old Emperor, whose hands were so unable to manage a scepter, that, as one tells us, he had not strength enough to open a letter; not to insist on his other infirmities and suspicion which induc'd the more impartial historians to write; he did it plainly to prevent an ungrateful violence; or (as others) out of indignation to see himself so far outdone by our English Harry †. Whatever motive it were (for there are more assign'd), so far was this felicity from smiling on those who acted the scene, that the very grimaces of fortune alone so affrighted them from society and the publick, as to unking themselves whilst they were living. I will say nothing of another pageantry resembling this, which has happened in our own times; because the frailty of the sex carries more of excuse with it. But it seems no retreat can secure greatness from the censures and revenge of those they have once injured; and therefore even Solitude it self is not the asylum pretended. But that which can best protect us is, and that certainly is, grandeur, as more out of reach, and neerest to Olympus top. Æleas, the king of Scythia, was wont to say ingenuously, that whilst he was doing nothing, he

* Plato.

† Los degno di veder si soprafar dal Re Arrigo, & altri che esso havea voluto a questo modo schifare la fortuna aversa, &c. See more in Lodovico Dolci's Vita di Carlo V.

differed nothing from his groom; and Plutarch exceedingly reproves this shameful abdication of Princes without cause. What a dishonour (says he) had it been for Agesilaus, Numa, Darius, Pericles, Solon, or Cato to have cast off their diadems, torn their purple, and broken their scepters in pieces for the despondency of a Dioclesian; or to have given place to proud and aspiring boys? How was Caius Gracchus reproch'd but for retiring from his charge a little, though on the death of his own brother? If ever such retreat be justifiable, 'tis when tyrants are at the helm, and the commonwealth in the power of cruel persons. When the wicked (says Solomon) rise, men hide themselves *; then, *bene vixit, bene qui latuit*, if it were not infinitely more laudable, with Demosthenes, even then to be most active, and endeavour its rescue; for things can never arrive at that pass, *ut nulli actioni honestæ sit locus;* 'tis Seneca's inference from the bravery of Socrates, who resisted no less than thirty of those Athenian monsters together; and how many thirtys more our glorious Prince did not desist to oppose, we have liv'd to see in the fruits of our present felicity; and to the eternal renown of that illustrious Duke, who so resolutely unnestled the late juncto of iniquity, *Turpe est cedere oneri*, 'tis a weakness to truckle under a burthen, and be weary of what we have with good advice undertaken; he is neither worthy nor valiant that flies business, but whose spirit advances in courage with the pressure and difficulties of his charge. Were it not gallant advice (says Plutarch) to dissuade Epaminondas from taking care of the army? bid Lycurgus enact no more wholesome laws? and Socrates to teach wisdom no longer? Would you bring vertue into oblivion? should not arts improve? becomes it doctors to be silent? This were taking light out of the world, and pulling the sun from his glorious orbe; would dissolve laws, humane sciences, and even government itself. But he proceeds: had Themistocles never been known of the Athenians, Greece had never given Xerxes a repulse; had the Romans still slighted Camillus, where had that renowned city been? if Plato had not known Dion, Sicily had yet groan'd under tyranny. But as the light not only makes us known to each other, but also ren-

* Prov. xxviii. 28.

ders us mutually useful; so the being public and conspicuous to the world, does not only acquire glory, but presents us with the means of illustrating our virtues; whilst those who through sloth or diffidence never exercise themselves, though they possibly may have good in them, yet they do none.

Indeed the Petalism in Sicily caused the most able statesmen to retire themselves; because they would not be subject to the aspiring humour of those pragmatical spirits who affected a rotation in the publick affairs; by which means experienced persons being laid aside, those pretenders to the politics had in a short time so confounded things together, that the very people who assisted to the change, were the first that courted them to resume their power; abrogating that foolish law which themselves had more foolishly enacted. To the like condition had the Athenian Ostracisme neer reduced that once glorious republic: and what had like to be the catastrophe even of this our nation, upon the same model (when every man forsooth would be a magistrate) sad has been the experience. Men may be employed, though not all as senators and kings; every wheel in a watch has its operation in the movement without being all of them springs. Let every man (says Epicurus) well examine his own genius, and pursue that kind of life which he is best furnished for: if he be of a slothful nature, he is not for action; if active, he will never become a good private man; for as to the one rest is business, and action labour; so to the other *otium* is labour, and activity the most desirable repose.

I am now arrived to the second period, which commences with the anxiety of great and public persons, upon the least subtraction of their past enjoyments. To this I rejoin, that we can produce so many pregnant instances of the contrary, even in this age of ours, as all antiquity can hardly parallel. Never was adverse fortune encountred with greater fortitude and gallantry, than when so many brave men suffered patiently the spoiling of their goods, sequestring their estates, dissipating their substance, imprisoning their bodies, exiling their relations, and all that can be named calamity, to preserve their loyalty and religion. In sum, when our Princes submitted to the axe, and our heroes to the haltar; whilst we beheld people of meaner fortunes and private condition, lovers

of solitude and ease, repining at every inconsiderable loss, prostitute both their honour and conscience to preserve or recover what they but feared the loss of, and this elogy is due to thousands of them yet surviving. I acknowledge that the ambitious person is in his sense a bottomless pit, and that ingratitude and treason are too often pay'd for favour and good offices. Though I have likewise asserted in what circumstances even ambition itself is laudable and may be stiled a vertue; but have private men no thoughts of amplifying their fortunes, and of purchasing the next lordship? Marrying, not to say sacrificing, their children to the next rich heir, and marketing for the portion? Is there not in the best governed families of country gentlemen, as much purloyning, ingratitude, and infidelity amongst their few servants and small retinue (not to mention ungracious and disobedient children), as in the greater economy of a commonwealth, proportionably speaking? Where is there more emulation, contention, and canvasing, than in the remoter villages, or the next good towns? They sell us repose too dearly (says Plutarch *) which we must purchase at the rate of idleness; and adds a pretty instance. If, says he, those who least meddle in publick employment, enjoy the greatest serenity of mind, then should, doubtless, women be of all other the quietest lambs in the world, and far exceed men in peaceableness and tranquillity, since they seldom stir out of their houses; yet we find the contrary so notorious, and this gentle sex (whom so much as the wind dares not blow on) as full of envy, anger, anxiety, jealousie, and pride, as those who most of all converse in publick, and are men of business. And therefore we are not to measure felicity and repose from the multitude and number of affairs, but from the temper and vertue of the subject; besides that, 'tis often as criminal to omit the doing well as to commit evil, and some wise states have accounted them alike. Indeed if all the world inhabited the desarts, and could propagate like plants without a fair companion; had we goods in common, and the primitive fervour of those new made proselites†; were we to be governed by instinct; in a word, were all the universe one ample convent, we might all be contented, and all be happy; but

* De tranq. animi.

† Acts ii. 44.

this is an idea no where existant on this side Heaven; and the hand may as well say, I have no need of the feet *, and the ears I have no need of the eye, as the world be governed without these necessary subordinations. Men must be prohibited all rational conversation, and so come under the category of brutes, to have no appetites besides eating and drinking; no passions save the sensual. I have known as great animosities among the vulgar sort, as much bitterness of spirit, partiality, sense of injury, and revenge upon trifling occasions and suggestions, as ever I observed in the greater and more busied world; 'twas evident that the Lacedemonians were more proud of their mean apparel at the Olympic courses, than the most splendid Rhodians in all their bravery and *clinquant;* and Socrates soon espied the insolence of a slovenly philosopher through his tatter'd mantle. The Cynic in his tub currishly flouted the Eastern Monarch, and despised his purple that secluded him from the common beams of the sun. He ought to be a wise and good man indeed that dares trust himself alone; for ambition and malice, lust and superstition, are in solitude as in their kingdom: *Perit stulto*, says Seneca: recess is lost to a fool, or an ill man; and how many weak heads are there in the world for one discreet person? It was Crates, the disciple of Stilpo, that bid the morose walker take heed he talked not with a fool. Some men, says Epictetus, like unskilfull musitians, sing no where tolerably but in consort; and 'tis noted, that he must have an excellent voice that can charm the ear alone, which renders them so difficult to be entreated. There are few plants that can nourish themselves with their own juice; every man grinds indeed, but the mill that has no corn in it grinds either chaff, or sets fire on it self.

But he declames only against the most conspicuous vices; and every defect in the brightest luminaries is observed, whilest the lewd recesses of Tyberius eclipsed none of his prodigious debaucheries. So true is that of the philosopher †, wherever men abscond themselves, humane miseries or their vices find them out and attaque them. *Multa intus*, says he; many things within enslave us even in the midst of solitude. Were not the greatest philosophers, nay the very fathers of them,

* 1 Cor. xii. 21. † Sen. Ep. 82.

severely taxed for the lowest pleasures, and sins not fit to be named? Seneca himself escaped not the censure of covetous and ambition; Pliny of excess of curiosity; Epicurus of riot; Socrates of pæderastie; Themistocles of morosity; all of them of vanity, contempt, and fastidiousness.

To the instance of great men's submissions to the commands of Princes, be they just or unjust, it holds well, had the discourse concern'd tyrants only and barbarians; but to produce that example of Parmenio and Cleander, is to quit the subject, and borrow the extravagance of a mad-man and a drunkard, to decry princes and statesmen who are the most conspicuous examples of temperance. But I proceed to the *maxime*. If nothing be good which labours of the least defect, then so long as his Celador is not an angel, he does no more come within the first part of the definition, than the greatest and most employ'd person living; and if he insist upon degrees, I answer, he lyes not under the same temptation, and therefore neither can he pretend to approch his merit; but if I prove the most diabolical arts and cursed machinations to have been forg'd by persons of the most obscure condition, and hatch'd by the sons of night, recluse, and little conversant in affairs, I shall infinitely distress that opinion of its virtue or advantage; for being either happy in it self, or rendering others so. The monkes have been so dextrous at the knife, and other arts of mischief, that they have not trembled to make the holy and salutary Eucharist the vehicle of destruction, when they had any kings to dispatch and put out of the way; and have made such havoc of the French Henrys, that but for these solitary birds, those princes might have survived all their sad misfortunes. It was not for nothing that Jeroboham withdrew so long into Ægypt (that kingdom of darkness *) when he contriv'd the defection of no less than ten whole tribes at a clap; and how much mischief, sin, and bloodshed it caus'd, the sacred story has accurately recorded. The blackest treasons have been forged in the closets and gloomy recesses; who is not amaz'd at the very image and thought of the Gun-powder Conspiracy? carried on and excogitated by the devil, and a pack of these

* 1 Kings, chap. xii.

solitary spirits! 'Twas but an Arian Monk and an obscure Jew who first encouraged and instructed that mighty Impostor, occasioning more evil in the Christian church and state than was ever done by all the tyrants since it began; for it spawn'd not only an heresy but blasphemy: razing the Christian name out of almost half the world; and the issues of the cell are to this day conspicuous in the fire and the sword which has destroyed not cities only, but whole empires, and made more fatherless and widows, more desolation and confusion, and done more harm to letters, than can be recounted; nor did the uttermost machination of the greatest person in employment, ever approch what one monk set on foot out of his holy den, that ever I could read in story; and what are all our truculent champions of the Fift-Monarchy amongst us at this day, but so many persons who seem to be the most self-denying people, and the highest affected with solitude and devout enthusiasme, despising honours and public charges, whilst they breathe nothing save ruine and destruction? They are the close, stagnate, and covered waters which stink most, and are fullest of mud and ordure, how calm and peaceable soever they seem upon the surface; whilst men of action and publick spirits, descending as from the highest rocks and eminences, though they sometimes make a noise, have no leisure to corrupt, but run pure and without mixture. There is an heavy woe denounced in Scripture to those who thus settle on their lees *. Physicians tell us the body is no longer in health than the bloud is in motion and duely circulates, action is the salt of life, and diligence the life of action. All things in Heaven are in motion, and though 'tis there only that we can promise repose to our selves; yet neither dare I say, we shall do nothing there, since the admiration of the beatifical vision will certainly take up and employ all our faculties, and set them in operation; nor whilst we shall there be in perpetual ecstasie, shall we live to our selves, but to God alone. There is then, doubtless, no such thing as rest (unless it be that from earthly toil, anxieties, and the works of sin, which is that repose mentioned by the Apostle); since action is so essential to our lives † that it constitutes our being; and even in all

* Zeph. i. 12.

† Hebrews, iv. 9.

theory and contemplation it self, there is a kind of action, as philosophers do universally agree.

Let it be confess'd, the Court is a stage of continual masquerade, and where most men walk *incognito;* where the art of dissimulation (which Donna Olympia has named the Keys of the Vatican) is avow'd; yet it cannot be deny'd but there are some in that warm climate too, as perfectly sincere as in the country; and where virtue shines with as much lustre as in the closest retirement, where, if it give any light, it is but in a dark-lanthorn; and to be innocent there, where there is so much temptation, is so much the greater merit. Believe it, to conserve oneself in Court is to become an absolute hero; and what place more becoming heros than the Courts of Princes? for not only to vanquish armies in the field, defend our country, and free the oppressed, are the glorious actions of those demi-gods; but to conflict with the regnant vices, and overcome our selves, greater exploits than the winning of enchanted castles and killing of gyants; for what violence must be apply'd to be humble in the midst of so much flattery; chast amongst such licence, where there is so much fire, and so much tinder, and not to look towards the fruit which in that Paradise is so glorious to the eye and so delicious to the taste? What a disposition to purity to come forth white from the region of smoke, and where even the stars themselves are not without their spots! In sum, not to fall into the nets which the noon-day Devils spread under our feet, above our heads, and about us; and who pursue those that flye, and bear down those who resist. But, as I said, if the difficulties be so great, how much greater the glory? Whilst pretending to no such temptation in his solitude, there is less exercise for his virtue; it being rather a privation from evil, than any real habit to good. Certainly, there is not in the country that admirable simplicity pretended, nor do they altogether transact with that integrity. For is there not among them as much iniquity in buying and selling? as much over-reaching in the purchase of a cow, or a score of sheep? as much contention about the encrochment of a dirty fence? as much regreating with the farmer, keeping up the price of corn, when the poor are starving? How many oaths and execrations are spent to put off a diseas'd horse? Have we not seen as

much ambition and state where the country Justices convene on the market-days at the petty towns, to have the caps and the knees of the bumkins? as much canvassing for suffrages and voices? not to insist on the prodigious debauches, drinkings, emulation, and perjuries at elections; and even greater pride, deadly feud, railing, and traducing, amongst the she-Pharisees, or little things of the neighbourhood, for the upmost place in the church pew, or at a gossiping-meeting, as at court, and in the city, between the ladies of the best quality? and all this while we grow weary of the publick, and resolve against employment, and the sound of affairs, repenting of the lost moments that are past in conversation; and yet, in every cave and every cottage there is a chair for ambition, and a bed for luxury, and a table for riot, though Hell be raining out of Heaven. And it may be observ'd, that we do not hear the least evil of Lot, or the virtue of his daughters, whilst they liv'd in the midst of Sodom* it self, 'till abandoning even his little Zoar to his more solitary and cavernous recess, he fell into those prodigious crimes of ebriety and incest. Verily, that is truly great to retire from our vices, not from cities or conversations. If you be virtuous, let your example profit; if vitious, repent and amend. Strive not so much to conceal your passions as to reform them; for little do solitary persons profit, without a mind adapted for it; wise men only enjoy themselves, not the voluptuous or morose; and I have seen some live discontented even in houses of pleasure, and so in their solitudes, as if none were more full of business.

When he celebrates recess for the little it wants, he gratifies the Cinick; he could attribute as much to his tub, and the treen dish that he drank in, which was all the house and furniture we read of; and an owl and a pelican want as little as the philosopher; but he does not say by this that solitude is fertile; it is not from the abundance that it supplies them, but from its sterility and defects, which, if it be a commendation to that, is so to nothing else in nature.

He proceeds again to the passions of great men, which are, indeed, more conspicuous, as lightning and thunder are amongst the meteors,

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* Gen. xix. 32.

and in the air; but we do not take notice of the corruscations, conflicts, and emotions, which are every day in the bowels of the earth. How impatient and unjust are some of your country gentlemen to their domestics? how griping to their tenants? how unnatural to their children, and uncivil to their wives? Pardon me these reflections, he has compell'd me; and it is for your justification (O ye great ones!) that I find my self obliged to produce these odious comparisons; whilest I could give Celador's friend such an example in our first Charles, of blessed memory, Philip the Second of Spain, Alphonso of Arragon, and divers of the later Emperors, for acts of the highest patience, fortitude, devotion, constancy, and humanity, as would shame all the pretenders to moral vertues, in his so celebrated retirements and private persons. With what constancy, spirit, and resignation, did our royal Martyr unjustly suffer from the machinations of the most insolent and implacable of his vassals, is not certainly to be parallel'd by any thing posterity has recorded, save that grand exemplar, our blessed Saviour, who was a King too, but more than man; from whose emulous pattern he has transmitted to us, not only all the perfections of the most innocent private persons, but the vertues of the most eminent Saints. He was imprison'd and revil'd, spit on and injuriously accused; he was arraign'd, and, by a barbarous contradiction, condemn'd and despoil'd of three kingdoms, by the most nefarious parricide that ever the sun beheld, and that before his own very palace. Tell me yet, you admirers of solitude, in what corner of your recesses dwelt there a more excellent soul, abstracted from all the circumstances of his birth and sacred character, and considered only as a private person? Where was there a more sincere man in his actions? a more constant devotee to his religion? more faithful husband to his wife? and a more pious father to his children? in a word, a more consummate Christian? Look on him then as a King, to be superlatively all this, and all that a good and a most vertuous Prince can be to his subjects, and you have the portraicture of our Charles opposed to all the petty images of your solitary gentlemen, and decryers of publick employment. One day that Philip the Second had been penning a tedious dispatch, importing some high affair of state, which employed almost the whole day, he bid the secretary that

waited by him to throw some dust on the paper; he, instead of the sand, snatching up the ink-bottle, poured it on all the letters; the King, taking a large sheet of clean paper, wrote it *verbatim* over again, and when he had finished, calmly delivering it to the confounded secretary, bid him dry it: but, says the Prince, take notice that this is the ink, and this the sand-box; which was all the reproof he gave him. I instance in this (because of the rest of those vertues I have enumerated there are such volumes of examples) to put to silence all that can be produc'd upon the account of that passion which is so frequently charg'd on great persons, but which, indeed, upon the most trifling occasions, use to discompose the most retired persons. And what if amongst these, besides many others, I should instance in S. Hierome himself, and other fathers of the church, as recluse and private as they were known to be religious.

As to the comparative exemption of solitude from vice for the want of opportunity, the advantage is very slender, since (with what I have already furnish'd to evince it) it implies only what monsters it would else produce; and indeed the most formidable that were ever hatch'd have thence had their original, as I have abundantly prov'd by the dark and infernal machinations of solitary persons; so as his happy man seems at best to be but a starv'd or chained lyon, who would do mischief enough had he liberty, and a power equal to his will. 'Tis instanc'd in the madness of some few heathen Emperors; but he passes by the salutary laws promulg'd by them for the universal good. Nor were there so many debauch'd and vicious of the Roman heretofore, but I can name you as many Christian Princes, religious to miracle, and without reproach, if what is already said be not sufficiently irreplicable. As for the rest, whatever they might once have been in their ascent, it was said of Cæsar, that either he should never have aspir'd to dominion, or, having once attain'd it, been immortal; so just, so equal, and so merciful, was his successive reign. Never was it pronounc'd of any private person, that he was a man after God's own heart; but we may know it was so of a King, and that from the Almighty himself. And not to mention Hezekias, Josias, Jehosaphat, and many others recorded in holy writ, I durst oppose an Augustus, a Titus, a Trajan, Antoninus,

Aurelius; to omit Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, Charles the Great, S. Edward, S. Lewes, both the Alphonsos, and divers more of the crowned heads, before any or all he can produce. It's true they all dyed not in their beds; no more do all in his solitude; for they often hang themselves, linger in consumptions, break their necks in hunting, inflame themselves with tipling, perish of the unactive scorbut, country agues, and catharrs. And if he speak it out who they were that stabb'd the two Henrys, and our gallant Buckingham whom he mentions, it must be avow'd they were all murther'd by private persons. But whilst he is thus exact in recording all the vices of ill princes, because the spots in the sun are so easily discern'd by his optic, he takes no notice of the light it universally diffuses, and is silent of the virtues of the good and the beneficent, who have both in all ages rewarded, cherished, and protected, gallant men. But when he shall have passed through all the examples of the great ones who are come to ruine and destruction, he does not examine how many private men, gentlemen and others, remain in any one country, whose patrimonial estates are not impair'd by as trifling contests, neglects, prodigality, and ill husbandry, as any he charges upon those eminent persons.

If solitude be assistant to religion and devotion, how much more is society? "Where two or three are assembled together in my name there am I in the midst of them*." I know no text where acts of religion are commended for being solitary. It is true, our blessed Saviour went apart into desart places† to avoid the importunities of a malicious and incredulous people, but he was tempted there‡; and though he sometimes retired to pray, and which was commonly in the night§, when conversation with the world was less seasonable, he was all day teaching in the temple, or continually going about doing good‖, and healing all manner of diseases among the people¶, giving counsel to and instructing his disciples, whom he dispersed over the world to evangelize his holy doctrine**. We are indeed bid to offer up our prayers to our Heavenly Father in secret, and to do our almes without a trumpet††, not because

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* Matt. xviii. 20. † Luke, ix. 10. ‡ Matt. iv. 1. § Luke, vi. 12.
‖ Luke, xxi. 37. ¶ Matt. iv. 23. ** Mark, xvi. 15. †† Matt. vi. 2, 6.

it adds to the dignity of the service, but to avoid the temptation of hypocrisie, and because we have infirmities; whilest we are yet in another place commanded to render our works so illustrious, that both men may see them, and God may have the glory *. Certainly the most instructive motives to religion are from our imitation of others, and the incentives of devout congregations, as they approach the neerest resemblance to the church catholick militant here on earth, so doubtless do they to the communion of Saints triumphant in Heaven. Is there, then, no devotion save in conventicles and cells? and yet even the most recluse Carthusians spend eight hours of the twelve in divine offices together. The commendation of a true Christian consists in doing, not in meditating only; and it were doubtless an admirable compendium of all our notional disputes in religion, if less were believed and more were practised. 'Tis true, Mary's sitting at the feet of our Saviour, and hearkening to his instructions, was preferr'd before busie Martha's employment; but the man who laid up his master's talent, and actively improv'd it not †, did worse; she was gently reprov'd, he severely condemn'd.

But he adds, that most temptations are in solitude disarm'd of the chains which render them formidable to us in publick, as there wanting the presence of an inflaming object, &c. But what, if I sustain that absence does oftentimes augment the passion he speaks of, and that our fansies operate more eagerly when alone, than when we are possess'd of the object?

> Nor is there half so warm a fire
> In fruition as desire;
> When we have got the fruit of pain,
> Possession makes us poor again;
> Sense is too niggardly for bliss,
> And pays as dully with what is:
> Whilst Phancy's liberal and gives all
> That can within her largeness fall, &c.

Thus we are ever the most inquisitive after mysteries and hidden

* Matt. v. 16.

† Luke xix. 20. and Matt. xxv. 26, 30.

things, whilest those we enjoy, we neglect or grow weary of. But I proceed. The most superstitious of men have been the greatest Eremites, and besides the little good they do by their example, there is not in the world a life more repugnant to nature, and the opportunities of doing our duty; since even the strongest faith without works will not save us. For how can he that's immur'd perform those acts of misericord, which shall be so severely exacted of us at the last judgment; to feed the hungry, visit the sick, cloath the naked *, unless it be in the mock sense of St. James—"depart in peace, be you warmed and filled †," whilst they give neither meat nor cloaths to refresh the miserable? But I am altogether astonished at his instance in David again, as prompted to his lust and murther by the ill fate of his publick character; when 'tis evident had he been employ'd, or but in good company, he had never fallen into so sad a crime. Let it be remembered that he was alone upon the battlements of his palace, and then all the water in Bathsheba's fountain was not cold enough to extinguish his desires ‡; so mighty a protective is society from that particular temptation, that even the presence of a child has frustrated an opportunity of being wanton. If it were God's own verdict, that to be alone was an evil state §, how come we to have Adam's society blam'd? for even Adam, he says, could not live innocent a day in it. But, besides that the short duration of his felicity is but a conjecture, I have some where read, that but for Eve's curiosity, which prompted her to stray from the company and presence of her husband, the serpent (as subtle as he was) had never found an opportunity to tempt her. He was indeed too easily enticed by her example, and no marvel God had forsaken his sweet associate, and then the first effects of both their shame and disobedience was their dark retirement ‖. Doubtless there are many heinous sins which company preserves us from; for it is a shame to speak of some things which are done by men in secret.

I suppose it was no widow (as he speaks her to be) who so hospitably entertained the great Elisha, but a married lady, and of an ample

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* Matt. xxv. 35, 36. † Ja. ii. 16. ‡ 2 Sam. xi. 2.
§ Gen. ii. 18. ‖ Gen. iii. 10.

fortune; for the text* calls her a great woman; and we find her speaking to her husband in another place, concerning the building and furniture of the prophet's chamber; nor does the answer she return'd him at all imply her wants, she plainly needed nothing that the court could confer upon her, only an heir she wanted to inherit; she lived amongst her people, and had company enough; and verily we shall find the solitude of the same prophet to be the effect of a persecution, not of his preferring it before society; and we meet the holy man much oftner at court, in the camp, at the colledge, and perpetually employ'd, than either in the mountains or in the wilderness. But let us grant that some devotions are best performed in our closets, yet does the life of a christian consist only in wearing the marble with our knees? I have already shew'd that there are works of charity that can no where be so well performed as in company; nor can I assent that the being alone contributes half so much to our zeal as the examples of conversation. How frequently does David repeat his ardent affections, and address to the tabernacle and the great congregation †? and though the country round about Sinai were a howling desart ‡, yet had it at one time in it no less than six hundred thousand fighting men together §, whereof the most devout were the most publickly employed; witness Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, Phineas, &c. which being but in the minority and pupillage of the church, were all this while but preparing for God's publick worship, and the constitution of a people in the world the most busie and employed.

To the text in Hosea ii. 14, where God says he will "comfort his church in the wilderness," I oppose his innumerable sweet compellations under the type of the daughter of Zion, which was a great and most eminent part of that populous city, and that glorious accession of the Gentiles described by Isaiah ||. The tabernacle was indeed for a time in the wilderness; but neither did that, nor the extraordinary presence of God in it, restrain a rebellious people from committing more crimes and insolences in it in forty years, than in four hundred before, when they

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* 2 Reg. viii. 1. † Psalm xxii. 22. xxxv. 18. ix. 11. ‡ Deut. xxxii. 10.
§ Numb. i. 46. || Chap. lx. 3.

dwelt in the cities of Ægypt; for (as the Psalm) "Lust came upon them in the wilderness, and they tempted God in the desart *." It is well known that the first occasion of the monastical life, was because men could no longer live quietly in the more frequented places, by reason of the heat of persecution, and yet even in their remotest recesses, he that looks into St. Hieroms description of it † shall find that they were so near to one another, that they were almost perpetually in company; nor does any, I think, consider the stories of Onuphrus, Anthony, Simon Stylites, and the rest of that spirit, but as hypocondriacs, singular persons and authors of much superstition and unprofitable severity. The invasion of the Gothes on the Roman Empire, drove multitudes of those holy persons to these *Latebræ*, and the present distress (to use St. Paul's expression ‡) might sometimes be a sufficient argument to recommend, if not prefer the *cœlibate* before the conjugal estate, and the barbarity of that age to the extraordinary mode of living which, from compulsion and a certain cruel necessity, became afterwards to be of choice and a voluntary obligation. But does he think to derive any force to his darling solitude, from the servile and busie occupations which none, save Heathens and Mahometans teach, shall be among infernal torments? Turks and scoffing Lucians may possibly broach those fancies of the impertinent employments of Alexander and Cæsar in the other world; but I presume he takes them but for the dreams of that philosophical drol, and to have no solid foundation besides their scoffing and Atheistical wits. He is now pleased again to imagine that there is nothing which does more prevail with men to affect grandure, than what he thinks due only to phantasms and ghosts; though Fame be indeed a bubble in the estimation of those who are not much concerned for the future, I find yet how impossible it was for him to secure any praise to solitude it self by the neglect of it; whilest he so carefully has consecrated to posterity the names and elogies of so many as seemingly despis'd it, on purpose to obtain it; but this stratagem is very thin and transparent;

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* Psalm cvi. 14. † Passim in Epist. ‡ 1 Cor. vii. 26.

for such as he mentions not, I presume never were, and those he does record, have purchas'd more by that artifice than if they had continu'd men of the busiest employment. Charles the Fifth and the rest he enumerates, being more celebrated for their supposed voluntary abdication (whatever the true motives were) than for all the most glorious passages of their former reigns; but however these great men are beholden to their patron, I confess the pedants (as he calls them) and the poets are not less obliged to him for the power he attributes to them of being able to make great whomsoever they please; but those persons, I should think, to have little merited of posterity, whose memory has no other dependance than their ayrie suffrages; when it is from the sober pens, and the veritable memoires of grave and faithful historians, that the heroick lives of deserving men receive life and immortality after death. Let the pedants and the poets then celebrate the soft and weakest circumstances of the reignes of those princes they would justifie; the pens of great and illustrious authors shall eternize those who persever'd in their grandure, and publick charges to the end; for such were Xenophon, Polybius, Tacitus, Livy, and even Cæsar himself, besides many others, as well of antient as modern times, from whose writings we have received the noblest characters of their virtues; and if it be retorted, that whilst they actually writ, they were retired, I grant it; but if men had not done things worthy writing, where had been either the use or fame of what they so bravely acted and transmitted to posterity? In the mean time I acknowledge, that the greatest empire is to command one's self, and that the courts of princes have alwaies had this of ungrateful to generous souls, that they but too frequently subject gallant men to caparison'd asses; gay, but vitious or insipid. Princes are not always happy in their choice of favourites; but it is not universally so, and that it is in the breast of the same prince to turn them off, or lay by the counters, to advance good men, and bring virtue into reputation; these external submissions may the better be supported, for wise men do not bend the knee to the beast (we have the example of Mordecai*) but to the shrine it bears,

* Esther iii. 2.

as those who adored Isis upon the back of the animal that carried it, and so the sunne may shine upon a dung-hill unpolluted, and thus it shall be done to the man whom the king is pleas'd to honour; which though it denotes obedience in the observer, does no real dignity to the recipient, nor can they themselves but believe it, with some useful reflection, as oft as they see a respect paid them, which they must needs be conscious to themselves they do not deserve. I cannot, therefore, accuse the deferent of so much adulation, as praise him for his obedience, so long as he offers no divine or consumptive oblations to the idol, and offends not God; for there is certainly no man, meerly by being a courtier, obliged to imitate their vices, or subject themselves to the unworthy complyances he would insinuate; since in that case, a fair retreat is alwaies in one's power; and if on that score, or the experience of his personal frailty, he be prompted to it, how infinitely more glorious will be the example of his quitting those specious advantages, which can neither be conserved or attain'd without succumbing under a temptation? And when he discourses of society, instancing in the trifling conversation of idle persons and knights of the carpet, who consume their precious moments at the feet of some insipid female, or in the pursuit of the pleasures of the lower belly, I heartily assent. There are a sort of bouffoons and parasites which are the very excrements of conversation, as well in country as courts; and to be therefore treated as such, wip'd off, and cast from us; and there are worthier diversions for men of refin'd sense, when they feel themselves exhausted with business, and weary of action. Certainly, those who either know the value of themselves or their imployments, may find useful entertainments, without retiring into wildernesses immuring themselves, renouncing the world and deserting publick affairs; and when ever you see a great person abandon'd to these dirty and mean familiarities, he is an object of pity, and has but a little soul; nothing being more true, *Noscitur ex socio, qui non cognoscitur ex se*; but, God be thanked, the age is not yet so barren of ingenuous spirits, but that man may find virtue with facetiousnesse and worthy conversation, without morosity to entertain the time with; he has else been strangely unhappy in his acquisitions, who is to seek for good company to pass an hour

with, if ever he sought one of the sweetest condiments of life: and doubtlesse, did great persons but once taste the difference which is between the refined conversation of some virtuous men, who can be infinitely witty, and yet inoffensive; they would send some of their familiars with a dog-whip out of their companies; because a "man of honour (to use Job's expression *) would disdain to set them with the dogs of his flock;" for after their prostituted and slavish sense and contrivances are spent upon the praise or acquisition of some fair sinner, or the derision of what is more excellent then themselves, to supply their want of furniture, fill their emptinesse, and keep up a worthy and truely recreative and profitable conversation, they degenerate into flatness and shame, and are objects rather of pity then envy. Men of businesse do not sell their moments to these triflers; conversation should whet and adorn our good parts, and the most excellent endowments both of nature, industry, and grace, would grow dull and effete without culture and exercise; let men chuse their company as they ought, and let them keep as much as they please; it is but to sit on a bright place, and the camelion it self is all shining; men will contract both colour and perfume from the qualities of their associates; this made Moses's face to glister, and the conversation of good men as well as bad, is alike contagious.

But 'tis objected, that "familiarity creates contempt." I reply, it was never seen, amongst those who know truly what it signified: 'tis one thing to be civil and affable, useful, and accessible, without being impudent, rustick, or cheap in our addresses. They skill little of the pleasure and delices of a worthy friendship, who know not how to enjoy or preserve it without satiety; that's left to the meaner sort, and was indeed not to have been instanc'd in so generous a discourse. There is no better means to preserve our esteem with others, then by setting a value on our selves.

To what's alledg'd of the variety private persons enjoy in their own cogitations, and the reading of other men's books, so much superior to conversation, and the reading of men; one of the greatest book-writers

* Job xxx. 1.

in the world will tell you *, that should a man ascend as high as Heaven it self, not by contemplation only but ocular intuition, and survey all the beauty and goodly motions of the starrs; it would be little delight or satisfaction to him, unlesse he had some body to communicate his speculations to—*Sic natura solitarium nihil amat;* whence he nobly infers, how highly necessary conversation is to friendship; and that he must certainly be of no good nature, who does not prefer it before all other enjoyments of life whatsoever. We know who it is has pronounced the *væ soli*, and how necessary God has found the conjugations of mankind †, without which nor had the earth been inhabited with men, nor heaven fill'd with saints. Solomon says, "Two are better than one, and a threefold cord is not easily broken ‡;" and Plutarch tells us, that of old they were wont to call men *Phota*, which imports light; not only for the vehement desire which there is in him to know and to be known; but (as I would add) for it's universal communication; there being few of whom it may be affirm'd, as 'twas of Scipio, that he was never lesse idle than when alone, and which, as the Oratour has it, do *in Otio de negotiis cogitare, & in solitudine secum loqui.* But thus did those great persons neither affect nor use it, other than as the greater vessels and beaten ships after a storme, who go aside to trim and repair, and pass out again: so he, *tanquam in portum*, and therefore by that master of eloquence, infinitely preferr'd to those who quite retir'd out of business for ease and self-indulgence only. Seneca, in his book *De Otio Sapientis*, totally condemns this cogitative virtue, as a life without action, an imperfect and languishing good; and in the same chapter, why does a wise man retire himself but as a bow is unbent, *ut cessanda majora;* instancing the recess of Zeno and Chrysippus, whose very repose was, it seems, more busie than other men's actions; but let us hear him speak: what, says he! "Solitude makes us love our selves, conversation others; the one to comfort, the other to heal; the one allays, the other whets and adds new vigour: nothing pleases alwaies;" and therefore God who has built us for labour, provides us

* Cic. de Amicit.

† Eccles. iv. 10.

‡ Eccles. iv. 9. 12.

also with refreshment. Socrates himself was not ashamed to play the child with children; severe Cato took sometimes a chirping cup; and Asinius Pollio diverted himself after pleading; and the wisest Legislators ordain'd holy-days, and some grave men took their pastime at dinner, or walking in their gardens, and among their facetious friends, when the greatest persons laid off their state, constraint, and other circumstances which their characters obliged them to personate; but they did never grow angry with business, and depose themselves, for *multum interest, remittas aliquid an solvas*, there's a wide difference 'twixt relaxation and absolute relinquishing; and to imagine that great persons have little repose, when 'twixt every stroke of the anvil the very smith has leisure to breathe, is an egregious mistake. The compas which moves in the largest circle has a limb of it fix'd to the center; and do we think that honour, victory, and riches (which render all things supportable, besides the benefits which it is in the power of great ones to place on worthy persons,) are not pleasures equal to all other refreshments of the spirits? For my part, I believe the capacity of being able to do good to deserving men so excessive a delight, that as 'tis neerest to the life of God himself, so no earthly felicity approches it. Wherefore wisely (says Plutarch) did the ancients impose those names upon the Graces, to shew that the joy of him that does a kindness, exceeds that of the beneficiary; many (says he) blushing when they receive favours, but never when they bestow them.

As for books, I acknowledge with the philosopher, *Otium sine literis**, to be the greatest infelicity in the world; but on the other side, not to read men, and converse with living libraries, is to deprive ourselves of the most useful and profitable of studies. This is that deplorable defect which universally renders our bookish-men so pedantically morose and impolish'd, and in a word, so very ridiculous; for, believe it, Sir, the wisest men are not made in chambers and closets crowded with shelves, but by habitudes and active conversations. There is nothing more stupid than some of these μουσοπάτακτοι, letter-struck men; for Γράμματα μαθεῖν δεῖ καὶ μαθόντα νοῦν ἔχειν; learning should not do men ill

* Seneca.

offices. Action is the proper fruit of science, and therefore they should quit the education of the colledge when fit to appear in business, and take Seneca's advice, *Tamdiu istis immorandum, quamdiu nihil agere animus majus potest; rudimenta sunt nostra, non opera;* and I am able to prove, that persons of the most publick note for great affairs, have stored the world with the most of what it knows, even out of books themselves; for such were Cæsar, Cicero, Seneca, both the Plinys, Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Xenophon, Polybius, not to omit those of later ages, and reaching even to our own doors, in our Sidney, Verulam, Raleigh, the Count of Mirandula, Scaliger the father, Ticho Brahe, Thuanus, Grotius, &c. profound men of letters, and so active in their lives, as we shall find them to have managed the greatest of publick charges, not only of their native countries, but some of them of the world it self. Ælian has employed two entire chapters expressly to vindicate philosophers from the prejudices and aspersions of those (who like our antagonist) deem'd the study of it inconsistent with their administration of publick affairs. There he shews us that Zaleucus both constituted and reformed the Locrian Republick *; Charondas that of Catana, and after his exile that of Rhegium; the Tarentine was exceedingly improv'd by Archytas; Solon governed the Athenians; Bias and Thales much benefited Ionia, Chilo the Lacedemonians, and Pittacus that of Mitylena; the Rhodians Cleobulus; and Anaximander planted a colony at Apollonia from Miletus; Xenophon was renowned for his military exploits, and approv'd himself the greatest captain amongst all the Greeks in the expedition of Cyrus, who with many others perish'd; for when they were in a strait for want of one to make good their retreat, he alone undertook and effected it; Plato, the son of Ariston, brought back Dio into Sicily, instructing him how he should subvert the tyranny of Dionysius; only Socrates indeed deserted the care of the Athenian Democracy, for that it more resembled a tyranny, and therefore refused to give his suffrage for the condemning those ten gallant commanders, nor would he by any means countenance the thirty tyrants in any of their flagitious actions; but when his dear country lay at stake, then he

* Var. Hist. l. 3, c. 17.

cheerfully took up arms, and fought bravely against Delium, Amphipolis, and Potidea; Aristotle, when his country was not only reduc'd to a very low ebb, but almost utterly ruin'd, restored her again; Demetrius Phalarius govern'd Athens with extraordinary renown till their wonted malice expell'd him; and yet, after that, he enacted many wholesome laws, whilst he sojourn'd with King Ptolomy in Ægypt. Who will deny Pericles the son of Xanthippus to have been a most profound philosopher? or Epaminondas, Phocion, Aristides and Ephialtes the sons of Polymnes, Phocus, Lysander, and Sophonidas, and some time after Carnedas and Critolaus? Who were employ'd Embassadours to Rome, and obtain'd a peace, prevailing so far by their eloquence and discreet behaviour, as that they us'd to say, the Athenians had sent Embassadors not to perswade them to what they pleased, but to compel them. Nor can we omit Perseus his knowledge in politics, who instructed Antigonus; nor that of the great Aristotle, who instituted the young, but afterward great Alexander in the study of letters; Lysis, the disciple of Pythagoras, instructed Epaminondas. I shall not need to importune you with more recitals (though he resumes the same instances in the 14th chapter of his 7th book) to celebrate the renown of learned men for their knowledge and success in armies, as well as in civil government, where he tells us of Plato's exploit at Tanagra, and many other great scholars; but shew you rather how he concludes: He (says Ælian, for it seems there were some admirers of solitude before our days,) that shall affirm philosophers to be ἀπράκτους, unfit for publick employment and businesse, talks childishly *, and like an ignorant: and Seneca† gives so harsh a term to those who pretended that publick affairs did hinder the progresse of letters and the enjoyment of our selves, that the language would be hardly sufferable from any save a stoic: *Mentiuntur*, says he: "Wise men do not subject themselves to the employments they undertake, but accommodate and lend themselves to them only." So as our antagonist could not have chosen a topic lesse to the advantage of Solitude, or the humour of his happy Celador, whilst being confin'd to speculation and books alone, he deprives himself of

* Ἄνθη. † Ep. 62.

that pleasing variety which he contends for. These great men were men of action, and men of knowledge too, and so may persons of the busiest employments, were they as careful to improve their time and opportunities as those glorious heroes were; which puts me in mind of what I have heard solemnly reported, that 'tis an ordinary thing at Amsterdam to find the same merchant, who in the morning was the busiest man in the world at Exchange-time, to be reading Plato or Xenophon in Greek, or some other of the learnedst authors and poets, at home in the afternoon. And there is no man (says my Lord Bacon) can be so straitned and oppress'd with businesse and an active course of life, but he may reserve many vacant times of leasure (if he be diligent to observe it, and how much he gives to play, insignificant discourses, and other impertinences,) whilst he expects the returns and tides of affairs; and his own example has sufficiently illustrated what he writes, those studies and productions have been so obliging to the learned world, as have deservedly immortaliz'd his name to posterity.

But he proceeds, and indeed ingenuously acknowledges, that men of letters are in constraint when they speak before great persons and in company: and can you praise solitude for this virtue? Oh prodigious effect of learning, that those who have studied all their lives-time to speak, should then be mute, when they have most occasion to speak! *Loquere ut te videam*, said the philosopher; but he would have men dumb and invisible too; the truth is, 'tis the only reproch of men of letters, that, for want of liberal conversation, some of them appear in the world like so many fantasmes in black, and by declining a seasonable exerting of themselves, and their handsome talents, which use and conversation would cultivate and infinitely adorn, they leave occasion for so many insipid and empty fopps to usurp their rights, and dash them out of countenance.

Francis the First, that great and incomparable prince (as Sleidan calls him), was never brought up to letters, yet by the reading of good translations, the delight he took to hear learned discourses, and his inviting of scholars to converse freely with him upon all subjects and occasions, he became not only very eloquent, but singularly know-

ing; for this doubtless it was, that Plutarch compos'd that express treatise amongst his morals, *Philosophandum esse cum Principibus*, where he produces us several rich examples of these profitable effects; and indeed (says one) a philosopher ought not to be blam'd for being a courtier, and that we now and then find them in the company of great and opulent persons; nor imports it that you seldom see their visits return'd, since 'tis a mark he knows what he wants of accomplishments, and of their ignorance, who are so indifferent for the advantages they may derive from their conversations. But I might proceed and shew you, not only what makes our learned book-worms come forth of their cells with so ill a grace into company, but present you likewise with some of the most specious fruits of their so celebrated recesses; were it not better to receive what I would say from the lively character which Seneca has long since given us of them. In earnest, marvellous is the pains which some of them take after an empty criticism, to have all the points of Martial and Juvenal *ad unguem*, the scraps of the ancient poets to produce upon occasion. Some are for roots, genealogies, and blazons; can tell you who married who, what his great grandfather was, and the portion that came by his aunt. This was of old (says Seneca *) the epidemical disease for men to crack their brains to discover how many oars Ulysses gally carried; whether it were first written Ilias or Odyssea; and a profound student amongst the learned Romans would recount to you who was the first victor at sea; when elephants came into use at triumphs; and wonderful is the concern about Caudex, for the derivation of Codices, Caudicarius, &c.; Gellius or Agellius, Vergilius or Virgilius; with the like trifles that make men idly busie indeed, not better; yet are these amongst the most considerable effects and rare productions of recess, solitude, and books, and some have grown old in the learning, and been greatly admired for it; but what says our philosopher to it? "*Cujus isti errores minuent? cujus cupiditates prement, quem fortiorem, quem justiorem, quem liberaliorem facient?*" Who's the better, less covetous, more valiant,

* De Brevitate Vitæ.

just, or liberal, for them? I tell you Fabianus preferr'd ignorance before this unprofitable science; and certainly therefore useful and public employment is infinitely superior to it; if need we will be learned out of books only, let it be in something more useful; *qui fructuosa, non qui multa scit, sapit;* for 'tis no paradox to affirm a man may be learned and know but little, and the greatest clerks are not alwaies the wisest men. The Greek orator* gives us this description of usefully knowing men. "Reckon not those (says he) for philosophers, whom you find to be accurate disputants, and that can contest about every minute scruple; but those who discourse pertinently of the most important affairs, who do not entertain men about a felicity to which they can never arrive; but such as speak modestly of themselves, and neither want courage nor address on all emergencies, that are not in the least discomposed with the common accidents of life, but that stand unshaken amidst all vicissitudes, and can with moderation support both good and adverse fortune; in sum, those who are fit for action, not discouraged, or meditating retreat upon every cross adventure;" to this purpose the orator: but neither would I by this be thought to discountenance even this kind of erudition, which, more than any other, is the effect of solitude and very great leisure, not to call it pedantry, much less bookish and studious persons, who would prove the most dear to princes and great men of all other conversations, had they such generous encouragements as might sometimes invite them to leave their beloved recesses, as did those great philosophers whom we have brought on the stage; but we bestow more now-a-days in painting of a scene, and the expense of a ridiculous farce, than in rewarding of the poet or a good historian, whose laurels no longer thrive and are verdant, than they are irriguous and under showers of gold, and the constellations of crowns, for which they give immortality even to crowns themselves. For what would there remain of so many pyramids and obeliscs of marble, so many amphitheaters, circi, colosses, and enormous pomps, if books and bookmen, *ære perenniores,* did not preserve them to posterity? If under Heaven then, there be any thing great that ap-

* Isocrates.

proaches eternity, it is from their hands who have managed the pen. 'Tis from their labours (ye great ones) that you seek to live, and are not forgotten as the dust you lie mingled with. Never had we heard of Achilles but for poor Homer; never of the exploits of thousands more, but from the books and writings of learned men, who have it in their power to give more lustre to their heroes than their crown and purple; and can with one dash of the pen, kill more dead, then a stab with a stiletto.

There is no man alive that affects a country life more than my self; no man it may be, who has more experienc'd the delices of it; but even those without action were intollerable. You will say it is not publick. If it contribute and tend to it, what wants it but the name and the sound? for he does not mean by business to reside only in lanes or courts; since without that of the country, there would be neither court nor city; but if he would have this life spent only in theory and fancy, extasie and abstractions, 'twere fitter for bedlam, and a potion of hellebor, then for sober men, whose lives and healths, wits and understanding were given them for action, and not to sit with their arms a crosse, and converse with shadows; whilst the fates of Pythagoras, Archimedes and Pliny, whose curiosity cost them their lives, may well be ranked amongst those whom he is pleas'd to name the nobly senselesse, as far indeed transported beyond themselves, as they had transported themselves beyond the world; but

It is after he has celebrated the pedant for being inchanted at the story of Pompey, that he again introduces the Country Gentlemen, whose easie and insignificant life is preferr'd before that of the happiest favourite; and can be as well pleased with a few bawling currs, or what he calls an happy chase, as with the acquisition of the most useful office in the state. But does he call this solitude and recesse? 'Tis exceedingly pretty what Seneca* observes of Servillus Vatia, who, it seems, had long retired himself to the most pleasant part of the Baiæ: there it was (says he) that this gentleman pass'd his time, and had never been known but from his famous solitude: no man eat nor drank

* Ep. 55.

better: he had rare fish-ponds and parks (I suppose he kept good hawks and excellent dogs), in sum, he was thought the only happy man; for arrive what would, as to change in the Commonwealth, Vatia still enjoy'd himself; and *O Vatia* (they us'd to say) *tu solus scis vivere:* for my part (adds my author) I never pass'd by his house, but I cry'd *Vatia hic situs est;* "Here lies Vatia," esteeming him as dead and buried, whom others thought the only man alive: but he proceeds; There are a number* (says he) who seem to have abandon'd the world, that are as full of businesse in their villas and rural retirements as other men who live in towns and cities, and trouble themselves extreamly in their very solitude: though there be no body with them, yet are they never in repose: of these we must not say their life is idle, but an idle occupation. Do you fancy him retired that goes a madding after medals and curiosities, and spends his time in raking a tinker's shop for a rusty piece of copper? or that is dieting and breathing his jockies for the next running match? or that consumes his time trifling amongst barbers, razing and sprucing himself, powdering, combing, and summoning a council upon every hair; raging like an Hector at a slip of the scissars, or a lock out of curl; and of which sort of wretches are some who had rather see the commonwealth out of order than one of their hairs: call you these retir'd and at rest, who are so eternally *inter pectinem speculumque occupati?* or those who are alwaies humming or whistling of a tune as they go about? These persons (says Seneca) are not in repose, but impertinently active. If at any time they make a feast, there's nothing more pretty than to observe, but the grave consultations about plaiting of the nappery, ordering the plate and glasses, and setting out the services: O how sollicitous shall you have them, that the courses come up in time; that the fowl be skilfully carv'd, and the sauces exquisitely made! and all this forsooth that men may say, such a one knows how to treat, lives handsomely, and at his ease, &c. when, God knows, all this while they are of all other in the most miserable anxiety. There were of these soft and retir'd gentlemen, that had their officers to mind them, when 'twas time to go to supper, and aban-

* De Brevitate Vitæ, c. 11, 12.

doned themselves so prodigiously to their ease, that they hardly knew when they were hungry. I read of one of them, who when he was lifted out of his bath, and put on his cushion, asked his attendant whether he sate or stood, and was so buried in sloth that he could not tell it without witnesses. Such another we have in Stobæus, that was wont to demand of his men if he had wash'd, and whether he had din'd or no? 'Twere endless to proceed with the like instances of retir'd persons, and who seem to be so full of self-enjoyment, and yet whose very pleasures are of the lowest and sordid'st actions of our life. What shall we then say of our lazy Gamesters, who sit long at the cards, the wine, and the smoke, without a grain of sense from dinner to midnight? because they are all of them slothful diversions, inactive, and opposed to publick employment; since those who are qualified with business, and have any thing to do in the world, cannot part with such portions of their time to so little purpose: by all which we see, that ease and solitude presents us with some pleasures that are not altogether so fit for our recreation, and as little suitable to our reason and stoical indifferency; nor seldom less dangerous and ridiculous in their objects than the most publick employment: for I find that one of the chief prerogatives of our happy-man (and whom by a contradiction to his argument, he thinks ill-defin'd by being termed a little world) is by the advantage of his recess to mould ideas of a thousand species, never yet in being; and, to use his own expression, produces more monsters than Africa itself; more novelties than America; to fancy building navies, courts, cities, and castles in the air.

On the other side, do we think that men of business never vacate to admire the works of Nature, because they possess so many works of Art? I have sufficiently shew'd how competent philosophy is with publick employment; and instanc'd in as great persons as ever the world produc'd; and yet I said nothing of Moses, learn'd in all that Ægypt knew *; nor of Solomon, to whom God gave wisdom † and understanding exceeding much; that spake of trees and plants; of beasts, fowls, fishes, and reptiles; those fruitful subjects of natural experience; and

* Acts vii. 22. † 1 Reg. iv. 29—33.

as to that of Astrology, and those other parts of Mathematics which he mentions, we have deriv'd to us more science from princes, Chaldean, Arabian, and Ægyptians, than from all the world besides. The great Cæsar was so skilful, that with admirable success he reformed the year, when to perfect that sublime knowledge he was wont (even when his army lay in the field) to spend so much of his time in studious pernoctations.

———media inter prælia semper
Stellarum, Cœlique plagis, superisque vacârit.—LUCAN.

Alphonsus, the tenth King of Spain was author of those tables which adorn his memory to this day: and Charles the Second, Emperor of Germany, was both a profound astronomer and great mathematician; arts which have been so conspicuous and lucky in princes and men of the most public employment; as if those high and lofty studies did indeed only appertain to the highest, and most sublime of men.

But if the unmeasurable pursuit of riches have plung'd so many great ones into vices, and frequently become their ruine; we may find more private persons, who neither built, feasted, nor gam'd, as greedy and oppressive; defrauding even their own bellies, and living in steeples, squalid cottages, and sordid corners, to gratifie an unsatiable avarice; and that have no other testimony to prove they have liv'd long, besides their ease, their avarice, and the number of their years. None to appearance more wise and religious than these wretches, whose apology is commonly their declining of power, and contempt of worldly vanities. The sole difference which seems to be between them is, that the great rich man disposes of his estate in building some august fabrick or public work, which cultivates art, and employs a world of poor men that earn their bread; and that the other unprofitably hoards it up: besides, that covetousness seldom goes unaccompanied with other secret and exterminating vices. But the wisest of men has said so much, and so well concerning this evil under the sun, that I shall only need address you to his book of Vanities. As for the recreative part of solitude, which he again resolves here into hunting, hawking, angling, and the like, would any man think it in earnest, when he undertakes to oppose them to an useful and active life? But even as to these also, who is fit more to

enjoy them than those that can best support them? whereas they are pleasures which for the most part undo private persons, and draw expences along with them, to the ruine of some no inconsiderable families.

For the rest which he mentions as sinful and of so ill report, I cannot suppose that all great men affect them, because I know of many who detest them; nor that all private persons use them not, because I know of too many which do.

The greatest persons of employment are frequently the simplest and plainest in their apparel, and enjoy that prerogative above the meaner sort, that they can make their ease the mode, and can adopt it into fashion without any note of singularity. Herein, therefore, I suppose they are worthy of imitation; for I suppose he will not rank the gallants of the anti-chambers and Hectors of the town amongst the *garbati* and men of fashion in the sense of his essay. For my part, I take no more notice of these gay things than of so many feathers and painted kites that the giddy air tosses about, and therefore cannot so much as consider them in a paragraph. The same may I affirm of food as of cloaths; for though great men keep noble tables (or at least should do), yet no man constrains them to intemperance, and if they be persons of real employment indeed, they will procure as good an appetite to their meat as those who thrash, and do the most laborious exercise; and the affairs of many are so methodical and regular, that there is nothing more admirable than their excellent oeconomy, besides the honour of their hospitality, which I take to be an evangelical and shining virtue*; not to prætermit the benefit which even a whole country receives by liberal tables, for so the grazier and the farmer are made able to pay their rents, assist the publick, and support their families.

So that when he has done all, and run through all the topics of his promising frontispiece, turn'd it to all sides and lights, he is at last, I find, oblig'd to acknowledge, that publick employment and an active life is at least necessary, nay, preferable, even in his own estimation of it. For if (as he says) it be the object of our duty, it is un-

* Rom. xii. 13. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 8. 1 Pet. iv. 9.

doubtedly to be preferr'd before our choice, since the depravedness of our nature renders that (for the most part) amiss. We seldom elect the best.

He would have men in employment, only he would have them drawn to it (like bears to the stake), or never to serve their country till it were sinking; as if a statesman or a pilot could be made on an instant, and emerge a politician, a Secretary of State, or a souldier, like Cincinnatus from the plough; but no man certainly is made an artificer so soon. *Nemo repentè*, says the proverb, and I suppose there is required as much dexterity, at least to the making of a statesman, as to the making of a shooe, and yet no man sets up that mystery without an apprenticeship. The truth is, and I confess, this petulant and hasty pretending of men to places of charge in the commonwealth, without a natural aptitude, a previous and solid disposition to business, is the bane of states. Men should not immoderately press into employment; 'tis a sacred thing, and concerns the well-being of so great a body, as nothing can be more prejudicial to it than the ignorant experiments of state emperics and new counsellors, though I do not deny that some young persons are of early hopes, and have in all ages been admitted to no mean degrees of access. Augustus, Tyberius, and Nero, enter'd very young into affairs, and Pompey we know triumphed betimes. Let men be early great on God's name if men be early fit for it; they shall have my vote. And 'twas very wittily said of one of the Scipios (who was another young gentleman of early maturity), *se sat annorum habiturum, si P. Ro. voluerit*, that he should soon be old enough if the people pleas'd; and accordingly the people thought fit to send him general into Spain, which he reduc'd into a Roman province by his valour and discretion, when so many older men refus'd the charge, for the difficulty of the enterprise and the miscarriage of their predecessors. Great men, therefore, should not, like overgrown trees, too much shade the subnascent plants and young imps, who would grow modestly under their influence; but receive, protect, and encourage them, by inductive opportunities and favourable entrances, to inform and produce their good parts, preserving the more arduous difficulties to the aged and more experienc'd. This noble and worthy comity of great men in place,

Plutarch has much commended in that excellent discourse of his, *An seni gerenda sit Repub.* But, as I said, it became not every one to aspire; so I cannot but pronounce it glorious to those who are accomplish'd for it, and can be useful to their generation in the most important affairs, and alleviation of the common burthen. But if all wise persons who have qualified genius's, cannot attain to be (as it were) intelligences in these sublimer orbs of publick administration, let them gratifie themselves yet with this, that (as the philosopher says) every virtuous man is a magistrate, and that Seneca, Zeno, Chrysippus, and infinite others, have done as much for the publick by their writings and conversation only, as the greatest politicians of their times; and withal consider, how difficult a province he assumes who does at all engage himself in publick business: since if he govern ill he shall displease God, if well, the people. At least call to mind the prudent answer of Antisthenes, who, being demanded *quomodo ad Rempub. accedendum*, how he should address himself to publick affairs, reply'd as to the fire: neither too neer, for fear of scorching, nor yet too far off, lest he be starv'd with cold. And I confess the suffrage is so axiomatical with me, that I know no mediocrity I would sooner recommend to a person whom I lov'd; whilest as to an absolute and final retreat, though it appear indeed great in story, provided the resignation be not of compulsion, I should in few cases approve the action; 'tis (as Seneca has it) *ex vivorum numero exire antequam morieris*, to die even before death, and as afterward he adds, *ultimum malorum.* Counsel is with the gray head*; and for the man whom experience in publick affairs has ripen'd and consummated to withdraw aside, præsages ill. With reverence be it spoken, no man putting his hand to that plow, and looking back, is fit for so high a service †.

I know not whose advice it is, that since governors of states and men of action, favourites and prime ministers, cannot always secure themselves of envy and competition ‡, they should so order circumstances as sometimes to hold the people in a kind of appetite for them, by letting them a little feel the want of their influence and addresses to solve and dispatch the weighty and knotty affairs of state. For thus did the

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* Job. xii. 13. † Luke, ix. 62. ‡ Plutarch præc. de Repub. regend.

African Scipo retire into the country to allay his emulous delators, and some others have more voluntarily receded, but frequently without success; for as envy never makes holiday, so nor does distance of place protect men from her malignity; and therefore Seneca * does some where describe with what flying colours men of business (even in the greatest infelicities of times, and when, it may be, there is a kind of necessity of more caution) should manage their retreat from action. But in the mean time, let those who desire to take their turns attend, in the name of God, till it fairly invites them. I am not for this præposterous rotation suggested in our essay; 'twas born to Oceana, and I hope shall never manage the Scepter, save in her romantick commonwealth; since, should great men foresee their employments were sure to determine in so short a space, the temptation to rapine and injustice (which he there instances in) would prove infinitely more prejudicial. Frequent changes of officers are but like so many thirsty spunges, which affect only to be fill'd, and invite to be squeez'd; and therefore 'twas wittily insinuated by the apologue, that the fox would not suffer the hedge-hog to chase away the flies and ticks that sucked him, lest when those were replete, more hungry ones should succeed in their places. But the rest is clos'd with a florid apology for ease (not to give it a less tender adjunct), in the specious pretences of contemplation and philosophy, oppos'd to those little indifferent circumstances, which the vainer people, who yet converse with the world without any considerable design, are obnoxious to; whilst there's no notice taken of the vanity of some men's contemplations, the dangers and temptations of solitude, which has no other occupation superior to that of animals, but that it thinks more and acts less, and cannot in his estimate be wise or happy without being morose and uncivil. Doubtless action is the enamel of virtue; and if any instance produc'd in that large paragraph merit the consideration, it is when it exerts itself in something profitable to others; since those who have derived knowledge the most nicely, according to the philosophy he so amply pleads for, to degrade man of his most political capacity † (ranking him beneath bees, ants, and pigeons, who affect not company more passionately than man), allow him society as one of the main

* De Tranq. c. 3.

† 1 Eth. c. 2.

ingredients of his definition; and 'tis plain immanity, says Cicero, to flie the congress and conversation of others, even when Timon was not able to endure himself alone; no, though man had all that nature could afford him to render him happy, society only deny'd him, *quis tam esset. ferus?* who could have the heart to support it? solitude alone would embitter the fruits of all his satisfactions. And verily solitude is repugnant to nature; and whilst we abandon the society of others, we many times converse with the worst of men—our selves. But neither is the life and employment of our sociable creature taken up (as has sufficiently been shew'd) in those empty impertinencies he reckons, nor as a Christian in ideas only, but in useful practice; and wisdom is the result of experience, experience of repeated acts.

Let us therefore rather celebrate public employment and an active life, which renders us so nearly ally'd to virtue, defines and maintains our being, supports society, preserves kingdoms in peace, protects them in war; has discover'd new worlds, planted the Gospel, encreases knowledge, cultivates arts, relieves the afflicted; and in sum, without which, the whole universe it self had still been but a rude and indigested chaös. Or if (to vie landskips with our Celador) you had rather see it represented in picture, behold here a Sovereign sitting in his august assembly of Parliament enacting wholesome laws; next him my Lord Chancellor and the rest of the reverend Judges and Magistrates dispensing them for the good of the people; figure to yourself a Secretary of State, making his dispatches and receiving intelligence; a Statesman countermining some pernicious plot against the commonwealth; here a General bravely embattailing his forces and vanquishing an enemy; there a colony planting an island, and a barbarous and solitary nation reduc'd to civility; cities, houses, forts, ships, building for society, shelter, defence, and commerce. In another table, the poor relieved and set to work, the naked clad, the oppress'd deliver'd, the malefactor punish'd, the labourer busied, and the whole world employed for the benefit of mankind. In a word, behold him in the neerest resemblance to his Almighty Maker, always in action, and always doing good.

On the reverse, now represent to yourself, the goodliest piece of the creation, sitting on a cushion picking his teeth; his country-gentleman taking tobacco, and sleeping after a gorgeous meal; there walks a

contemplator, like a ghost in a church-yard, or sits poring on a book whiles his family starves; here lies a gallant at the feet of his pretty female, sighing and looking babies in her eyes, whilst she is reading the last new romance, and laughs at his folly; on yonder rock an anchorite at his beads; there one picking daisies, another playing at push-pin, and abroad the young potcher with his dog and kite, breaking his neighbours' hedges or trampling o're his corn for a bird not worth six-pence: this sits basking himself in the sun, that quivering in the cold; here one drinks poyson, another hangs himself; for all these, and a thousand more, seem to prefer solitude and an inactive life as the most happy and eligible state of it. And thus have you land-skip for your land-skip.

The result of all is, solitude produces ignorance, renders us barbarous, feeds revenge, disposes to envy, creates witches, dispeoples the world, renders it a desart, and would soon dissolve it: and if after all this, yet he admit not an active life to be by infinite degrees more noble; let the Gentleman whose first contemplative piece* he produces to establish his discourse, confute him by his example; since I am confident, there lives not a person in the world whose moments are more employed than Mr. Boyle's, and that more confirms his contemplations by his actions and experience; and if it be objected, that his employments are not publick, I can assure him, there is nothing more publick than the good he's always doing.

How happy in the mean time were it for this ingenious adventurer, could it produce us more such examples, were they but such as himself; for I cannot imagine, but that he who writes so well, must act well; and that he who declaimes against Publick Employment in Essay, would refuse to essay a Publick Employment that were worthy of him. These notices are not the result of inactive contemplation only, but of a publick, refin'd, and generous spirit; or if in truth I be mistaken, I wish him store of proselytes, and that we had more such solitary gentlemen that could render an account of their retirments, and whilst they argue against conversation (which is the last of the appanages he disputes against), prove the sweetest conversation in the world.

* Seraphic Love; or, some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God, By the Hon. Robert Boyle. 8vo. 1660.

AN

IDEA OF THE PERFECTION OF PAINTING,

DEMONSTRATED FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF ART,

AND BY

EXAMPLES CONFORMABLE TO THE OBSERVATIONS WHICH PLINY AND QUINTILIAN HAVE MADE UPON THE MOST CELEBRATED PIECES OF THE ANCIENT PAINTERS,

PARALLEL'D WITH SOME WORKS OF THE MOST FAMOUS MODERN PAINTERS,

LEONARDO DA VINCI, RAPHAEL, JULIO ROMANO, AND N. POUSSIN.

WRITTEN IN FRENCH BY ROLAND FREART, SIEUR DE CAMBRAY,

AND RENDERED ENGLISH

BY J. E. ESQUIRE, FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

IN THE SAVOY:

PRINTED FOR HENRY HERRINGMAN, AT THE SIGN OF THE ANCHOR, IN THE LOWER WALK OF THE NEW EXCHANGE.

1668.—Octavo, pp. 174.

"28 Aug. 1668. Published my book of 'The Perfection of Painting,' dedicated to Mr. Howard." The foregoing was Evelyn's own notice of his Translation of M. Freart's French tract; but the only original article added by him, was the Dedication, which follows the present note.

"This excellent 'IDEA,' very lately come out of the London press, in thin 8vo, is drawn in that manner, as that 'tis demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the observations which Pliny and Quintillian have made upon the most celebrated pieces of the antient painters; parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael Urbino, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin.

"Those principles of art, constantly observed by the antients in this work, are here enumerated to be five:—1. Invention, or the History. 2. Proportion, or Symmetry. 3. Colour (as herein is contained the just dispensation of lights and shades). 4. Motion, in which are expressed the actions and passions. 5. The regular position of the figures of the whole work; of which the invention and expression are more spiritual and refined; the proportion, colouring, and perspective, the more mechanical part of this art.

"The works made use of among those of our most eminent painters, for applying those principles unto, are, 1. The Judgment of Paris. 2. The Massacre of the Innocents. 3. Our Lord's Descent from the Cross, all three by Raphael. 4. The Last Judgment of Michael Angelo. 5. The Representation of a vast Cyclop, in a narrow table by Timanthes. 6. Imitation of the same kind, by Julio Romano. 7. The Gymnasium, or Academy of the Athenian Philosophers, by Raphael. 8. The Seven Sacraments, by Poussin, the real parallel of that famous master-piece of Timanthes upon the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

"All this is now represented in English with so much perspicuity, and rendered so weighty by every period of the excellent interpreter's addition, that it justly deserves high recommendation, and will, doubtless, animate many among us to acquire a perfection in pictures, draughts, and chalcography, equal to our growth in all sorts of optical aydes, and to the fulness of our modern discoveries. Painting and Sculpture are the politest and noblest of antient arts, true, ingenuous, and claiming the resemblance of Life, the emulation of all beauties, the fairest record of all appearances, whether celestial or sublunary, whether angelical, divine, or humane. And what art can be more helpful, or more pleasing to a philosophical traveller, an architect, and every ingenious mechanician? All which must be lame without it."—Phil. Trans. vol. iii. No. 39. p. 784.

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS

HENRY HOWARD, OF NORFOLK,

HEIR-APPARENT TO THAT DUKEDOM.

SIR,

THERE is no man who has heard of the house of Norfolk, and especially of that of Arundel and Surrey, but will justifie the resolution I have taken to inscribe your name in the front of this piece; since the names of Painting and Sculpture (two of the most celebrated and renowned arts that ever appear'd in the world) had scarce been known amongst us in England, but for your illustrious Grandfather *, who brought into and adorn'd this nation with more polite and useful things than it had received for some ages before, and who continu'd a Mecænas and protector of all the sublimer spirits, as long as this island was worthy of him, which was as long as it remained loyal.

I have great reason to consecrate thus his memory, of whose more particular favours I have so frequently tasted both at home and abroad; especially in Italy, where I had the honor to be cherish'd by him, and from whence I afterward receiv'd one of the last letters that ever he writ, which I reserve by me amongst the choicest of my treasures.

From him, through a most illustrious Father, this affection to great and noble things is deriv'd to you. Witness, the asylum which the Royal Society found in your own palace, when the most fierce and merciless of the elements subverted her first abodes; and now (besides other accumulations) your free and glorious donation of a *fonds* upon your own ground; to establish her on for ever, and fix her at your very threshold, by which you not only oblige the most grateful and useful Assembly that any age has produc'd; but do honor likewise to his

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* Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, justly celebrated for his large collection of Sculpture, Design, and Painting. He died at Padua in 1646.

Majesty, our founder, by signifying your respect so eminently to his Royal Institution *.

But, Sir, I have something yet to add, and the very stones would even exclaim against me, should I omit your never-to-be forgotten munificence to the University of Oxford; because it was upon my first and sole suggestion (for instigation, the generosity of your nature needs not,) that you were pleas'd to inrich that renowned seat of the Muses with a greater gift than all the world can present it, because the world cannot shew such a Collection of Antiquities; and this great thing you did,

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* About the year 1645, several ingenious men, who resided in London, and were interested in the progress of mathematics and natural philosophy, agreed to meet once a week to discourse upon subjects connected with these sciences. The meetings were held sometimes in Dr. Goddard's lodgings, in Wood-street, because he kept in his house an operator for grinding glasses for telescopes; sometimes in Cheapside; and sometimes in Sir Thomas Gresham's house, which stood on the East side of Winchester-street, fronting to Bishopsgate-street. In 1648 and 1649, several of these gentlemen being appointed to situations in the University of Oxford, instituted a similar society in that City, in conjunction with several eminent men already established there. The greatest part of these Oxford gentlemen coming to London in 1659, held their meetings twice a week in Gresham College, in New Broad-street, by permission of the Professors of the foundation of Sir Thomas Gresham, and on the 15th July 1662 were incorporated by Royal Charter. About the beginning of 1667, Mr. Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, at the instigation of John Evelyn, made the Society a present of the Arundel Library, which had been purchased by his grandfather, during an embassy to Vienna. It had formerly been part of the library of Matthew Corvinus, King of Hungary, erected by him at Buda, in 1485, and after his death, in 1490, it came into the possession of Bilibaldus Pirckeimerus, of Nuremburg, who died in 1530. At the same time, Mr. Howard gave the Society convenient apartments in Arundel House in the Strand, where, according to Evelyn (see "Diary," vol. I. p. 380), they held their first meeting 9th January 1667, and to which they removed, because Gresham College had been rendered unfit for that purpose in consequence of the Fire of London. In 1673 they were invited back to Gresham College, by a deputation of the Professors and of the Mercers' Company; and were induced to accept the offer because their apparatus and collection of curiosities were deposited there, and because Mr. Hooke, their operator, resided in that building. A grant of old Chelsea College had been given them by King Charles II. and they formed the project of converting it into a house proper for their meetings. Lord Henry Howard had likewise made them a present of a piece of ground near Arundel House (alluded to by Evelyn in this Dedication), upon which they resolved to build convenient apartments by subscription. But neither of these designs was put into execution. They at last purchased a very convenient house in Crane-court, Fleet-street, in which they continued to hold their meetings, till the British Government, about forty years ago, furnished them with apartments in Somerset House, where their meetings have ever since been held, and their library and apparatus deposited. See Thomson's History of the Royal Society, 4to. 1812; and Pennant's London.

when you plac'd the Marmora Arundeliana there *. First, the Greek, and then the Latine Inscriptions; by which you not only nobly consulted the most lasting way to perpetuate your name in the learned world, and gave eternity to those (almost) obliterated titles, by transferring them to a less corrosive ayr; but did likewise a piece of justice, and piety too, in restoring that to the daughter, which came from the mother, and consigning those antiquities to Oxford, which were taken away from Athens.

Sir, in my Letter to you into Surrey (now about a year since) concerning this largesse, I cannot forbear to repeat a line or two, which was to move your honor in one particular more; and that is, that you would one day cause the choicest of your statues, basse relievos, and other noble pieces of Sculpture, standing in your galleries at Arundel-house, to be exquisitely design'd by some sure hand, and engraven in copper, as the late Justiniano set forth those of Rome †, and since him (and several others) Monsieur de Lion-Court, by the draughts of Perrier ‡, as formerly that incomparable historical Column of the Emperor Trajan, was cut by Villamena, with the notes of divers learned men upon them: because by this means, the world might be inform'd in whose possession those rarities are; and that it would so much contribute to the glory of the countrey, their illustrious owner, and his family; as it has formerly, and yet does, to those noble Italians, and great persons beyond the Alps, who have not been able to produce such a collection as you are furnish'd with, but who are honor'd and celebrated for it all the world over, by this virtuous and yet no very expenseful stratagem.

I was the rather incited to mention this here, because I understand there are some learned persons now at Oxford, adorning a new impression of the Marmora §, in which such a work could not pass without due

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* See Diary, Sept. 19, 1667, vol. I. p. 388.

† Galleria March. Giustiniana, 2 vol. Rom. 1631.

‡ Statuæ Antiquæ, Rom. 1638, folio.

§ Of the publications to which J. Evelyn excites the Duke of Norfolk, there were four separate editions, bearing the following titles:

1. *Marmora Arundeliana:* sive Saxa Græcè incisa ex venerandis priscæ Orientis Gloriæ Ruderibus, auspiciis et impensis Herois Illustrissimi Thomæ Comitis Arundelliæ et Surriæ, Comitis Marescalli Angliæ, pridem vindicata et in Ædibus ejus Hortisque cognominibus, ad Thamesis Ripam,

veneration, and would prove a considerable ornament to the designe; and, indeed, because the argument of the discourse I am entertaining your honour with (dedicated lately to the French king's onely brother) does prompt me to it, as my very great obligations, to subscribe myselfe,

Illustrious Sir,

your most obedient, and most humble servant,

Says-Court, J. EVELYN.

June 24, 1668.

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disposita: publicavit et commentariolos adjecit Joannes Seldenus, I. C. Lond. 1629, 4to; re-printed by H. Prideaux, with additions, folio, Oxford, 1676.

2. *Marmorum Arundellianorum*, Seldenianorum, aliorumque, Academiæ Oxoniensi donatorum: cum variis Commentariis et Indice M. Maittaire. Lond. 1732, folio, with 19 plates on the letter-press.

3. *Marmora Oxoniensia*: edidit R. Chandler. Folio, Oxon. 1763, 76 plates.

4. *Marmorum Oxoniensium* Inscriptiones Græcæ ad Chandleri exempla editæ, curanti Gul. Roberts, A. M. Octavo, Oxon. 1791. 268 pages.

TO THE READER.

I DID once think, and absolutely resolve, that I had for ever done with the drudgery of translating of books (though I am still of the opinion, that it were a far better and more profitable work to be still digging in that mine, than to multiply the number of ill ones by productions of my own); but this small piece coming casually to my hands, and from an author whose knowledge of the most polite and useful arts has celebrated him abroad; and upon a subject I had formerly bestowed some reflections on; partly, in that "Parallel of Architecture" (which from the same hand, I not long since publish'd for the assistance and encouragement of Builders), and partly in my "History of Sculpture;" I did believe I might do some service, not only to Architects and Sculptors, but to our Painters also, by presenting them with this curious treatise, which does, I think, perfectly consummate that designe of mine, of recommending to our countrey, and especially to the nobless, those three illustrious and magnificent arts, which are so dependent upon each other, that they can no more be separated than the very Graces themselves, who are always represented to us holding hand in hand, and mutually regarding one another.

The Reader will find in this discourse (though somewhat verbose, according to the style of this overflowing nation) divers useful remarks; especially, where he treats of costume, which we have interpreted decorum, as the nearest expression our language will bear to it; and I was glad our author had reprov'd it in so many instances; because it not only grows daily more licentious, but even ridiculous and intollerable. But it is hop'd this may universally be reform'd, when our modern workmen shall consider, that neither the exactness of their designe, nor skilfulness in colouring, has been able to defend their greatest predecessors from just reproaches, who have been faulty in this particular. I could exemplifie in many others whom our author has omitted; and there is none but takes notice what injury it has done the fame of some of our best reputed painters; and how in-

decorous it is to introduce circumstances wholly improper to the usages and genius of the places where our histories are suppos'd to have been acted. This was not only the fault of Bassano, who would be ever bringing in his wife, children, and servants, his dog and his cat, and very kitchin stuff, after the Paduan mode; but of the great Titian himselfe, Giorgione, Tintoret, and the rest; as Paolo Veronese is observ'd also to have done, in his story of Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moses out of the river, attended with a guard of Swisses. This puts me in mind of that piece of Mabugius in his majesties gallery at Whitehall, which not only represents our first parents with navils upon their bellys, but has plac'd an artificial stone-fountain carv'd with imagerys in the midst of paradise*. Nor does that excellent and learned painter Rubens, escape without being perstring'd, not onely for making most of his figures of the shapes of brawny Flemmings, but for other *sphalmata* and circumstances of the like nature; though in some he has acquitted himself to admiration in the due observation of costume, particularly in his crucifixes, &c. as I might largely exemplifie. Raphael Urbino was doubtless one of the first who reform'd these inadvertencys; but it was more conspicuous in his latter, than in his former piece.

As for Michael Angelo, though I heartily consent with our critic in reproving that almost idolatrous veneration of his works, who had certainly prodigiously abus'd the art, not only in the Table this discourse arraigns him for, but several more which I have seen; yet I conceive he might have omitted some of those imbitterr'd reproaches he has revil'd him with, who doubtless was one of the greatest masters of his time; and (however he might succeed as to the decorum) was hardly exceeded for what he perform'd in sculpture and the statuary art by many even of the antients themselves, and happ'ly by none of the moderns; witness his Moses, *Christo in gremio*, and several other figures at Rome; to say nothing of his talent in architecture, and the obligation the world has to his memory, for recovering many of its

* This painting is described in Vertue's Catalogue of King Charles's Collection as "a defaced old picture at length, being Adam and Eve, intire figures, being little less than the life, painted upon a board, in an old defaced gilded frame." It is stated in a MS note to the copy in the Editor's possession to be at this time in the Palace of St. James.

most useful ornaments and members, out of the neglected fragments which lay so long buried; and for vindicating that antique and magnificent manner of building, from the trifling of Goths and Barbarians.

The next usual reproach of painting, has been the want of judgement in perspective, and bringing more into history then is justifiable upon one aspect, without turning the eye to each figure in particular, and multiplying the points of sight; which is an error into which our very author (for all the pains he has taken to magnifie that celebrated decision of Paris) has fail'd in; for the knowing in that art do easily perceive, that even Raphael himself has not so exactly observ'd it; since instead of one (as Monsieur de Cambray takes it to be, and as indeed it ought to have been), there are no less than four or five, as Du Bosse has well consider'd in his late Treatise of the Converted Painter; where by the way also, he judiciously numbers amongst the faults against costume, those landskips, grotesques, figures, &c. which we frequently find (abroad especially, for in our countrey we have few or none of those graceful supplements of steeples) painted horizontally, or vertically on the vaults and cielings of cupolas; since we have no examples for it from the antients, who allow'd no more than a frett to the most magnificent and costly ones which they erected.

But would you know from whence this universal caution in most of their works proceeded, and that the best of our modern painters and architects have succeeded better than others of that profession; it must be consider'd that they were learned men, good historians, and generally skill'd in the best antiquities. Such were Raphael, and doubtless his scholar Julio; and if Polydore arriv'd not to the glory of letters, he yet attain'd to a rare habit of the ancient Gusto, as may be interpreted from most of his designs and paintings: Leon Baptist Alberti was skill'd in all the politer parts of learning to a prodigy, and has written divers curious things in the Latine tongue. We know that of later times Rubens was a person universally studied, as may be seen in several Latine epistles of his to the most famous scholars of his age: and Nicholas Poussin, the Frenchman, who is so much celebrated, and so deservedly, did, it seems, arrive to this culture by his indefatigable industry; as the present famous statuary Bernini, now living, has done to

so universal a mastery; that not many years since, he is reported to have built a theatre at Rome, for the adornment whereof he not only cut the figures, and painted the scenes, but writ the play, and compos'd the musick which was all in *recitativo*. And I am perswaded that all this is not yet by farre so much as that miracle and ornament of our age and countrey, Dr. Christopher Wren, were able to perform if he were so dispos'd, and so encouraged; because he is master of so many admirable advantages beyond them.

I alledge these examples partly to incite, and partly to shew the dignity and vast comprehension of this rare art; and that for a man to arrive to its utmost perfection, he should be almost as universal as the orator in Cicero, and the architect in Vitruvius: but certainly some tincture in history, the optics, and anatomy, are absolutely requisite, and more (in the opinion of our author) than to be a steady designer, and skill'd in the tempering and applying of colours, which, amongst most of our modern workmen, go now for the onely accomplishments of a painter.

I had once thoughts to have added the stamps and prints themselves, which our author does so critically discourse upon; but then considering that as this piece is of most use to the *virtuosi*, and that such as are curious must needs already be furnish'd with them; and that it had been doubtless impossible to have procur'd originals sufficient to adorn this impression, and would have immensely exalted its price (I myself having been offer'd twenty shillings but for one of them), I soon laid those intentions aside: besides that our author has also publish'd his book without them, and to have gotten them well copied, had been equally difficult.

J. Evelyn.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

THREE LATE FAMOUS IMPOSTORS;

VIZ.

PADRE OTTOMANO, MAHOMED BEI, AND SABATAI SEVI.

THE ONE,

PRETENDED SON AND HEIR TO THE LATE GRAND SIGNIOR;

THE OTHER,

A PRINCE OF THE OTTOMAN FAMILY, BUT, IN TRUTH, A VALACHIAN COUNTERFEIT;

AND THE LAST,

THE SUPPOSED MESSIAH OF THE JEWS, IN THE YEAR OF THE TRUE MESSIAH, 1666.

WITH

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE GROUND AND OCCASION

OF THE

PRESENT WAR BETWEEN THE TURK AND THE VENETIAN.

TOGETHER WITH THE CAUSE OF THE FINAL EXTIRPATION, DESTRUCTION, AND EXILE OF THE JEWS OUT OF THE EMPIRE OF PERSIA.

IN THE SAVOY:

PRINTED FOR HENRY HERRINGMAN, AT THE SIGN OF THE ANCHOR,
IN THE LOWER WALK OF THE NEW EXCHANGE.

1669.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD ARLINGTON, &c.

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

MY LORD,

THESE ensuing Discourses intitle their original to the noble industry and affection to truth of an illustrious person, and to the great and worthy ingenuity of a Persian stranger lately amongst us *, from whose mouth I have received the two following first narrations, and from whom I have been abundantly satisfied, that the particulars are of undoubted verity. For the third and last, which concerns the story of that impudent Jew, it will need little apology; since it proceeds not onely from an eye-witness, but from the hand of a person who has already gratified the publique with the fruit of many rare and excellent observations, and which becomes due to your Lordship upon a just claim; so as your Lordship having been so pleased with the first relation, cannot be less with the following, though I should never have presum'd to be their deferent in this unpolish'd dress had I not receiv'd some assurances of your pardon.

It will doubtless appear very strange, that impostures of this magnitude should so long abuse the world, were there no other interest in it than the vanity of the persons who assume to themselves the titles: whatever the reason of it be, here we have matter of fact; and it was more than time the world should at last be disabus'd which has been so long impos'd on, and even labour'd under the common mistake, that the cause of this obstinate war and quarrel 'twixt the Turk and the Venetian was grounded onely upon the taking of Sultan Osmon and his mother (pretended son and wife of Sultan Ibrahim) by the gallies of Malta. This was, my Lord, the believed report at my being at Venice the very year this action fortun'd; and it has since gain'd credit, and

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* Signor Pietro Cisij. See Diary, vol. I. p. 394.

fill'd our ears, and all the histories of this age, as a thing unquestionable, but with what pretence of truth these papers will both inform your Lordship, and give day to some other passages worthy the notice of inquisitive men, and of a conjuncture so seasonable for it, while the eyes and thoughts of all Europe are intent upon the success of Candia. What concerns the Valachian vagrant will be a service both to his Majesty and other Christian princes whom this bold Impostor has had the front to abuse; but, *eripitur persona*—the mask is now off; and I have no more to add, than that of being,

My Lord,
Your Honors most obedient,
obliged, and humble servant,
J. E.

TO THE READER.

THE great Scaliger was wont commonly to say, *omnis historia bona*, that all history was good; meaning, that it was worthy of notice so it were true and matter of fact, though the subject of it were never so trivial. This, though but a pamphlet in bulke, is very considerable for the matter it containes, and for that it endeavours to informe and disabuse the world of a current error, which has mingled and spread it selfe into divers grave relations that have been printed, and confidently published many yeares without suspition.

How I came to be enlightened for these pieces, I have in part declared in my dedicatory addresses; and if I forbear to publish the name o that intelligent stranger, and that other person, from whom I receiv'd my informations, you are to know that it is not out of fear of being detected of impostures, whil'st we declare against it, and which cannot serve any interest of the relators, but because, being strangers, or itinerants, and one of them upon his return into his native country (which may possibly engage them to passe by Malta, and other Levantine parts obnoxious to these Discourses), it would appear but ingrateful in us to expose them to an inconvenience. Let it suffice, to assure you, that they are persons of no mean parts, ingenuity, and candor; well acquainted with the Eastern countreys and affaires, and that have themselves been witnesses of most of these transactions.

It were to be wish'd that our Christian Monarchs had alwayes near them some dextrous person of this gentlemans abilities, were it but to discover such cheates, as frequently appearing under the disguise of distressed princes, merchants, &c. are, in truth, but spies and bold impostors, and whom otherwise 'tis almost impossible to detect, not to suggest the many other good offices, as to the Eastern commerce and affaires, they might be useful in: but this is more than I have commission to say, from those who have no other design in what they relate than their affection to truth. It is not yet a full year since there went a crafty varlet about the countrey, who pretended himself to be the brother

of the famous Peter Serini (whose brave and heroick actions had so celebrated him against the Turkes), and related a story by his feign'd interpreter, how he fortun'd to be cast on shore on the West of England, as he was conducting supplies from abroad. This he perform'd with a confidence and success so happily, as caus'd him to be receiv'd, presented, and assisted (like another Mahomed Bei) by divers persons of quality, and some of them my nearest acquaintance, in his pretended journey to court; but being at last discover'd in a tipling-house on the rode, where, un-mindful of his part and character, he call'd for a pot of ale in too good English, and a more natural tone than became so great a stranger, and the person he put on, we heard no more of the gamester. I wish our Fin-land spirit, who is of late dropt out of the clouds amongst us, prove not one of his disciples, for the age is very fertile, and I am told that our Mahomed having receiv'd his Adjuda de Costo from the bounty and charity of a great person of more easie belief, is slipt aside for fear of the porters-lodge; and yet 'tis possible you may hear more of him before his ramble be quite at a period.

You have at the end of the last Impostor an account of the Jews exile out of that vast empire of Persia, happening but the other day; which, together with the miscarriage of their late Messiah (the twenty-fifth pretender of it, as I am credibly inform'd it stands in their own records), it might, one would think, at last open the eyes, and turne the hearts of that obstinate and miserable people: but whil'st the time is not yet accomplish'd, I could wish our modern enthusiasts, and other prodigious sects amongst us, who dreame of the like carnal expectations, and a temporal monarchy, might seriously weigh how dearly their characters approach the style and design of these deluded wretches, least they fall into the same condemnation, and the snare of the devil.

THE HISTORY OF PADRE OTTOMANO,

THE FIRST IMPOSTOR *.

SULTAN Ibrahim began his reign in the year 1049, according to the Turkish Hegira or period, which was of our style anno 1640. He was about nine years Emperor, and had born to him (after the first three years) a son nam'd Mahomed, who is the present Grand Signior now swaying the Ottoman scepter: the Hasaki or Great Sultana, his mother (for by that adjunct of Great she is distinguished from the rest of that high title), being extreamly weak after her delivery, necessitated them to seek out and provide a fitting nurse for the new-born infant. But, before we can proceed in the event of that, some other circumstances require the readers attention.

It fortun'd that from the year 1640 to 1644 there liv'd in Constantinople one Giovanni Jacobo Cesii, native of Persia, but descended from a noble family in Rome, who, being by profession a merchant, did use to traffique not onely in this port, but held commerce likewise in divers other places of the Levant; so as being a man of more than ordinary note, he came at last to be particularly favour'd by the Grand Signiors chief eunuch, whose name was Jumbel Aga, otherwise called Kuslir Agasi, a great minion of Sultan Murad, who deceasing a while after, his following successor confirm'd to him his former charge, which was to take care of the ladies, who were kept in the seraglio, and superintended the women (for so the name imports), nor is the dignity of less esteem than that of the vizier himself, within the precincts of the seraglio; since it intitules him to the same access to the emperor his lord and master, whom he serves as pimp of honour, if there be any true honour in so vile an employment.

* 13 Feb. 1669. I presented his Majesty with my "Historie of the Foure (Three) Imposters;" he told me of other like cheates. I gave my booke to Lord Arlington, to whom I dedicated it.—It was now that he began to tempt me about writing "The Dutch War." "Diary," vol. I. p. 397. This narrative is reprinted almost verbatim in Knolles's History of the Turks, edited by Sir P. Rycaut, folio, vol. II. p. 55.

This Kuslir Aga, eunuch as he was, would for all this be thought a lover of women, because it is the style of the countrey, and a mark of good breeding and courtly grandeur.

It was upon this occasion that he one day sent for Jacobo Cesii, and desir'd that he would search out and purchase for him the most elegant and handsome wench he could possibly light upon amongst such slaves as are daily expos'd to sale in the Turkish dominions. The merchant was not long ere he happen'd upon a very beautiful creature, of a modest countenance, and, as near as could be guess'd, a virgin. He bought her, and brought her to the Aga, who being extreamly taken with her shape and mien, pay'd him for her 450 dollars, which was the price she was valued at. But this pretty girle had, for all her simpering and innocent demeanour, been corrupted, it seems, before she came to the eunuch; and after some time that she had been with him (for he kept her in a house of his own, and not in the seraglio) was suspected to be with child. Her lord was wonderfully importunate to sift out who it was that might be the father of the offspring; but she would by no means be induc'd to discover it, which so incensed him, that the Aga forthwith causes her to be turn'd out of doores; and thus for some time she remained in disgrace, though in the house of his major domo, to whom he had given her to be disposed of, till she was at last brought to bed of a goodly boy.

Some time after the child was born, the Aga, whether mov'd with compassion or curiosity, we need not enquire, begins to discover a most passionate desire to see the little bastard, which was no sooner brought to him, but, being exceedingly pleas'd with the babe, he immediately orders it a rich vest, and other fine things to wear, though it was then not above eight or nine moneths old; commanding that it should still be kept in his stewards house, where it was born.

It fortun'd, that not long after was the birth of the present Turkish emperor; and the Great Sultana (as we said) being indisposed, the grand Aga was sent for to provide a nurse for the young prince, that care belonging likewise particularly to his charge: immediately the Aga reflects upon his disgrac'd slave, whom he speedily sent for to him, and brought to court (together with her pretty by-blow, the present Padre

Ottomano), recommending her for a nurse to the royal infant; upon which account she stay'd near two whole years in the seraglio. Sultan Ibrahim (father of the young prince) during this time grew so taken with the nurses boy, as being much a lovelier child than his own, that he became infinitely fonder of him, which so inraged and displeas'd the Great Sultana, who being now no longer able to dissemble her resentment, grew in wroth with Ibrahim, and gave a second and more cruel exilement to the unfortunate nurse and her darling child, whom she banish'd out of the seraglio, and could never after abide the Aga that introduc'd them.

This violent action of the Sultana made, you may imagine, a foul house in the court, and it grew at last to that height that the Emperour (who took it greatly to heart, his pretty favourite should be thus thrown out of the seraglio), running one day to the Sultana, he snatches his son out of her arms, and threw him into a piscina, or large fountain, which was near them, where he had like to have been drown'd. This passionate and unnatural action of Ibrahim inrag'd the Sultana now more then ever against the Aga, so as she sought all occasions possible to put him to death, as imputing the ill-nature of her lord the emperor to some wicked impressions of his favorite; but chiefly, for his bringing the fair slave and her bastard into the seraglio.

The continual hatred and machinations of the G. Sultana caused the Aga to consult his safety; and besides, he was not a little apprehensive of the capricious and unconstant humour of Ibrahim, who being of a weak complexion and understanding, he feared might in time be wrought upon by the Sultana to destroy him; and therefore makes suit to the Emperour that he would permit him to go on pilgrimage to Mecha, since absence might possibly mitigate her fury; and for that he was now grown aged, and less capable of doing him service in his charge, which he desired he would give him leave to resign.

But Ibrahim, finding him by long experience to be a discreet person, and one that had faithfully served the Emperour his brother, would by no means hearken to his request, or permit him to go from him; since, as the constitution of the seraglio stands, that had been for ever to have depriv'd him of a servant whom he so dearly loved. For you are to

understand, that whoever obtains leave to go that holy pilgrimage is *ipso facto* made free: no eunuch belonging to the seraglio (being slaves of honour to the Grand Signior) can obtain his liberty but by the Emperours especial grace; which also entitles him to a certain annual pension, arising from the revenue of Grand Cairo, set apart for such rewards. And for this reason it was, that Ibrahim was very unwilling to part with his eunuch: however, being vanquish'd at last with his continual importunity, and for that it was upon condition, that notwithstanding the custome and style of the seraglio in such cases, he should go but as his slave, and, having perform'd his devotion, return to him again, and to the office which he would have resign'd; he grants him his request. Upon this stipulation he dismisses his favourite, and the eunuch prepares for his journey in the caravan of Alexandria, the Grand Signior having at that time never a man of war in the port.

The whole fleet consisted of but eight vessels, whereof Giafer commanded the first; Mahumed, the second; Arab Ogli, the third (this Arab Ogli was partner with the above-named Gio. Jacobo Cesii); Cura Mahumed commanded the fourth; Memi, the fifth; Bodur, the sixth; Nicola, a Christian, the seventh; and Jani, another Christian captain, the eighth, who brought up the rear. These being ready to set saile, the Aga embarkes with his family, and whole equipage (amongst which was his beautiful slave and her little son), in the first ship, whereof, as we said, Giafer was commander. And now directing their course towards Alexandria, they touch'd a while at Scio (an island in the Archipelago), where lingering some little time, they happen'd to meet with a certain Dominican fryar (well beloved of the chief of the country), whom, for a former prevarication with them in matter of religion, they would needs have constrained to abjure his faith, and become a Turke; which the religious man refusing to do, the cruel eunuch caus'd him to be immediately burnt alive. This was in the year 1644.

Loosing from Scio, they were surpriz'd with a dismal tempest, which caus'd them to put in at Rhodes, where they were likewise forc'd to continue for some days ere they durst adventure out; but at last pursuing their intended voyage from thence (being now about 15 leagues distant from Rhodes), they discover six gallies. It fortun'd to be a

great calme, and yet they were hardly within ken, so as to distinguish what they were; yet supposing they might be the gallies of Bailo (who are certain Turkish guardians of the Archipelago) that were making towards them, they seem'd not to be so much concern'd; but when a little after they came to find their mistake, and that they belonged to Malta, they were strangely surpriz'd, and in great confusion what to resolve on, for divers vessels of their company were so dispers'd, by reason of the calme, that they could not possibly joyn them for want of wind. This happen'd upon the tenth of May, in the year 1644.

Well, for all this, the Aga resumes courage, prepares for the conflict, and, upon their approach, begins bravely to defend himself. The fight continues for some time very fiercely on either part, and not without mutual loss, till by an unlucky broad-side from one of the Malta-gallies the eunuch receives a cannonade on his breast, which dash'd him into the sea; and at that same instant fallen dead the fair Sciabas (for so was that female slave nam'd, a Russe by nation, and mother of our Padre Ottomano), without any mark or wound, or so much as the least bruise to be found, which made divers believe she dy'd of very fright and apprehension; and with these perish'd likewise divers others in that vessel, upon which the rest immediately struck saile, and submitted to mercy.

The Maltezes now boarding their prizes, and seeing so many women, eunuchs, and other passengers (for, as we recounted, one of these vessels was wholly taken up by the Aga and his domesticks), asked, what pretty child that was? The distracted people, partly out of terror, and haply, upon hope of better quarter, tell them, that he was the son of Sultan Ibrahim, going to Mecca to be circumcis'd. Greatly pleas'd with their success, they set saile immediately for Malta, where the hopes of their fancied prize had so far exalted them, that they soon noys'd it over all Christendome, that they had taken the Grand Signiors son, and the Sultana his mother, with many like stories that pass'd about the world for current, and it gain'd credit, and was indeed generally believ'd by themselves: nay, the whole Colledge and Religious of Malta were so elated and possess'd with the conceit of it, that they began seriously to consult of proposing an exchange for Rhodes, which

had been their antient seat, and which they almost made themselves as good as sure of.

The Great Master and the Grand Croci were absolutely of this opinion, and did thereupon write letters to Constantinople, to Smyrna, and to several other places and correspondences, to certifie where they might find their young prince, and his mother, provided they would come up to their conditions. For though she were dead in the combate, yet it seems they had either drest up a property to personate her amongst the she-slaves that were taken, or willing to have it believed so, and both her own and the portrait of her young son were painted to the life, and familiarly sold in Italy and France, for the better confirmation of this beliefe; but after long expectations, receiving no answer to their satisfaction, they begin to be in some doubt, and could not well divine what to make of it, and whether they were not all this while deluded of their boast, and entertain'd in suspense to abuse them; for so it appears they were to the very year 1649. But how far this contributed to the quarrel with the Venetians, whom they unexpectedly surpriz'd soon after, will be made appear by the sequel.

It was in this year that the person who gives us this information returning from Rome, where he had finish'd his studies in the Colledge *de propaganda Fide*, into his native country of Persia, happen'd in his journey to arrive at Malta, where making some stay, he came to be known to divers of the Order, and principal persons there; as, namely, to the Treasurer, several of the Grand Croci, to the Great Master himself, the Commandator, the General of the gallies, and most of the nobility. The Grand Master was then Johannes Lascaris, the Grand Commandator, Monsieur de la Helle, the General, Monsieur de Beauchamp, &c. to omit the rest. These enter into a solemn consultation, what was to be done to sift out the truth and value of their prize; that is, to know whether the child were indeed Sultan Ibrahims son or not; and finding this person, as they conceiv'd, a fit instrument for their purpose, being well experienc'd in the Turkish language, and the customes of their country, and for some other relations of his at the Porte, and one who had given them good marks of his capacity and faithfulness, they resolve to dispatch him forthwith to Constantinople, accompanyed

onely with three or four Turkish slaves, who had redeem'd themselves, and with instructions to their Envoye how the design was to be managed.

Signior Pietro (for so we will now call him) sailes from Malta; arrives at Constantinople; makes friends in the Seraglio; enquires with all the sedulity imaginable, whether any child of the Grand Signiors were missing: and whether it were true, that the Hasaki, or Great Sultana, had some years since been lost, or taken by the Malteze in her pilgrimage towards Mecha, &c. But after all the diligence he could possibly make, he could never discover any likelihood, or so much as shadow of it. In sum, he finds there was not a syllable of it true; and that the Religion * of Malta had all the while but abused themselves in their credulity, and all Christendom in the report of it. Pietro writes back to the Religion, and assures them by many indubitable evidences, nay oathes and affidavits, which he had procur'd, and several other effects of his diligence, that it was all imposture, and that they ought to give credit to the romance no longer, or hope for the least advantage by it. This was in the year 1650; for so long, and somewhat longer it was, ere they would be dis-abus'd. And now at last they begin to defide themselves, and by little and little to let their boasting dye, and to neglect any farther ceremony to their pretended royal captive; in short, they now grew very cold, hardly made any more account of him; yet so, that having for a long time abus'd the world, as asham'd at their credulity, and to prevent reproach, they continually endeavour'd to have it still thought true; and therefore gave the boy the title of Ottomano, which he weares to this day, *non per dignità* (sayes our ingenious informer) *ma per la vanità.*

This is the true and real history of the so much talk'd-of Padre Ottomano, and consequently of that groundless and vulgar opinion which has been spread so long about, that this accident alone was the onely source and cause of the Grand Signiors quarrel with the Venetians, but of which there is so little appearance; the interest of that republick being so different from that of the Malteze, who are sworn never to be at peace with those miscreants; whil'st the Venetians, on the contrary, were in a profound and un-interrupted league with them.

* Viz. of the Knights of Malta.

It is indeed commonly pretended, that, contrary to a stipulation with the Grand Signior, the Venetians had protected the Knights of Malta, after this exploit of surprizing the Sultana and her son, going with an infinite treasure to Mecha; but the truth is, finding no occasion to commence the war upon this suggestion, they give out another, and which is believed was the more real ground of it.

In the reign of Sultan Amurat, there were destroy'd and burnt by the Venetians no less than five and twenty *Fusti Barbaresche*, or Barbary gallies, who were rovers and pyrates upon those seas, and greatly infested the commerce; these they attaqu'd in the Port of Avelona, demolishing withal their castle. Complaint hereof being made to Morat (or Amurat), he was provok'd to declare war against them as the first aggressors; though in truth this had been no violation of any article between them. However, upon their earnest instigation, Amurat seems highly to resent the affront, as done against his allies. Hereupon the Venetians offer to give them two *galeasses* in satisfaction, and to pay for all the losse which they had sustain'd. But in this interim the Grand Signior ingag'd in the war at Babylon, dyes soon after his return, and leaves the quarrel to his brother Ibrahim; who, insensed also somewhat more for the vessels that were destroy'd, upon the neck as it were of this, by the Malteze, when Padre Ottomano was taken by them, and his favorite Aga slain (his design, which was first against the Malteze failing), without the least pretence of renewing his predecessors quarrel with the Venetians, or declaring any formal war, with a fleet of near 500 saile, he lands an army of threescore thousand men near the city Canea, and in little time became master of that, and of the whole kingdome beside; Candia the metropolis, Spina Longa, Carbusa, Suda, and some very few posts more excepted, and leaves the pursuit of this war to his son Mahomed, who has continued it to this present day. By what accident the Malteze contributed to the fatal rousing of this immane lyon we have seen, but without the least appearance of intituling it to the merit of this supposititious child and his mother, upon which yet it is so vulgarly and so weakly founded.

But what may farther elucidate the utter impossibility of Padre Ottomano's title, as heir to that family, 'tis notoriously known, that the last

Emperor of the Turks (father to the Sultan now reigning) never had but three sons; that the present Grand Signior was always the eldest; and that the other two (by an extraordinary effect of their brothers good-nature, or address of the present Valadir or dowager) are still living in the seraglio, out of whose precincts they are never allow'd to stir abroad, but in company of the Grand Signior, and under the strictest guard. Next, that no prince of the Ottoman blood, or the Sultana herself, does ever travel to any place whatsoever out of the palace, but when the Emperor goes himself in person. This being so, how probable and likely it is he should hazard the Great Sultana, and the heir of the crown in a weak and ordinary caravan, with so small an equipage, and so little concernment for their losse as never so much as to treate about their release, &c. let any rational man determine upon mature consideration, and prospect of the circumstances.

Besides, as our intelligence argues, and assures us, those of Malta are so insatiably covetous, that if they could sell even the very Malteze themselves, they would not stick to make money of them; and that it is familiar with these holy Corsaires to spoil all the Oriental Christians without distinction, who come in their way; neither regarding their faith nor their profession: so as when ever they surprize any miserable slaves, who for the dread of torment have been forc'd to turne renegadoes, but would now most chearfully revert to their faith again; the Malteze will not hearken to them, but sell them a second time to the Turkes, to satisfie their prodigious avarice. How much more then (as our informer concluded) had it been to their advantage, to have sold this pretended royal boy, being a natural Turke, than to have suffer'd him to become a Christian? But they reserv'd him upon future hopes, and when they perceiv'd that fail them, to rid their hands of the expense of the mock-state, they had so long been at, and yet to preserve their reputation, make out their boast, and credit their religion; they find a pretence of sending him to be bred in Italy, and now suffer him to be made a Dominican Fryar forsooth, under the pompous title of "Padre Ottomano."

THE STORY OF MAHOMED BEI,

WHO CALLS HIMSELF,

JOHANNES MICHAEL CIGALA;

BEING AT THE WRITING HEREOF IN THE COURT OF ENGLAND, WHERE THIS SECOND IMPOSTOR WAS FIRST DETECTED.

The better to acquaint our reader with the successful impudence of this famous impostor, he is to understand, that this rodomontade has lately publish'd a book, at his being not long since in France, to which he has procur'd the French Kings licence, with all the formalities of it, which he intitles, "The History of Mahomet Bei, or John Michel de Cigala, Prince of the Imperial Blood of the Ottomans;" to which he annexes other his dignities, Bassa and Soveraign Plenipotentiary of Jerusalem, and of the kingdome of Cyprus, Trebizond, &c. Dedicated to the French King, with a front of steele*.

In this treatise, or rather romance of his knight-errantry, he sums up the antiquity of the family of Cigala, which he extracts out of several grave and sober authors; intituling it to most of the royal houses and crown'd-heads of Europe; making himself at last to be descended from Scipio, son of the famous Vicount de Cigala, who was taken prisoner by the Turkes, anno 1561, after that signal battel and victory of the great Andrea d'Oria. This Scipio being now a captive with his father, and perswaded to renounce the faith, was, as he pretends, advanc'd to the dignity and charge of Grand Visier, by Solyman the Magnificent, under the new name of Sinan Bassa; after that honour, he was made prime Aga, or Generalissimo of the Janizaries; then Seraschier or General of the whole army; sometimes higher, and sometimes lower; and at last again First Vizier, and Second Bassa of the Porte, and had, above all this, preferred to him in marriage several great ladies, whom he names, and among the rest, Canou Salie Sultana,

* Originally printed in 12mo, in 1668, viz. "Histoire de Mahomet Bei auiourd'huy nommé Iean Michel de Cigala, Prince du Sang Imperial des Ottomans." See Moréri, Dictionnaire Historique; also, Les Impostures Insignes, par I. B. de Rocoles, 12mo, Amst. 1683, and published in English in 1686, octavo.

daughter of Sultan Achmet, sister of Osman, and Sultan Amurad (who took Babylon), and of Ibrahim, father to the Emperour now reigning.

From this illustrious mother our Bei deriving himself, he goes on to relate the story of his princely education under the Mufti, and of the strange and prodigious accidents that advanc'd him first to Tephlici or Vice-roy of the Holy-land, where we have the miraculous dream and vision, and the assistance of the good hermite, and his own Christian physitian, by which he became converted to the faith, and diverted from his sacrilegious purpose of plundering the chappel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem of the silver lamps, and other sacred treasure, which he reports to be there in great abundance; but that still dissembling his profession, he got to be advanc'd to the government of Cyprus, &c. Here he acquaints the reader how he came to be made absolute commander of all the forces design'd against Candy; and that being of the first who entred that city, he privately heard, and assisted at mass, deliver'd many Christian slaves, &c. Hence, after two years gallantry, and notorious exploits (which no man ever heard of but himself) the succeeding Emperor constituted him Soveraign of Babylon, Caramania, Magnesia, and divers other ample territories. In his journey about these governments another miracle confirms him at Iconium, by the wonderful luster of an inclosed Host, in which a splendid child appear'd through the chest or cabinet of a certain Christian woman that had procur'd and lock'd up a consecrated wafer, for fear of her jealous and unbelieving husband; to this adding the phenomenon of no less than nine extraordinary and refulgent stars, which appear'd for divers nights over a place where certain Christians had lately been martyr'd. Coming back from Iconium to Candy a second time, he communicates his resolution of openly declaring his conversion, and consequently of quitting his high employments: but the poor Jesuit (his ghostly father) unhappily dies before it could be accomplished, and so, as fate would have it, does that other intimate confident of his designs, Lazaro Moccenigo, the Venetian General. Upon this disaster our illustrious Bei conveys himself again to Constantinople, where he is made Vice-roy of Trabisond, and Generalissimo of the Black Sea, in order to his purpos'd retreat. Upon the confines of this it was, that he trusts a vast treasure

of jewels, &c. to a great person whom he had redeemed out of slavery from the Tartars, and dispatch'd before him into Moldavia, which was the rendezvous agreed upon, and where he had appointed to meet him upon the first opportunity of totally renouncing the Grand Signiors service, to declare himself the Christian, which he had hitherto but disguised. Chamonsi (for so was this confidents name), in stead of receiving his friend and benefactor at the place design'd, plotted with the Governour of Moldavia to have perfidiously surpriz'd and slain him; but our Don Herchio Bei, after wondrous proofs of his valour, and giving death to almost all that oppos'd him, escapes their hands, though extreamly wounded: in this plight, he meets with a poor shepherd, with whom he changes his princely robes for the shepherds gray coat, and travels on his ten-toes a tedious and unknown way for many days together. In this unfortunate encounter it was that he lost his faithful counsellour, another Jesuite, and all his glorious retinue, who were every one of them kill'd upon the spot, save one poor honest Jew, and in this lamentable condition came our devout prince on foot, and in the snow to the Cossaque army, then in hostility against the Muscovite, amongst whom he found three souldiers that he had formerly freed from Turkish captivity. These were the first who made his quality known to their chief, by whom he was civilly treated, and perswaded to honour Muscovy with his intended baptism: but our prince designing from the beginning to make his solemn profession at Rome, and receive that sacrament from his Holiness's own hands, the captain being, it seems, a schismatick, and of another church, neglects and despises him, whom he had hitherto so generously treated. Upon this the Prince steals secretly away from the Cossaques, and by the assistance of another virtuous Jew (who likewise knew him) he at last got safe into Poland, where the then Queen, Lovize de Gonzagues, hearing the report of his approach, and illustrious quality, receives him (as himself relates it) with infinite respect; and, in fine, prevails with him to honour the cathedral of Warsovia with his baptism, which is perform'd by the Archbishop of the place, the Queen her self standing at the font, and giving the name of John, to our cousen german of the Ottoman Emperour. Here we have a relation of the extraordinary pomp of that cere-

monie, as well as of that of his confirmation, which dignified him with another name.

Taking now leave of Warsovia, he travels towards Lauretto in pilgrimage to our Lady; from thence he goes to Rome; at first incognito, making himself known onely to his sanctity, with a brief recapitulation of his adventures. This was to Alexander the VIIth, whose benediction receiv'd, he returns into Poland again to visit and pay his duty to his royal god-mother. In this journey he was known to divers great persons travelling through Germany, especially to the famous N. Serini *, and this being at a time when the Emperour was at difference with the Turk, our hero could not but shew some marks of his courage, and affection to the cause he had espoused, which he now signalizes, in not onely offering himself a voluntier, but by fighting hand to hand with the Turkish General himself, whom he kill'd upon the spot before both the armies, performing other stupendous exploits, which would have seem'd incredible had not himself related it.

For this, and other his egregious services, his Imperial Majestie after a thousand caresses and presents of infinite value, creates him Captain Guardian of his artillery, and 'tis a wonder how he escap'd the golden fleece. But nothing of all this would prevail with him to stay longer at Vienna. For the peace being now concluded, he returns *incognito* to Lauretto again, thence makes an excursion into Sicily to visit some alliances and great kindred, which he had living there. Excessive are the complements and presents that he received from the great princes of Germany and Italy in this progress. Arriv'd in Sicily, Don Pedro d'Arragon receives and treats him in his palace, and the whole city of Messina meet and attend him, acknowledging him of the illustrious house of the Cigala's, from which that Country had, it seems, received many great benefits. From Sicily he passes through Calabria towards Rome again, visiting divers of his friends and kindred in the way, and arriving at Naples has done him the same honors of the Vice-roy and nobility there, and so by sea imbarks for Rome, into which he now makes his publike entry, and obtain'd audience accordingly of Clement

* See Moréri, Dict. Historique, tom. IX. p. 364.

the IXth, before whom, in a bravado, he draws and flourishes his dreadful cimeter, in token of his defiance of the enemies of the Church. Here it is you have him received, and presented by the Pope, the nephew, the Cardinals, Ambassadors, and in summe by all the nobility of this mistress of the world; till resolving to bless France with his presence, touching a little at Venice and Turino, he at last arrives at Paris, where he was received of that great monarch, who no sooner hears of his arrival, but he forthwith commands the Duke of St. Agnan, with coaches and an equipage suitable to this princely guest, to introduce this glorious stranger. The King receives him according to his high quality, so nearly related to his antient allie the Turk; and so does Monsieur the Dauphin, his *Altesse-royal*, and all the grandees of that Court, not forgetting the Grand Prior, and to be sure, the Knights of Malta, &c. a palace being assign'd him, and at last a present made him, no less than two chains of gold (they should have been doubtless something else) with the King and Queens effigies medalized, at his taking leave of that kingdom.

Thus far goes the printed relation of our Errant, I had almost said, recreant Knight, with the elogies Latine and French, which prepare the reader for the wonders and adventures of his Life.

But now, if upon examination of all this geer and enormous rhapsody, we take the boldness to deplume our gallant of his *mutuatitious* and borrow'd feathers; and that our Ottoman Prince, who has brav'd it so long, and so successfully amongst the birds of feather, shall prove at last but a jack-daw.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

This impudent vagabond then, and pretended Mahomed Bei, that has indeed abused the French King, and believ'd he should have done the same to his Majestie of England, is in fine a native of Walachia, born of Christian parents in the city of Trogovisti. They were formerly very opulent and well to pass, and his father in good esteem with the Prince Matthias Vaivoda of Moldavia. His father dying, our pretended Cigala was taken into the service of the Prince, as his father had been before him, and sent in the retinue of his resident to Constantinople about twenty years since; after some time spent there, he returns into his

countrey, where he grew intimately acquainted with a married priest (as in that place they are permitted to be), and made love to his wife; but the woman, the better to colour and conceal the familiarity and courtship that was between them, makes her husband believe he had a kindness for her daughter, and in so honourable and decent a way, that the simple man believes her, and entertaining him more like a domestique now than a lover, suffers him even to govern his little family. But it seems our rampant Amoroso could not so govern himself, but the priest began to suspect and discover his villany; for either he did, or would have lain with both mother and daughter.

Upon this he is complained of to the Vaivoda, who sought all means possible to have apprehended and executed him according to their law; and that not only for this his inhospitable crime, but for sundry other most notorious delicts and misdemeanors, of which he had been formerly convicted. But it seems, having timely notice of it, he gets away again to Constantinople, where he remained till the decease of Prince Matthias, after which he came back impudently into Walachia again, thinking all had been now forgotten, and that by some address or other he might procure to be receiv'd amongst the great men of his countrey; but when upon some attempts that he made, he perceived they had discovered who he was, and would have laid hold on him, and chastiz'd him for his former insolencies; to Constantinople he retires a third time, where, despairing after awhile of his designs at home, he makes himself Turk, and turns perfect renegado.

Since these exploits he has rang'd from place to place about Christendom, and in countries where he was wholly unknown, with that specious story, or rather monstrous imposture, of his being so nearly related to the present Grand Signior, and the dignities and charges he has quitted for the love of Christ; by which he has roam'd about the world, been caress'd and really presented by divers great persons, and especially by the French king, &c. With this confidence and expectation he came lately into England, had the fore-head to present himself and the legend of his life to his Majestie; frequented the court in his Ottoman garb and Eastern mode, 'till a person of great quality, who had seen him the last year at Vienna in Austria (where he durst

pretend to nothing of all this), defeated the imposture, and a Persian gentleman, lately a stranger, and by meer accident here at that time, confirms this relation of him, from whose mouth we receiv'd it, together with this account of the illustrious family of the Cigala, which, with a few reflections upon some passages of the pamphlet we mention'd (which does abundantly discover this audacious hypocrite), shall dispatch this second impostor.

SINEN BASSA, otherwise called CIGALA, had but two sons, grandchildren of Sultan Soliman. The eldest son of Sinen was named Alii, the second Mahomed. Alii deceas'd after his father Sinen, a little since, and the second remained alive. This Mahomed married the sisters daughter of Sultan Mahomed about the year of their Hegira 1003, and of our æra 1594, of which daughter he had born a son, called also Mahomed, after the name of his father. This youth was of a singular good disposition, ingenious, and of a sprit-full wit, without great ambition, or affecting of command, but addicted rather to the softer pleasures of life, and was in summe the darling both of Sultan Mahomet and Achmet, and indeed of all that succeeded in the empire to the reign of Sultan Mahomed Han, the present Grand Signior, who called him Giovan Capuci Pasha, a title the Emperor usually bestows on those who are dignified with the office of secret porters of the Seraglio, and whose charge it is to attend upon all extraordinary occasions, and that are sometimes dispatch'd to cut off the head of a Visier or Bassa, and such signal executions.

This Capuci Pasha we find afterward made general in Candia, and by degrees ascended to be Grand Visier, but he enjoys not that honor long, for he died in that war about fifteen or sixteen years since.

This is what we can yet discover concerning Sinen, otherwise Cigala. But there is, indeed, besides this, another very noble family of the Cigalas about Scio; who are, 'tis believed, a branch of the race of the Genoveses, and who are at present called at Scio, Cigal Ogli, which imports as much as to say, as son of Cigali, or sons of Meni Pasha Cigala.

This Meni Pasha had two sons that arriv'd both to be Bassas and

captains of gallies; one of which was called Beker Pasha, the other Holein Bassa. Beker died some while since, and Holein is yet, I suppose, living; it is not to be believed that our impostor Mahomed Bei is brother to Holein, as he somewhere boasts himself, because it is against all appearance of truth; neither is it probable, that though some of the Cigali might be merchants, that therefore any of them should go into Christendom to change their religion, and renounce a government so great and glorious, as that of being sole Moderator of the whole Ottoman empire (for to no less does this impostor pretend), without that ever we should hear of it but from his own trumpet. If conjecture may be admitted in this case, how this braggadocio comes to assume the name of Cigala, 'tis possible his fathers name may be found to have been Cigo; which sounding near that of Cigala, might prompt him to usurp the title of that illustrious house.

There are innumerable instances throughout his legend which fall under the same suspicion; some whereof are notorious falsities, divers of them incongruous and contradictory; and if there were no other than that of his egregious ignorance in the Turkish language, (which he pretends to be his maternal tongue, but blatters very imperfectly,) besides his gross unskilfulness in the Ottoman court and Oriental affairs, it were sufficient to disabuse the world, and to brand him for a most impudent impostor.

Some Passages out of his Book animadverted.

Page 14. That the Viscount Cigala dying in Constantinople in the time of his captivity, his funeral was openly solemniz'd by permission of Solyman; his corps publiquely carried through the town with the cross and holy water, followed and accompanied by all the ambassadors of Christian Princes then at the Porte, and all the religious orders of the city, to the church of St. Francis, where he was interred according to the forms of Christian burial; almost every particular of which carries a notorious confutation, as all who understand any thing of that time and place do well know.

Page 1. Selim made Cipio Cigala Visier, and second Bassa of the Porte. Consider if this were likely, that being a descent; and

Page 21. Whether to be Captain Bassa be a greater honor than to be Prime Vizier?

Page 45. Whether the Grand Signior uses to permit any officer to suspend execution, or use ceremony in decollation, when he is the highest incensed?

Page 58. Whether there be any such treasures of plate, &c. and other precious things among the poor Friers at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Page 86. Whether the Turks make use of any Christian physicians?

Page 90. Whether the war with the Venetian was onely for the surprising of Ibrahims eldest son, by the Knights of Malta, with the Sultana his mother, as she went to have him circumcised at Mecca? which we have already confuted.

Page 112. 'Tis to be considered how timely he makes his two Jesuits and Maccenigo die, the chief and onely authentique testimonies of his conversion and pretended exploits.

Page 150. That this happens to be known by none save two or three poor slaves, and as many Jews, neither of which appear with him.

Page 167. That he produces not his story 'till after the death of both the Queen of Poland his god-mother, and, I suppose, the Archbishop too, who he pretends to have baptiz'd him.

Page 167. The Captain Guardianship of the Emperor's artillery, is (as we are informed) no more than Master of the Carriages; which is all he had to produce here for his grand diploma, without a word of any thing else to the purpose of the rest of his high pretences.

THE

HISTORY OF SABATAI SEVI,

THE PRETENDED MESSIAH OF THE JEWES, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1666.

THE THIRD IMPOSTOR.

ACCORDING to the predictions of several Christian writers, especially of such who comment on the Apocalyps, or Revelations, this year of 1666 was to prove a year of wonders, of strange revolutions in the world, and particularly of blessing to the Jewes, either in respect of their conversion to the Christian faith, or of their restoration to their temporal kingdome; this opinion was so dilated, and fixt in the countreys of the reformed religion, and in the heads of fanatical enthusiasts, who dreamed of a fift monarchy, the downfall of the Pope, and Antichrist, and the greatness of the Jewes; in so much, that this subtle people judged this year the time to stir, and to fit their motion according to the season of the modern prophesies; whereupon strange reports flew from place to place, of the march of multitudes of people from unknown parts into the remote desarts of Arabia, supposed to be the Ten Tribes and halfe, loste for so many ages. That a ship was arrived in the northern parts of Scotland with her sails and cordage of silke, navigated by mariners who spake nothing but Hebrew; with this motto on their sails, the Twelve Tribes of Israel. These reportes agreeing thus near to former predictions, put the wild sort of the world into an expectation of strange accidents this year should produce in reference to the Jewish monarchy.

In this manner millions of people were possessed, when Sabatai Sevi first appear'd at Smyrna, and published himself to the Jewes for their Messiah, relating the greatness of their approaching kingdome, the strong hand whereby God was about to deliver them from bondage, and gather them from all partes of the world. It was strange to see how th' fancy took, and how fast the report of Sabatai and his doctrine flew through all partes where Turkes and Jews inhabited; the latter of which were so deeply possessed with a beliefe of their new kingdome,

and riches, and many of them with promotion to offices of government, renown, and greatness, that in all parts from Constantinople to Buda (which it was my fortune that year to travel) I perceiv'd a strange transport in the Jewes, none of them attending to any business unless to winde up former negotiations, and to prepare themselves and families for a journey to Jerusalem. All their discourses, their dreames, and disposal of their affaires, tended to no other design but a re-establishment in the land of promise, to greatness, glory, wisdome, and doctrine of the Messiah, whose original, birth, and education are first to be recounted.

Sabatai Sevi was son of Mordechai Sevi, an inhabitant and natural of Smyrna, who gained his livelihood by being broker to an English marchant in that place; a person, who before his death was very decrepit in his body, and full of the goute, and other infirmities; but his son, Sabatai Sevi, addicting himself to study, became a notable proficient in the Hebrew and metaphysicks, and arrived to that point of sophistry in divinity and metaphysicks, that he vented a new doctrine in the law, drawing to the profession of it so many disciples as raised one day a tumult in the synagogue, for which afterwards he was by a censure of the chochams (who are expounders of the law) banished the city.

During the time of his exile he travelled to Thessalonica, now called Salonica, where he marryed a very handsome woman; but either not having that part of œconomy as to govern a wife, or being impotent towards women, as was pretended, or that she found not favour in his eyes, she was divorc'd from him. Again, he took a second wife, more beautiful than the former, but the same causes of discontent raising a difference between them, he obtained another divorce from this wife also. And being now free from the incumbrances of a family, his wandring head mov'd him to travel through the Morea, thence to Tripoli in Syria, Gaza, and Jerusalem; and by the way picked up a Ligernese lady, whom he made his third wife, the daughter of some Polonian or German, her original and parentage not being very well known. And being now at Jerusalem, he began to reforme the law of the Jewes, and abolish the Fast of Tamuz (which they keep in the moneth of June); and there meeting with a certain Jew called Nathan, a proper instrument to promote his design, he communicated to him his condi-

tion, his course of life, and intentions to proclaime himselfe Messiah of the world, so long expected and desired by the Jewes. This design took wonderfully with Nathan, and because it was thought necessary, according to Scripture and antient prophesies, that Elias was to precede the Messiah, as St. John Baptist was the fore-runner of Christ, Nathan thought no man so proper to act the part of the prophet as himself; and so no sooner had Sabatai declared himself the Messiah, than Nathan discovers himself to be his prophet, forbiding all the fasts of the Jewes in Jerusalem, and declaring, that the bridegroom being come, nothing but joy and triumph ought to dwell in their habitations, writing to all the assemblies of the Jewes to perswade them to the same beliefe.

And now the schisme being begun, and many Jewes really believing what they so much desired, Nathan took the courage and boldness to prophesie, that one year from the 27th of Kislen (which is the moneth of June) the Messiah shall appear before the Grand Signor, and take from him his crown, and lead him in chaines like a captive.

Sabatai also at Gaza preached repentance to the Jewes, and obedience to himself and doctrine, for that the coming of the Messiah was at hand: which novelties so affected the Jewish inhabitants of those partes, that they gave up themselves wholly to their prayers, almes, and devotions; and to confirme this beliefe the more, it happen'd that at the same time that newes thereof, with all perticulars, were dispatched from Gaza, to acquaint the brethren in foreign partes, the rumour of the Messiah hath flown so swift, and gained such reception, that intelligence came from all partes and countreys where the Jewes inhabit, by letters to Gaza and Jerusalem, congratulating the happiness of their deliverance, and expiration of the time of their servitude, by the appearance of the Messiah. To which they adjoyned other prophesies relating to that dominion the Messiah was to have over all the world: that for nine moneths after he was to disappeare, during which time the Jewes were to suffer, and many of them to undergoe martyrdom; but then, returning again, mounted on a celestial lyon, with his bridle made of serpents with seven heads, accompanyed with his brethren the Jewes who inhabited on the other side of the river Sabation,

he should be acknowledged for the sole monarch of the universe, and then the Holy Temple should descend from Heaven, already built, framed, and beautified, wherein they should offer sacrifice for ever.

And here I leave you to consider how strangely this deceived people was amused, when these confident and vain reports and dreams of power and kingdomes had wholly transported them from the ordinary course of their trade and interest.

This noise and rumour of the Messiah having begun to fill all places, Sabatai Sevi resolved to travel towards Smyrna, the country of his nativity, and thence to Constantinople, the capital city, where the principal work of preaching was to have been performed. Nathan thought it not fit to be long after him, and therefore travels by the way of Damascus, where, resolving to continue some time for better propagation of this new doctrine, in the meane while writes this letter to Sabatai Sevi, as followeth:

22. *Kesvan of this year.*

To the King, our King, Lord of our Lords, who gathers the dispersed of Israel, who redeems our captivity, the man elevated to the height of all sublimity, the Messiah of the God of Jacob, the true Messiah, the Cœlestial Lyon, Sabatai Sevi, whose honour be exalted, and his dominion raised in a short time, and for ever, Amen. After having kissed your hands, and swept the dust from your feet, as my duty is to the King of Kings, whose majesty be exalted, and his empire enlarged, these are to make known to the supreme excellency of that place, which is adorned with the beauty of your sanctity, that the word of the King, and of his law, hath enlightened our faces: that day hath been a solemn day unto Israel, and a day of light unto our rulers, for immediately we applyed our selves to performe your commands, as our duty is. And though we have heard of many strange things, yet we are couragious, and our heart is as the heart of a lyon; nor ought we to enquire a reason of your doings, for your workes are marvellous, and past finding out: and we are confirmed in our fidelity without all exception, resigning up our very souls for the holiness of your name. And now we are come as far as Damascus, intending shortly to proceed in our journey to Scanderone, according as you have commanded us; that so we may

ascend, and see the face of God in light, as the light of the face of the king of life: and we, servants of your servants, shall cleanse the dust from your feet, beseeching the majesty of your excellency and glory to vouchsafe from your habitation to have a care of us, and help us with the force of your right hand of strength, and shorten our way which is before us: and we have our eyes towards Jah, Jah, who will make hast to help us, and save us, that the children of iniquity shall not hurt us, and towards whom our hearts pant, and are consumed within us; who shall give us tallons of iron to be worthy to stand under the shadow of your asse. These are the words of the servant of your servants, who prostrates himself to be trod on by the soles of your feet,

NATHAN BENJAMINE.

And that he might publish this doctrine of himself and the Messiah more plainly, he wrote from Damascus this following letter to the Jewes at Aleppo, and parts thereabouts:

To the residue or remnant of the Israelites, peace without end.

These my words are, to give you notice, how that I am arrived in peace at Damascus, and behold I go to meet the face of our Lord, whose majesty be exalted; for he is the sovereign of the King of Kings, whose empire be enlarged. According as he hath commanded us and the 12 tribes to elect unto him 12 men, so have we done*: and we now go to Scanderone by his command, to shew our faces together, with part of the principal of those particular friends to whom he hath given licence to assemble in that same place. And now I come to make known unto you, that though you have heard strange things of our Lord, yet let not your hearts faint, or fear, but rather fortifie your selves in your faith, because all his actions are miraculous and secret, which humane understanding cannot comprehend, and who cannot penetrate the depth of them. In a short time all things shall be manifested to you clearly in their purity; and you shall know, and shall consider, and be instructed by the inventor himself; blessed is he who can expect, and

* Sabatai wrote a letter to elect one man out of every tribe.

arrive to the salvation of the true Messiah, who will speedily publish his authority and empire over us, now and for ever.

NATHAN.

And now all the cities of Turky where the Jewes inhabited were full of the expectation of the Messiah; no trade nor course of gaine was followed: every one imagin'd that dayly provisions, riches, honours, and government, were to descend upon them by some unknown and miraculous manner; an example of which is most observable in the Jewes at Thessalonica, who now, full of assurance that the restoration of their kingdome, and the accomplishment of the time for the coming of the Messiah was at hand, judged themselves obliged to double their devotions, and purifie their consciences from all sins and enormities which might be obvious to the scrutiny of him who was now come to penetrate into the very thoughts and imaginations of mankinde. In which work certain chochams were appointed to direct the people how to regulate their prayers, fasts, and other acts of devotion. But so forward was every one now in his acts of penance, that they stay'd not for the sentence of the chocham, or prescription of any rules, but apply'd themselves immediately to fasting: and some in that manner beyond the abilities of nature, that having for the space of seven dayes taken no sustenance, were famished to death. Others buried themselves in their gardens, covering their naked bodies with earth, their heads onely excepted, remained in their beds of dirt until their bodies were stifned with the cold and moisture: others would endeavour to have melted wax dropped upon their shoulders; others to rowle themselves in snow, and throw their bodies in the coldest season of winter into the sea, or frozen waters. But the most common way of mortification was first to prick their backs and sides with thornes, and then to give themselves thirty nine lashes. All business was laid aside; none worked or opened shop, unless to clear his warehouse of merchandize at any price; who had superfluity in household-stuffe sold it for what he could, but yet not to Jewes, for they were interdicted from bargaines or sales, on the pain of excommunication, pecuniary mulcts, or corporal punishments; for all business and employment was esteemed the test and touchstone of their

faith. It being the general tenent, that in the dayes that the Messiah appeares, the Jewes shall become masters of the estates and inheritance of the infidels, until when they are to content themselves with matters onely necessary to maintain and support life. But because every one was not master of so much fortune and provision as to live without dayly labour, therefore to quiet the clamours of the poor, and prevent the enormous lives of some who upon these occasions would become vagabonds and desert their cities, due order was taken to make collections, which were so liberally bestow'd, that in Thessalonica onely 400 poore were supported by the meer charity of the richer. And as they indeavour'd to purge their consciences of sin, and to apply themselves to good workes, that the Messiah might find the city prepared for his reception; so, least he should accuse them of any omission in the law, and particularly in their neglect of that antient precept of increase and multiply, they marryed together children of ten yeares of age, and some under, without respect to riches or poverty, condition or quality; but, being promiscuously joyned, to the number of 6 or 700 couple, upon better and cooler thoughts, after the deceipt of the false Messiah was discovered, or the expectation of his coming grew cold, were divorced, or by consent separated from each other.

In the heat of all this talk and rumour comes Sabatai Sevi to Smyrna, the city of his nativity, infinitely desir'd there by the common Jewes; but by the chochams, or doctors of the law, who gave little or no credence to what he pretended, was ill receiv'd, not knowing what mischief or ruine this doctrine and prophesie of a new kingdome might produce. Yet Sabatai bringing with him testimonials of his sanctity, holy life, wisdom, and gift of prophesie, so deeply fixed himself in the heart of the generality, both as being holy and wise, that thereupon he took courage and boldness to enter into dispute with the Grand Chocham (who is the head and chief expositer of the law, and superintendent of their will and government), between whom the arguments grew so high, and language so hot, that the Jewes who favoured the doctrine of Sabatai, and feared the authority of the Chocham, doubtful what might be the issue of the contest, appear'd in great numbers before the Cadi of Smyrna, in justification of their new prophet, before so much as any

accusation came against him. The Cadi, according to the custom of the Turkes, swallows money on both sides, and afterwards remits them to the determination of their own justice. In this manner Sabatai gaines ground dayly; and the Grand Chocham, with his party, losing both the affection and obedience of his people, is displaced from his office, and another constituted, more affectionate and agreeable to the new prophet, whose power daily increased by those confident reports, that his enemies were struck with phrensies and madness, until being restor'd to their former temper and wits by him, became his friends, admirers, and disciples. No invitation was now made in Smyrna by the Jewes, nor marriage or circumcision solemnized, where Sabatai was not present, accompanyed with a multitude of his followers, and the streets cover'd with carpits or fine cloath for him to tread on; but the humility of this Pharisee appeared such, that he would stoop and turne them aside, and so pass. And having thus fixed himself in the opinion and admiration of the people, he began to take on himself the title of Messiah, and the Son of God; and to make this following declaration to all the nations of the Jewes, which being wrote originally in Hebrew, was translated for me faithfully into Italian, in this manner:

L' unico figliolo, e primogenito d' Dio, Sabatai Sevi, il Messiah, e Salvatore d' Israel, eletti di Dio pace essendo che sete fatti degni di veder quel grangiorno della deliberatione e salvatione d' Israel, e consummatione delle parole di Dio, promessa per gli sur profeti, e padri nostri, per il suo diletto figlio d' Israel, ogni vestra amaritudine si converta in allegrezza, e li vestri digjunì facino feste, per che non piangerete, O miei figliole d' Israel havendovi, dati Iddio la consolatione inenarrabile, festegiate contimpani e musiche, ringratiando quello chi ha adempito il promesso dalli secoli, facendo ogni giorno quelle cose che solete fare nelle callende, e quel gierno dedicato all' afflictione e mestitia, convertite lo in giorno giocondo per la mia comparsa, e non spaventate niente, per che haverete Dominio sopra le genti, non solamente di quelle, che si vedodono in terra, ma quelle che sono in fondi del mare, il tutto pro vestra consolatione & allegrezza.

Which, translated into English, runs thus:

The onely and first-born Son of God, Sabatai Sevi, the Messiah and Saviour of Israel, to all the sons of Israel, peace. Since that you are made worthy to see that great day of deliverance and salvation unto Israel, and accomplishment of the word of God, promised by his prophets, and our fore-fathers, and by his beloved Son of Israel, let your bitter sorrowes be turned into joy, and your fasts into festivals, for you shall weep no more, O my sons of Israel, for God having given you this unspeakable comfort, rejoyce with drums, organs, and musick, giving thanks to him for performing his promise from all ages; doing that every day, which is usual for you to do upon the new-moons; and, that day dedicated to affliction and sorrow convert you into a day of mirth for my appearance; and fear you nothing, for you shall have dominion over the nations, and not onely over those who are on earth, but over those creatures also which are in the depth of the sea. All which is for your consolation and rejoycing.

SABATAI SEVI.

Notwithstanding the disciples of Sabatai Sevi were not so numerous, but many opposed his doctrine, publiquely avouching that he was an imposter and deceiver of the people, amongst which was one Samuel Pennia, a man of a good estate and reputation in Smyrna, who arguing in the synagogue that the present signs of the coming of the Messiah were not apparent, either according to Scripture, or the doctrine of the Rabbins, raised such a sedition and tumult among the Jews as not onely prevailed against arguments, but had also against his life, had he not timely conveyed himself out of the synagogue, and thereby escaped the hands of the multitude, who now could more easily endure blasphemy against the law of Moses, and the prophanation of the Sanctuary, than contradiction or misbelief of the doctrine of Sabatai. But, howsoever, it fell out, Pennia in a short time becomes a convert, and preaches up Sabatai for the Son of God and deliverer of the Jews: and not onely he, but his whole family; his daughters prophesie, and fall into strange extasies; and not onely his house, but four hundred men and women prophecie of the growing kingdom of Sabatai; and young infants, who could scarce stammer out a syllable to their mothers, repeat and pronounce plainly the

name of Sabatai, the Messiah and Son of God. For thus far had God permitted the devil to delude this people, that their very children were for a time possessed, and voices heard to sound from their stomach and intrails. Those of riper years fell first into a trance, foamed at the mouth, and recounted the future prosperitie and deliverance of the Israelites, their visions of the Lion of Judah, and the triumphs of Sabatai, all which were certainly true, being effects of diabolical delusions, as the Jews themselves since have confessed unto me.

With these concomitant accidents and successes, Sabatai Sevi, growing more presumptuous, that he might correspond with the prophesies of greatness and dominion of the Messiah, proceeds to an election of those princes which were to govern the Israelites in their march towards the Holy Land, and to dispense judgement and justice over their restoration. The names of them were these which follow, men well known at Smyrna, who never (God knows) had ambition to aspire to the title of princes, until a strange spirit of deceit and delusion had moved them, not onely to hope it as possible but to expect it as certain :

Isaac Silvera,	King David.	Matassia Aschenesi,	Asa.
Saloman Lagnado,	was Salomon.	Meir Alcaira,	Rehoboam.
Salom. Lagnado, jun.	named Zovah.	Jacob Loxas,	Ammon.
Joseph Cohen,	Uzziah.	Mordecai Jesserun,	Jehoachim.
Moses Galente,	Josaphat.	Chaim Inegna,	Jeroboam.
Daniel Pinto,	Hilkiah.	Joseph Scavillo,	Abia.
Abraham Scandale,	Jotham.	Conor Nehemias,	was Zarobabel.
Mokiah Gaspar,	Zedekiah.	Joseph del Caire,	named Joas.
Abraham Leon,	Achas.	Elcukin Schavit,	Amasia.
Ephraim Arditi,	Joram.	Abraham Rubio,	Josiah.
Salam Carmona,	Achab.		

Elias Sevi had the title of the King of the King of Kings.
Elias Azar, his Vice-king, or Vizier.
Joseph Sevi, the King of the Kings of Judah.
Joseph Iernuch, his Vice-king.

In this manner things ran to a strange height of madness amongst

the Jews at Smyrna, where appear'd such pageantry of greatness, that no comedy could equal the mock-shews they represented, and though none durst openly profess any scruple or doubt of this common receiv'd belief, yet for confirmation of the Jews in their faith, and astonishment of the Gentiles, it was judged no less than necessary that Sabatai should shew some miracles whereby to evince to all the world that he was the true Messiah; and as the present occasion seemed to require an evidence infallible of this truth, so it was daily expected by the vulgar, with an impatience sutable to humours disposed to noveltie, who out of every action and motion of their prophet began to fancy something extraordinary and supernatural. Sabatai was now horribly puzzled for a miracle, though the imagination of the people was so vitiated that any legerdemaine or slight of hand would have passed more easily with them for a wonder than Moses striking the rock for water, or dividing the Red Sea. And occasion happening that Sabatai was, in behalf of his subjects, to appear before the Cadi, or judge of the citie, to demand ease and relief of some oppressions which aggrieved them, it was thought necessary a miracle should now be wrought or never; when Sabatai appearing with a formal and pharisaical gravitie, which he had starcht on, some on a sudden avouched to see a pillar of fire between him and the Cadi, which report presently was heard through the whole room, filled with Jews that accompanied Sabatai, some of whom, who strongly fancied it, vow'd and swore they saw it; others in the outward yard, or that could not come near to hear or see for the crowd, as speedily took the alarm, and the rumour ran, and belief receiv'd by the women and children at home in a moment, so that Sabatai Sevi returned to his house triumphant, fixed in the hearts of his people, who now needed no further miracles to confirm them in their faith. And thus was Sabatai exalted, when no man was thought worthy of communication who did not believe him to be the Messiah: others were called *kophrim*, infidels or heretics, liable to the censure of excommunication, with whom it was not lawful so much as to eat: every man produc'd his treasure, his gold, and jewels, offering them at the feet of Sabatai, so that he could have commanded all the wealth of Smyrna, but he was too subtil to accept their money, least he should render his design suspected by any

act of covetousness. Sabatai Sevi having thus fully fixed himself in Smyrna, and filled other places with rumors of his fame, declared that he was called by God to visit Constantinople, where the greatest part of his work was to be accomplisht; in order whereunto he privately ships himself, with some few attendants, in a Turkish saick, in the moneth of January 1666, least the crowd of his disciples, and such who would press to follow him, should endanger him in the eyes of the Turks, who already began to be scandalized at the reports and prophecies concerning his person. But though Sabatai took few into the vessel to him, yet a multitude of Jews travell'd over land to meet him again at Constantinople, on whom all their eyes and expectations were intent. The wind proving northernly, as commonly it is in the Hellespont and Propontis, Sabatai was thirty nine days in his voyage, and yet the vessel not arriv'd, so little power had this Messiah over the sea and winds, in which time news being come to Constantinople that the Jews Messiah was near, all that people prepared to receive him with the same joy and impatience as was exprest in other parts where he arrived. The great Vizier (then also at Constantinople, being not yet departed on his expedition for Candia) having heard some rumors of this man, and the disorder and madness he had raised amongst the Jews, sent two boats, whil'st the saick was detained by contrary winds, with commands to bring him up prisoner to the Porte; where accordingly Sabatai being come, was committed to the most loathsom and darkest dungeon in the town, there to remain in farther expectation of the Viziers sentence. The Jews were not at all discouraged at this ill treatment of their prophet, but rather confirmed in their belief of him, as being the accomplishment of the prophesie of those things which ought to precede his glory and dominion; which consideration induc'd the chiefest persons amongst the Jews to make their visits and addresses to him with the same ceremony and respect in the dungeon as they would have done had he then sat exalted on the throne of Israel. Several of them, with one Anacago by name, a man of great esteem amongst the Jews, attended a whole day before him, with their eyes cast down, their bodies bending forward, and hands crost before them (which are postures of humility and service in the Eastern countreys), the undecency

of the place, and present subjection, not having in the least abated their high thoughts and reverence towards his person. The Jews in Constantinople were now become as mad and distracted as they were in other places, all trade and traffique forbidden, and those who owed money in no manner careful how to satisfie it; amongst which wild crew some were indebted to our merchants at Galata, who not knowing the way to receive their money, partly for their interest, and partly for curiosity, thought fit to visit this Sabatai, complayning that such particular Jews, upon his coming, took upon them the boldness to defraud them of their right, desired he would be pleased to signifie to these his subjects his pleasure to have satisfaction given; whereupon Sabatai with much affectation took pen and paper, and wrote to this effect:

"To you of the nation of the Jews, who expect the appearance of the Messiah, and the salvation of Israel, peace without end. Whereas we are informed that you are indebted to several of the English nation, it seemeth right to us to enorder you to make satisfaction to these your just debts; which if you refuse to do, and not obey us herein, know you, that then you are not to enter with us into our joys and dominions."

In this manner Sabatai Sevi remained a prisoner at Constantinople for the space of two moneths; at the end of which, the Vizier having designed his expedition for Candia, and considering the rumour and disturbance the presence of Sabatai had made already at Constantinople, thought it not secure to suffer him to remain in the Imperial citie, whil'st both the Grand Signior and himself were absent, and therefore changes his prison to the Dardanelli, otherwise called the Castle of Abydos, being on the Europe side of the Helespont, opposite to Sestos, places famous in Greek poetrie. This removal of Sabatai from a worse prison to one of a better air, confirmed the Jews with greater confidence of his being the Messiah, supposing that had it been in the power of the Vizier, or other officers of the Turks, to have destroyed his person, they would never have permitted him to have lived to that time, in regard their maximes enforce them to quit all jealousies and suspitions of ruine to their state by the death of the party feared, which much

rather they ought to execute on Sabatai, who had not onely declared himself the King of Israel, but also published prophesies fatal to the Grand Signior and his Kingdoms.

With this consideration, and others preceding, the Jews flock in great numbers to the castle where he was imprisoned, not onely from the neighbouring parts, but also from Poland, Germanie, Legorne, Venice, Amsterdam, and other places where the Jews reside; on all whom, as a reward of the expence and labours of their pilgrimage, Sabatai bestowed plenty of his benedictions, promising increase of their store, and enlargement of their possessions in the Holy Land. And so great was the confluence of the Jews to this place, that the Turks thought it requisite to make their advantage thereof, and so not only raised the price of their provision, lodgings, and other necessaries, but also denied to admit any to the presence of Sabatai unless for money, setting the price, sometimes at five, sometimes at ten dollers, or more or less, according as they guessed at their abilities or zeal of the person, by which gain and advantage to the Turks no complaints or advices were carried to Adrianople, either of the concourse of people, or arguments amongst the Jews in that place, but rather all civilities and libertie indulged unto them, which served as a farther argument to ensnare this poor people in the belief of their Messiah.

During this time of confinement, Sabatai had leisure to compose and institute a new method of worship for the Jews, and principally the manner of the celebration of the day of his nativity, which he prescribed in this manner:

"Brethren, and my people, men of religion inhabiting the city of Smyrna the renowned, where live men, and women, and families, peace be unto you, from the Lord of Peace, and from me his beloved Son, King Salomon. I command you that the ninth day of the moneth of Ab (which according to our account answered that year to the moneth of June) next to come, you make a day of invitation and of great joy, celebrating it with choice meats and pleasing drinks, with many candles and lamps, with musick and songs, because it is the day of the birth of Sabatai Sevi, the high King above all the Kings of the earth. And

as to matters of labour, and other things of like nature, do, as becomes you, upon a day of festival, adorned with your finest garments. As to your prayers, let the same order be used as upon festivals. To converse with Christians on that day is unlawful, though your discourse be of matters indifferent; all labour is forbidden, but to sound instruments is lawful. This shall be the method and substance of your prayers on this day of festival: After you have said, 'Blessed be thou, O holy God!' then proceed and say, 'Thou hast chosen us before all people, and hast loved us, and hast been delighted with us, and hast humbled us more than all other nations, and hast sanctified us with thy precepts, and hast brought us near to thy service, and the service of our King. Thy holy, great, and terrible name thou hast published amongst us; and hast given us, O Lord God, according to thy love, time of joy, of festivals, and times of mirth, and this day of consolation for a solemn convocation of holiness, for the birth of our King the Messiah, Sabatai Sevi, thy servant and first-born son in love, through whom we commemorate our coming out of Egypt.' And then you shall read for your lesson the 1, 2, and 3 chapters of Deut. to the 17 verse, appointing for the reading thereof five men, in a perfect and uncorrupted Bible, adding thereunto the Blessings of the morning, as are prescribed for days of festival; and for the lesson out of the Prophets usually read in the synagogue every Sabbath, you shall read the 31 chapt. of Jeremiah. To your prayer called *mussaf* (used in the synagogue every Sabbath and solemn festival) you shall adjoyn that of the present festival; in stead of the sacrifice of Addition, of the returning of the Bible to its place, you shall read with an audible voice and clear sound, the Psalm 95. And at the first Praises in the morning, after you have sang Psalm 91, and just before you sing Psalm 98, you shall repeate Psalm 132; but in the last verse, where it is said, *as for his enemies I shall cloath them with shame, but upon himself shall his crown flourish*, in the place of *(upon himself)* you shall read, *upon the most high;* after which shall follow the 126 Psalm, and then the 113 to the 119.

At the consecration of the wine upon the vigil, or even, you shall make mention of the Feast of Consolation, which is the day of the birth of our King the Messiah, Sabatai Sevi, thy servant and first-born son,

giving the blessing, as followeth: 'Blessed be thou, our God, king of the world, who hast made us to live, and hast maintain'd us, and hast kept us alive unto this time.' Upon the eve of this day you shall read also the 81 Psalm, as also the 132 and 126 Psalmes, which are appointed for the morning praises. And this day shall be unto you for the remembrance of a solemn day unto eternal ages, and a perpetual testimony between me and the sons of Israel."

Audite audiendo & manducate bonam.

Besides which order and method of prayers for solemnization of his birth, he prescribed other rules for divine service, and particularly published the same indulgence and privilege to every one who should pray at the tomb of his mother, as if he had taken on him a pilgrimage to pray and sacrifice at Jerusalem.

The devotion of the Jews toward this pretended Messiah increased still more and more, so that not onely the chief of the city went to attend and proffer their service toward him in the time of his imprisonment, but likewise decked their synagogue with S. S. in letters of gold, making for him on the wall a crown, in the circle of which was wrote the 91 Psalm at length, in faire and legible characters; attributing the same titles to Sabatai, and expounding the Scriptures in the same manner in favour of his appearance, as we do of our Saviour. However, some of the Jews remain'd in their wits all this time, amongst which was a certain Chocham at Smyrna, one zealous of his law, and of the good and safety of his nation: and observing in what a wilde manner the whole people of the Jewes was transported with the groundless beliefe of a Messiah, leaving not onely their trade and course of living, but publishing prophesies of a speedy kingdome, of rescue from the tyranny of the Turk, and leading the Grand Signior himself captive in chaines; matters so dangerous and obnoxious to the state wherein they lived, as might justly convict them of treason and rebellion, and leave them to the mercy of that justice which on the least jealousie and suspicion of matters of this nature used to extirpate families, and subvert the mansion-houses of their own people, much rather of the Jewes, on whom the Turkes would gladly take occasion to dispoile them of their estates,

and condemn the whole nation to perpetual slavery. And indeed it would have been a greater wonder than ever Sabatai shewed, that the Turkes took no advantage from all these extravagances, to draine the Jewes of a considerable sum of money, and set their whole race in Turkey at a ransome, had not these passages yielded them matter of pastime, and been the subject of the Turkes laughter and scorne, supposing it a disparagement to the greatness of the Ottoman empire, to be concerned for the rumours and combustions of this dispersed people. With these considerations, this Cocham, that he might clear himself of the blood and guilt of his countrey-men, and concern'd in the common destruction, goes before the Cadi, and there protests against the present doctrine, declaring that he had no hand in setting up of Sabatai, but was an enemy both to him and to his whole sect. This freedome of the Cocham so enraged and scandalized the Jewes, that they judged no condemnation or punishment too severe against such an offender and blasphemer of their law and holiness of the Messiah; and therefore with money and presents to the Cadi, accusing him as disobedient in a capital nature to their government, obtain'd sentence against him, to have his beard shaved, and to be condemn'd to the gallies. There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the Messiah, and the solemnity of his coming, but the presence of Elias, whom the Jews began to expect hourely, and with that attention and earnestness that every dreame or phantasme to a weak head was judged to be Elias, it being taught, and averred, that he was seen in divers formes and shapes, not to be certainly discovered or known, before the coming of the Messiah; for this superstition is so far fixed amongst them, that generally in their families they spread a table for Elias the prophet, to which they make an invitation of poor people, leaving the chief place for the Lord Elias, whom they believe to be invisibly present at the entertainment, and there to eate and drink, without diminution either of the dishes or of the cup. One person amongst the Jewes commanded his wife, after a supper of this kind, to leave the cup filled with wine, and the meat standing all night, for Elias to feast and rejoyce alone; and in the morning arising early, affirmed, that Elias took this banquet so kindly, that in token of gratitude and acceptance he had replenish'd the cup

with oyle in stead of wine. It is a certaine custome amongst the Jewes on the evening of the Sabbath to repeat certain praises of God (called *havdila)*, which signifies a distinction or separation of the Sabbath from the prophane dayes (as they call them), which praises they observe to performe in this manner. One takes a cup filled with wine, and drops it through the whole house, saying, "Elias the prophet, Elias the prophet, Elias the prophet, come quickly to us with the Messiah, the son of God and David;" and this they affirme to be so acceptable to Elias, that he never failes to preserve that family so devoted to him, and augment it with the blessings of increase. Many other things the Jews avouch of Elias, so ridiculous as are not fit to be declar'd, amongst which this one is not far from our purpose; that at the circumcision there is alwayes a chair set for Elias. And Sabatai Sevi being once invited at Smyrna to the circumcision of the first-borne son of one Abraham Gutiere, a kinsman of Sabatai, and all things ready for the ceremony, Sabatai Sevi exhorted the parents of the child to expect a while until his farther order. After a good halfe hour, Sabatai order'd them to proceed and cut the prepuce of the child, which was instantly perform'd with all joy and satisfaction to the parents: and being afterwards demanded the reason why he retarded the performance of that function, his answer was, that Elias had not as yet taken his seat, whom, as soon as he saw placed, he ordered them to proceed; and that now shortly Elias would discover himself openly, and proclaime the news of the general redemption.

This being the common opinion amongst the Jewes, and that Sabatai Sevi was the Messiah, being become an article of faith, it was not hard to perswade them, that Elias was come already, that they met him in their dishes, in the darke, in their bed-chambers, or any where else invisible, in the same manner as our common people in England believe of hobgoblins and fairies. For so it was, when Solomon Cremona, an inhabitant of Smyrna, making a great feast, to which the principal Jews of the city were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one of them starts from his seat, and avouches that he saw Elias upon the wall, and with that bowes to him, and complements him with all reverence and humility. Some others having in like manner their fancies

prepossessed, and their eyes with the fume of wine ill prepared to distinguish shadowes, immediately agreed upon the object, and then there was not one in the company who would say he did not see him: at which surprize every one was struck with reverence and awe; and the most eloquent amongst them, having their tongues loosed with joy and wine, directed orations, encomiums, and acts of thankfulness to Elias, courting and complimenting him as distracted lovers doe the supposed presence of their mistresses. Another Jew at Constantinople reported, that he met Elias in the streets, habited like a Turke, with whom he had a long communication, and that he enjoyn'd the observation of many neglected ceremonies, and particularly the Zezit (Numb. 15, v. 38): "Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make *fringes* in the borders of their garments throughout their generation, and that they put upon the fringe of the border a *ribbon* of blue." Also the Peos (Levit. 19. v. 27): "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou marr the corners of thy beard." This apparition of Elias being believed as soon as published, every one began to obey the vision, by fringing their garments; and for their heads, though alwayes shaved, according to the Turkish and Eastern fashion, and that the suffering hair to grow, to men not accustomed, was heavy, and incommodious to the healths and heads; yet to begin again to renew, as far as was possible, the antient ceremonies, every one nourished a lock of hair on each side, which might be visible beneath their caps: which soon after began to be a sign of distinction between the believers and *kophrims*, a name of dishonour, signifying as much as unbelievers or hereticks, given to those who confessed not Sabatai to be the Messiah; which particulars, if not observed, it was declared, as a menace of Elias, that the people of the Jewes who come from the river Euphrates, as is specified in the second book of Esdras, chap. 13, shall take vengeance of those who are guilty of these omissions.

But to return again to Sabatai Sevi himself, we find him still remaining a prisoner in the Castle of Abydos upon the Hellespont, admir'd and ador'd by his brethren with more honour then before, and visited by pilgrimes from all parts where the fame of the coming of the Messiah had arriv'd; amongst which one from Poland, named Nehemiah Cohen, was of special note and renown, learned in the Hebrew, Syriack,

and Chaldee, and versed in the doctrine and *kabala* of the rabines as well as Sabatai himself, one of whom it was said, had not this Sevi anticipated the design, esteemed himself as able a fellow to act the part of a Messiah as the other: howsoever, it being now too late to publish any such pretence, Sabatai having now eleven points of the law by possession of the office, and with that the hearts and belief of the Jewes, Nehemiah was contented with some small appendage, or relation to the Messiah; and therefore, to lay his design the better, desired a private conference with Sabatai. These two great Rabines being together, a hot dispute arose between them; for Cohen alledged that according to Scripture, and exposition of the learned thereupon, there were to be two Messiahs, one called Ben Ephraim, and the other Ben David: the first was to be a preacher of the law, poor and despised, and a servant of the second, and his fore-runner; the other was to be great and rich, to restore the Jewes to Jerusalem, to sit upon the throne of David, and to performe and act all those triumphs and conquests which were expected from Sabatai. Nehemiah was contented to be Ben Ephraim, the afflicted and poor Messiah; and Sabatai (for any thing I hear) was well enough contented he should be so: but that Nehemiah accused him for being too forward in publishing himself the latter Messiah, before Ben Ephraim had first been known unto the world. Sabatai took this reprehension so ill, either out of pride, and thoughts of his own infallibility, or that he suspected Nehemiah, being once admitted for Ben Ephraim, would quickly (being a subtile and learned person) perswade the world that he was Ben David, would by no means understand or admit of this doctrine, or of Ben Ephraim for a necessary officer: and thereupon the dispute grew so hot, and the controversie so irreconcileable, as was taken notice of by the Jewes, and controverted amongst them, as every one fancy'd: but Sabatai being of greater authority, his sentence prevail'd, and Nehemiah was rejected as schismatical, and an enemy to the Messiah, which afterward proved the ruine and downfal of this impostor.

For Nehemiah being thus baffled, and being a person of authority, and a haughty spirit, meditated nothing but revenge; to execute which to the full, he takes a journey to Adrianople, and there informes the

chief ministers of state and officers of the court, who (by reason of the gain the Turks made of their prisoner at the castle on the Hellespont) heard nothing of all this concourse of people, and prophesies of the revolt of the Jews from their obedience to the Grand Signior; and taking likewise to his counsel some certain discontented and unbelieving Chochams, who being zealous for their nation, and jealous of the ill-consequences of this long-continued and increasing madness, took liberty to informe the Chimacham (who was deputy of the Great Vizier then at Candia) that the Jew, prisoner at the castle, called Sabatai Sevi, was a lewd person, and one who endeavoured to debauch the mindes of the Jewes, and divert them from their honest course of livelihood and obedience to the Grand Signior; and that therefore it was necessary to clear the world of so dangerous and factious a spirit. The Chimacham, being thus informed, could do no less then acquaint the Grand Signior with all the particulars of this man's condition, course of life, and doctrine; which were no sooner understood, but a Chiaux, or messenger, was immediately dispatched to bring up Sabatai Sevi to Adrianople. The Chiaux executed this commission after the Turkish fashion in haste, and brought Sabatai in a few days to Adrianople, without further excuse or ceremony; not affording him an hours space to take a solemn farewell of his friends, his followers and adorers, who now were come to the vertical point of all their hopes and expectations.

The Grand Signior having by this time received divers informations of the madness of the Jews, and the pretences of Sabatai, grew big with desire and expectation to see him; so that he no sooner arriv'd at Adrianople, but the same hour he was brought before the Grand Signior. Sabatai appeared much dejected, and failing of that courage which he shewed in the synagogue, and being demanded several questions in Turkish by the Grand Signior, he would not trust so farr to the vertue of his Messiahship as to deliver himself in the Turkish language, but desired a doctor of physick (who had from a Jew turned Turk) to be his interpreter, which was granted to him, but not without reflection of the standers by, that had he been the Messiah and Son of God, as he formerly pretended, his tongue would have flown with varietie as well as with the perfection of languages. But the Grand Signior would not

be put off without a miracle, and it must be one of his own choice, which was, that Sabatai should be stript naked, and set as a mark to his dexterous archers; if the arrows passed not his body, but that his flesh and skin was proof like armour, then he would believe him to be the Messiah, and the person whom God had design'd to those dominions and greatnesses he pretended. But now Sabatai, not having faith enough to stand to so sharp a trial, renounced all his title to kingdoms and governments, alledging that he was an ordinary Chocham, and a poor Jew, as others were, and had nothing of priviledge or vertue above the rest. The Grand Signior, notwithstanding, not wholly satisfied with this plain confession, declared, that having given publique scandal to the professors of the Mahometan religion, and done dishonour to his soveraign authoritie, by pretending to draw such a considerable portion from him as the Land of Palestine; his treason and crime was not to be expiated by any other means then by a conversion to the Mahometan faith, which if he refus'd to do, the stake was ready at the gate of the seraglio to empale him. Sabatai being now reduced to extremitie of his latter game, not being the least doubtful what to do (for to die for what he was assured was false was against nature, and the death of a mad man), replyed with much chearfulness, that he was contented to turn Turk, and that it was not of force, but of choice, having been a long time desirous of so glorious a profession; he esteemed himself much honoured that he had opportunity to own it first in the presence of the Grand Signior. And here was the *non plus ultra* of all the bluster and noise of this vain impostor. And now the reader may be pleased to pause a while, and contemplate the strange point of consternation, shame, and silence to which the Jews were reduc't, when they understood how speedily their hopes were vanished, and how poorly and ignominiously all their fancies and promises of a new kingdom, their pageantry, and offices of devotion, were past like a tale, or a midnights dream. And all this was concluded, and the Jews sunk on a sudden, and fallen flat in their hopes, without so much as a line of comfort or excuse from Sabatai, more than in general to all the brethren, that now they should apply themselves to their callings and services of God, as formerly, for that matters relating unto him were finished, and the sen-

tence past. The news that Sabatai was turned Turk, and the Messiah to a Mahumetan, quickly filled all parts of Turkey. The Jews were strangely surprized at it, and ashamed of their easie belief, of the arguments with which they had persuaded one the other, and of the proselytes they had made in their own families. Abroad they became the common derision of the towns where they inhabited: the boys houted after them, coyning a new word at Smyrna (*ponftai*) which every one seeing a Jew, with a finger pointed out, would pronounce with scorn and contempt; so that this deceived people for a long time after remained with confusion, silence, and dejection of spirit. And yet most of them affirm that Sabatai is not turned Turk, but his shadow onely remains on earth, and walks with a white head, and in the habit of a Mahometan; but that his natural body and soul are taken into Heaven, there to reside until the time appointed for accomplishment of these wonders. And this opinion began so commonly to take place, as if this people resolved never to be undeceived, using the forms and rules for devotion prescribed them by their Mahumetan Messiah; insomuch, that the Chochams of Constantinople, fearing the danger of this error might creep up, and equal the former, condemned the belief of Sabatai being Messiah as damnable, and enjoyned them to return to the antient method and service of God upon pain of excommunication. The style and tenor of them was as followeth:

To you who have the power of priesthood, and are the knowing, learned, and magnanimous Governours and Princes, residing in the citie of Smyrna, may the Almighty God protect you, Amen: for so is his will.

These our letters, which we send in the midst of your habitations, are upon occasion of certain rumors and tumults come to our ears from that citie of your holiness. For there is a sort of men amongst you who fortifie themselves in their error, and say, let such a one, our King, live, and bless him in their publique synagogue every Sabbath day; and also adjoyn psalms and hymns invented by that man for certain days, with rules and methods for prayer, which ought not to be done, and yet they will still remain obstinate therein; and now behold it is

known unto you, how many swelling waters have passed over our souls for his sake, for had it not been for the mercies of God, which are without end, and the merit of our forefathers, which hath assisted us, the *foot* of *Israel** had been razed out by their enemies. And yet you continue obstinate in things which do not help, but rather do mischief, which God avert. Turn you therefore, for this is not the true way, but restore the crown to the antient custom and use of your forefathers, and the law, and from thence do not move. We command you, that with your authoritie, under pain of excommunication, and other penalties, that all those ordinances and prayers, as well those delivered by the mouth of that man, as those which he enjoyned by the mouth of others, be all abolished and made void, and to be found no more, and that they never enter more into your hearts, but judge according to the antient commandment of your forefathers, repeating the same lessons and prayers every Sabbath as hath been accustomary, as also collects for kings, potentates, and anointed, &c.; and bless the King, Sultan Mahomet, for in his days hath great salvation been wrought for Israel, and become not rebels to his kingdom, which God forbid. For after all this, which is past, the least motion will be a cause of jealousie, and you will bring ruine upon your own persons, and upon all which is near and dear to you, wherefore abstain from the thoughts of this man, and let not so much as his name proceed out of your mouths. For know, if you will not obey us herein, which will be known who and what those men are who refuse to conform unto us, we are resolved to prosecute them, as our duty is. He that doth hear, and obey us, may the blessing of God rest upon him. These are the words of those who seek your peace and good, having in Constantinople, on Sunday the fifth of the moneth Sevat, underwrote their names.

JOAM TOB, son of Chananiah Ben Jacar.

ISAAC ALNACAGNA.	ELIEZER CASTIE.
JOSEPH KAZABI.	ELIEZER GHERSON.
MANASSEH BARNEO.	JOSEPH ACCOHEN.
KALIB, son of Samuel.	ELIEZER ALUFF.

* The Jews scruple to say, the *head of Israel.*

During the time of all these transactions and passages at Constantinople, Smyrna, Abydos, upon the Hellespont, and Adrianople, the Jews leaving their merchantlie course, and advices, what prizes commodities bear and matters of traffique, stuffed their letters for Italy and other parts, with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their false Messiah: as that when the Grand Signior sent to take him, he caused all the messengers immediately to die; upon which other Janizaries being again sent, they all fell dead with a word only from his mouth; and being desir'd to revive them again, he immediately recall'd them to life, but of them only such who were true Turks, and not those who had denied that faith in which they were born and had profest. After this they added, that he went voluntarily to prison, and though the gates were barr'd and shut with strong locks of iron, yet that Sabatai was seen to walk through the streets with a numerous attendance, and when they laid shacles on his neck and feet, they not onely fell from him, but were converted into gold, with which he gratified his true and faithful believers and disciples. Some miracles also were reported of Nathan, that onely at reading the name of any particular man or woman, he would immediately recount the story of his or her life, their sins or defaults, and accordingly impose just correction and penance for them. These strong reports coming thus confidently into Italy and all parts, the Jews of Casel di Monferrato resolved to send three persons in behalf of their society, in the nature of extraordinary legates, to Smyrna, to make inquiry after the truth of all these rumours, who accordingly arriving in Smyrna, full of expectation and hopes, intending to present themselves with great humility and submission before the Messiah and his prophet Nathan, were entertain'd with the sad news that Sabatai was turned Turk, by which information the character of their embassy in a manner ceasing, every one of them laying aside the formalities of his function, endeavoured to lodge himself best to his own convenience. But that they might return to their brethren at home, with the certain particulars of the success of the affairs, they made a visit to the brother of Sabatai, who still continued to perswade them that Sabatai was notwithstanding the true Messiah; that it was not he who had taken on him the habit

and form of a Turk, but his angel or spirit, his body being ascended into Heaven, until God shall again see the season and time to restore it, adding further, that an effect hereof they should see by the prophet Nathan certified, now every day expected, who, having wrought miracles in many places, would also for their consolation reveal hidden secrets unto them, with which they should not onely remain satisfied but astonished. With this onely hope of Nathan, these legates were a little comforted, resolving to attend his arrival, in regard they had a letter to consign into his hands, and, according to their instructions, were to demand of him the grounds he had for his prophesies, and what assurance he had that he was divinely inspir'd, and how these things were reveal'd unto him which he had committed to paper, and dispersed to all parts of the world. At length Nathan arrives near Smyrna, on Friday the third of March, towards the evening, and on Sunday these legates made their visit to him. But Nathan, upon news of the success of his beloved Messiah, began to grow sullen and reserved, so that the legates could scarce procure admittance to him; all that they could do was to inform him, that they had a letter to him from the brother-hood of Italy, and commission to conferr with him concerning the foundation and authority he had for his prophesies; but Nathan refused to take the letter, ordering Kain Abolafio, a Chocham of the city of Smyrna, to receive it; so that the legates returned ill contented, but yet with hopes of Nathan's arrival at Smyrna to receive better satisfaction.

But whil'st Nathan intended to enter into Smyrna, the Chochams of Constantinople, being before advised of his resolution to take a journey into their parts, not knowing by which way he might come, sent their letters and orders to Smyrna, Prussia, and every way round, to hinder his passage, and interrupt his journey, fearing that things beginning now to compose, the Turks appeas'd for the former disorders, and the minds of the Jews in some manner settled, might be moved, and combustions burst out afresh by the appearance of this new impostor, and therefore dispatched this letter as followeth:

To you who are the shepherds of Israel, and rulers, who reside for the great God of the whole world in the city of Smyrna, which is mother in Israel, to her princes, her priests, her judges, and especially to the perfect wise men, and of great experience, may the Lord God cause you to live before him, and delight in the multitude of peace, Amen; so be the will of the Lord.

These our letters are dispatched unto you, to let you understand, that in the place of your holiness we have heard that the learned man which was in Gaza, called Nathan Benjamin, hath published vaine doctrines, and made the world tremble at his words and inventions; and that at this time we have receiv'd advice, that this man some dayes since departed from Gaza, and took his journey by the way of Scanderone, intending there to imbarke for Smyrna, and thence to go to Constantinople or Adrianople: and though it seem a strange thing unto us, that any man should have a desire to throw himself into a place of flames and fire, and into the sparkes of hell, notwithstanding we ought to fear and suspect it, *for the feet of man alwayes guide him to the worst:* wherefore we under-written do advertise you, that this man coming within the compass of your jurisdiction, you give a stop to his journey, and not suffer him to proceed farther, but presently to return back. For we would have you know, that at his coming he will again begin to move those tumults which have been caused through the imaginations of a new kingdome, *and that miracles are not to be wrought every day.*

God forbid that by his coming the people of God should be destroy'd in all places where they are, of which he will be the first, whose blood be upon his own head; for in this conjuncture every little error or fault is made capital. You may remember the danger of the first combustion; and it is very probable that he will be an occasion of greater, which the tongue is not able to express with words. And therefore, by vertue of ours and your own authority, you are to hinder him from proceeding farther in his journey, upon paine of all those excommunications which our law can impose, and to force him to return back again, both he and his company. But if he shall in any manner oppose you,

and rebel against your word, your indeavours and law are sufficient to hinder him, for it will be well for him and all Israel.

For the love of God, let these words enter into your eares, since they are not vain things; for the lives of all the Jewes, and his also, consist therein. And the Lord God behold from Heaven, and have pitty upon his people Israel, Amen. So be his holy will. Written by those who seek your peace.

JOAM TOB, son of Chananiа Jacar.	CALEB, son of Chocham Samuel, deceased.
MOISE BENVENISTE.	MOISE BARNDO.
ISAAC ALCENACAGNE.	ELIHEZER ALUFF.
JOSEPH KAZABI.	JEHOSHUAH RAPHAEL BENVENISTE.
SAMUEL ACAZ SINE.	

By these meanes Nathan being disappointed of his wandring progress, and partly ashamed of the event of things, contrary to his prophesie, was resolved, without entring Smyrna, to returne again: howsoever, he obtained leave to visit the sepulchre of his mother, and there to receive pardon of his sins (according to the institution of Sabatai before mentioned), but first washed himself in the sea, in manner of purification, and said his *tephilla*, or prayers, at the fountain, called by us the fountain *Sancta Veneranda*, which is near to the cymeterie of the Jewes, and then departed for Xio, with two companions, a servant, and three Turks to conduct him, without admitting the legates to audience, or answering the letter which was sent him from all the communities of the Jewes in Italy. And thus the embassy of these legates was concluded, and they returned from the place from whence they came, and the Jewes again to their wits, following their trade of merchandize and brokage as formerly, with more quiet and advantage then the meanes of regaining their possessions in the Land of Promise. And thus ended this mad phrensie amongst the Jewes, which might have cost them dear, had not Sabatai renounc'd his Messiah-ship at the feet of Mahomet.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

LATE FINAL EXTIRPATION AND EXILEMENT OF THE JEWES

OUT OF

THE EMPIRE OF PERSIA.

You have heard in the foregoing story from what glorious expectations the whole nation of the Jewes were precipitated by the impostorious but improsperous villany of their late pretended Messiah: you will in this Relation perceive farther, how signally the hand of Almighty God (about the same time) went out to their yet greater shame and extermination: and if any thing were capable to reduce that miserably deluded people, certainly one would think these continu'd frownes and accents of his displeasure against all their enterprises, as it ought to confirme the truth of the Christian profession, so it should even constraine them to hasten to it, *for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

In the reign of the famous Abas, Sophy of Persia, and grand-father to the present Emperour, the nation being low, and somewhat exhausted of inhabitants, it entred into the mind of this prince (a wise and prudent man, and one who exceedingly studied the benefit of his subjects) to seek some expedient for the revival and improvement of trade, and by all manner of priviledges and immunities to encourage other contiguous nations to negotiate and trade amongst them; and this project he fortified with so many immunities, and used them so well who came, that repairing from all partes to his countrey, in a short time the whole kingdome was filled with multitudes of the most industrious people and strangers that any way bordered on him.

It happened, that amongst those who came, innumerable flocks of Jewes ran thither from all their dispersions in the East, attracted by the gaine which they universally make where ever they set footing, by their innate craft, sacred avarice, and the excessive extortions which

they continually practice. And it was not many yeares but by this meanes they had so impoverished the rest, and especially the natural subjects of Persia, that the clamor of it reached to the eares of the Emperour; and indeed it was intollerable, for even his own exchequer began to be sensible of it, as well as his peoples purses and estates, which they had almost devoured.

How to repress this inormity, and remedy this inconvenience, without giving umbrage to the rest of those profitable strangers now settled in his dominions, by falling severely upon the Jewes on the sudden, he long consulted; and for that end call'd to his advice his chief ministers of state, the Mufti, and expounders of the law. After much dispute 'twas at last found, that the Jewes had already long since forfeited their lives by the very text of the Alcoran, where it is express'd, that if within six hundred yeares from the promulgation of that religion they did not universally come in and profess the Mahumetan faith, they should be destroy'd. The zealous Emperor would immediately have put this edict into execution; but, by the intercession of the Mufti, and the rest of the doctors, 'twas thought fit to suspend it for the present: but that these growing evils might in time have a period, his majesty commanded that all the Chochammi, Rabbins, and chiefe among the Jewes, should immediately appear before his tribunal, and make answer to some objections that were to be propounded to them.

The Jewes being accordingly conven'd, the Sophy examines them about several passages of their law, and particularly concerning the prophet Moyses, and those rites of his which seem'd to have been so long annihilated amongst them, since the coming of Isai (for so they call Jesus), after whom they pretended their Mahomet was to take place, and all other predictions to determine.

The Jewes, much terrified with the manner of these interrogatories, and dubious what the meaning and drift of them might signifie, told the Emperor, that for Christ they did not believe in him, but that they expected a Messiah of their own to come, who should by his miraculous power deliver them from their oppressors, and subdue all the world to his obedience.

At this reply the Sophy appear'd to be much incens'd. How! sayes

he; do you not then believe Christ, of whom our very Alcoran makes so honourable mention? as that he was the spirit of God, sent down from him, and returning to him? If we believe him, why do not you? What say you for your selves, you incredulous wretches? The confounded Jewes, perceiving the Emperor thus provoked, immediately prostrated themselves on the ground, humbly supplicating him to take pity on his slaves, who acknowledged themselves altogether unable to dispute with his Majesty; that for the Christians they seem'd indeed to them to be gross idolaters, men who did not worship God, but a crucified malefactor, and a deceiver; which still the more displeased the Sophy, not induring they should so blaspheme a person for whom their Alcoran had so great a reverence. However, for the present he dissembles his resentment. "'Tis well," sayes he, "you do not believe the God of the Christians: but, tell me, what think you of our great prophet Mahomet?" This demand exceedingly perplexed them, not knowing what to reply: and indeed it was contriv'd on purpose, that convincing them of blasphemy (as they esteem'd it) against their prophet, the Sophy might find a specious and legal pretence to ruine and destroy them, without giving any jealousie or suspition to the rest of the strangers, who were traficking in his country, of several other religions, but who were not in the least obnoxious to his displeasure.

After a long pause, and secret conference with one another, it was at last resolved among them, that though they had deny'd Christ, they would yet say nothing positively against Mahomet; therefore they told the Emperour, that though their religion forbad them to believe any prophet save Moses, &c. yet they did not hold Mahomet for a false prophet, in as much as he was descended of Ismael the son of Abraham; and that they desired to remaine his Majesties humble vassals and slaves, and crav'd his pity on them.

The Sophy, easily perceiving the cunning and wary subterfuge of their reply, told them, this should not serve their turne; that they were a people of dissolute principles, and that under pretence of their long expected Messiah they persisted in a false religion, and kept off from proselyting to the true beliefe, and therefore required of them to set a positive time when their Messiah was to appear, for that he

would support them no longer, who had impos'd on the world, and cheated his people now so many yeares; but, withal assuring them, that he would both pardon and protect them for the time they should assign, provided they did not go about to abuse him by any incompetent procrastinations, but assign the year precisely of his coming, when, if accordingly he did not appear, they were sons of death, and should all of them either renounce their faith, or be certainly destroyed, and their estates confiscated.

The poor Jewes, though infinitely confounded with this unexpected demand and resolution of the Sophy, after a second consultation among themselves (which the Emperor granted), contriv'd to give him this answer. That according to their books and prophesies their Messiah should infallibly appear within seventy yeares; prudently (as they thought) believing, that either the Emperor or they should be all of them dead before that time, and that, in the interim, such alterations might emerge, as all this would be forgotten or averted, and that, at the worst, a good summe of money would reverse the sentence; but that something was of necessity to be promis'd to satisfie his present humorous zeal.

The Emperor accepts of the answer, and immediately causes it to be recorded in form of a solemn stipulation between them; that in case there were no news of their Messiah within the seventy years assign'd (to which of grace he added five more), they should either turn Mahumetans, or their whole nation utterly be destroyed throughout Persia, and their substance confiscated: but with this clause also inserted; that if their Messiah did appear within that period, the Emperor would himself be obliged to become a Jew, and make all his subjects so with him. This, drawn (as we said) in form of instrument, was reciprocally sign'd and seal'd on both parts, and the Jews for the present dismiss'd; with the payment yet of no less than two millions of gold (as my author affirms) for the favour of this long indulgence.

Since the time of this Emperor Abas, to the present Sophy now reigning, there are not only these seventy yeares past, but one hundred and fifteen expir'd; during which the Persians have been so molested by the Turks, and by continual war in the East Indias, &c. that the

succeeding princes no more minded this stipulation of their predecessors, 'till by a wonderful accident in the reign of the second Abas (father of him who now governs), a person extreamly curious of antiquities, searching one day amongst the records of his palace, there was found this writing in the journal of his father, intimating what had so solemnly pass'd between him and the chiefs of the Jews in the name of their whole nation.

Upon this, the Sophy instantly summons a council, produces the instrument before them, and requires their advice, what was to be done; and the rather, for that there began now to be great whispers, and some letters had been written to them from merchants out of Turkey, of the motions of a pretended Messiah, which was the famous Sabatai. This so wrought with the Emperor and his council, that with one voice, and without longer pause, they immediately conclude upon the destruction of the Jews, and that this wicked generation of impostors and oppressors of his people were no longer to be indured upon the earth.

In order to this resolution proclamations are issu'd out and published to the people, and to all that were strangers and inhabitants amongst them, impowering them to fall immediately upon the Jews in all the Persian dominions, and to put to the sword man, woman, and child, but such as should forthwith turn to the Mahumetan belief, and to seize on their goods and estates without any remorse or pity.

This cruel and bloody arrest was accordingly put in execution first at Ispahan, and suddenly afterwards in all the rest of the cities and towns of Persia. Happy was he that could escape the fury of the inraged people, who by vertue of the public sentence, grounded upon the declared stipulation, and now more encouraged by the dwindling of their pretended Messiah, had no commiseration on them, but slew and made havock of them, where-ever they could find a Jew through all the vast territories, falling upon the spoil, and continuing the carnage to their utter extermination. Nor did the persecution cease for several years, beginning from about sixty-three till sixty-six, at Ispahan, the cities and countries of Seyra, Ghelan, Humadan, Ardan, Tauris, and, in summe, through the whole empire, without sparing either sex or age, excepting (as was said) such as turned Mahumetans, or escaped through the

deserts into Turkey, India, and other farr distant regions, and that without hopes of ever re-establishing themselves for the future in Persia, the hatred of that people being so deadly and irreconcilable against them. And, in truth, this late action and miscarriage of their pretended Messiah has rendred them so universally despicable, that nothing but a determined obstinacy, and an evident and judicial malediction from Heaven, could possibly continue them in that prodigious blindness, out of which yet, God, of his infinite mercy, one day deliver them, that they may at last see and believe in him whom they have pierced; and that so both Jew and Gentile may make one flock under that one shepherd and bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ the true Messiah. Amen.

A LETTER OF JOHN EVELYN, Esq.

TO THE

LORD VISCOUNT BROUNCKER, P. R. S.

CONCERNING THE SPANISH SEMBRADOR, OR NEW ENGINE FOR PLOUGHING, EQUAL SOWING, AND HARROWING AT ONCE*.

My Lord,

I cannot devise better how to express my great respects to your Lordship, than by my utmost endeavours to promote the interest of that Society over which you have so long, with so much ability and affection, and so faithfully presided. *This*, therefore, will plead my excuse with your Lordship, if in some confidence of gratifying the generous designes of that noble assembly, I communicate to them, through your hands, not only the instrument (which I herewith present them), but the description of the use and benefit of it from such a *deferent*, as I am sure they will very highly value. My Lord, it is now almost two years since, that (by somewhat an odd accident), lighting upon a paper lately printed in Spanish, I found a short passage in it, giving notice of a certain *plough* newly brought out of *Germany* into *Spain*; in both which places it had, upon tryal, so generally obtain'd, as (besides the *royal priviledge*, which was granted to the inventor) to procure the universal approbation. Upon this hint, I took the boldness to write to my Lord Ambassador, intreating his Excellency, that, as his more weighty affairs would give him leave, he would not disdain to inform himself more particularly concerning it. This his Lordship was not only pleas'd to do, but so highly obliging as to transmit to me the engine itself, together with a full description of it and its use; all of it written with his own noble hand, which I do here consecrate to the Royal Society, to be inserted among their precious *cimelia*.

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* A description of the contrivance and use of this instrument, by Don Joseph Lucatelo, Knight of the Province of Corinthea, a subject of the House of Austria, inventor of the engine, accompanies this dedication, with an engraving, by which a great quantity of seed corn is saved, and a rich increase yearly gained. Phil. Trans. June 1670. No. 60. vol. V. p. 1056.

My Lord, being not so happy as to wait on you myself with it at your publick assembly this day, I desire your Lordship will cause these papèrs to be read there, and expose the instrument to their examination and tryal. There are many gentlemen who will not be offended with these *rusticities*, and who know how highly such inventions, and even attempts, have been valued by the greatest and best of men. Something, 'tis possible, may happen to be out of order, by reason of the long journey it hath passed; but their ingenious *Curator* * will soon be able to reform, and, if need be, improve it.

My Lord of *Sandwich* is that illustrious person to whom the Society is obliged for this, and many other favors and productions of his own more consummate genius, which enrich their registers. But, let me tell them, his Lordship hath made, and brought home with him, such other polite notices and particulars of Spain and other forrain parts, as I know no person of the most refined mind and publick spirit who hath approached him, besides your Lordship; an emulous and worthy example, certainly, to the rest of our Noblemen and Ministers of State abroad, who may travel with so many advantages to inform themselves above others: and it is to me a shining instance of both your Lordship's happy talents and great comprehension, that in the throng of so many and so weighty employments, you can think of cultivating the arts, and of doubly obliging your country. How do such persons enamel their characters, and adorne their titles with lasting and permanent honors! This testimony of my just veneration to both your Lordships I could not, upon this occasion, but superadd, who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, most devoted,

and most obedient servant,

J. Evelyn.

Says Court, 23 *Feb.* $16\frac{69}{70}$.

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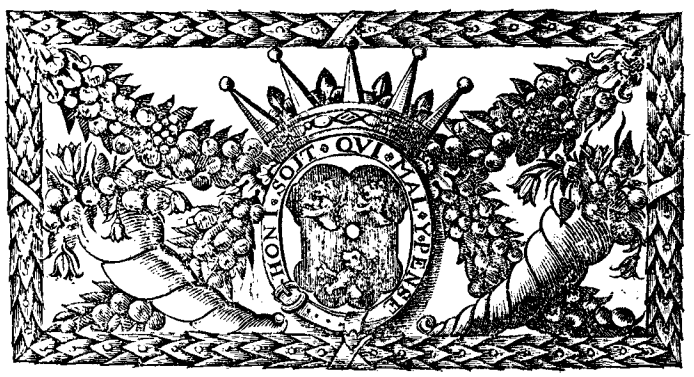
* Robert Hooker, a man of great mechanical genius, elected *Curator*, by office, to the Royal Society January 11, 1664-5. He died in 1702.

DEDICATION TO RENATUS RAPINUS OF GARDENS;

IN FOUR BOOKS:

ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN LATINE VERSE, AND MADE ENGLISH

By JOHN EVELYN*.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY EARL OF ARLINGTON, VISCOUNT THETFORD, &c.

HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE, OF HIS MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, AND KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, &c.

My Lord,

'Tis become the mode of this writing age to trouble persons of the highest rank, not only with the real productions of wit, but (if so I may be allowed to speak) with the trifles and follyes of it: hardly does an ill play come forth without a dedication to some great Lady, or man of Honour; and all think themselves sufficiently secure, if they can obtain but the least pretence of authority to cover their imperfections. My Lord, I am sensible of mine; but they concern only my self, and

* London, printed by T. R. & N. T. for Thomas Collins and John Ford, at the Middle-Temple Gate, and Benjamin Tooke, at the Ship in St. Pauls Church Yard, 1673. Octavo, 276 pages. Although the transposition of a Latin poem into English has usually a considerable degree of originality in itself, yet the prose Dedication of this tract only is printed, because, in general, the verses of Evelyn were far from being in the first rank of merit; and on the same account also, his translation of the first book of Lucretius, printed in 1656, and his "Panegyric at his Majesty K. Charles II. his Coronation," 1661, are omitted in the present collection of his minor pieces.

can never lessen the dignity of a subject which the best of poets, and perhaps the greatest wits too, have celebrated with just applause.

I know not how, my Lord, I may have succeeded with this adventure, in an age so nice and refined; but the die is cast, and I had rather expose my self to the fortune of it, then loose an occasion of acknowledging your Lordship's favours, which, as they have oblig'd the father, so ought they to command the gratitude of the son: nor must I forget to acquaint your Lordship, that the author of this Poem addressed it to one of the most eminent persons in France*; and it were unhappy should it not meet with the same good fortune in England. I am sure the original deserves it, which, though it may have lost much of its lustre by my translation, will yet recover its credit with advantage, by having found in your Lordship so illustrious a patron. Great men have in all ages bin favourable to the Muses, and done them honour; and your Lordship, who is the true model of virtue and greatness, cannot but have the same inclinations for the delights which adorn those titles, especially when they are innocent, and useful, and excellent, as this poem is pronounced to be by the suffrages of the most discerning. I had else, my Lord, suppress'd my ambition of being in print, and setting up for a poet, which is neither my talent nor design. But, my Lord, to importune you no further, this piece presumes not to intrude into your cabinet, but to wait upon you in your garden at *Euston*, where, if, when your Lordship's more weighty affairs give leave, you vouchsafe to divert your self with the first blossoms of my youth, they may, by the influence of your Lordship's favour, one day produce fruits of more maturity, and worthy the oblation of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful

and most obedient servant,

J. Evelyn.

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* William de Lamoignon, Marquis de Baville, First President of the Parliament of Paris, born 23 Oct. 1617, and died 10th Dec. 1677.

NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE,

THEIR ORIGINAL AND PROGRESS.

CONTAINING

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF TRAFFICK IN GENERAL; ITS BENEFITS AND IMPROVEMENTS:

Of Discoveries, Wars, and Conflicts at Sea, from the original of Navigation to this Day;

WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE ENGLISH NATION;

THEIR SEVERAL VOYAGES AND EXPEDITIONS, TO THE BEGINNING OF OUR LATE DIFFERENCES WITH HOLLAND;

IN WHICH HIS MAJESTIES TITLE TO THE DOMINION OF THE SEA IS ASSERTED,
AGAINST THE NOVEL AND LATER PRETENDERS.

By JOHN EVELYN, Esq. S. R. S.

Qui mare teneat, eum necesse est Rerum potiri. Cicero ad Attic. L. 10. Ep. 8.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY T. R. FOR BENJ. TOOKE,
AT THE SIGN OF THE SHIP IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.
1674.

TO THE KING.

SIR,

That I take the boldness to inscribe your Majesties name on the front of this little history, is to pay a tribute, the most due, and the most becoming my relation to your Majesties service of any that I could devise; since your Majesty has been pleas'd, among so many noble and illustrious persons, to name me of the Councel of your Commerce, and Plantations: and if it may afford your Majesty some diversion, to behold, as in a table, the course, and importance of what your Majesty is the most absolute arbiter of any potentate on earth, and excite in your loyal subjects a courage and an industry becoming the advantages which God and Nature have put into their hands, I shall have reach'd my humble ambition, and Your Majesty will not reprove these expressions of it in,

Sir,

Your Majestie's most dutiful, most obedient,
and ever loyal subject, and servant,

J. EVELYN.

NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE,

THEIR ORIGINAL AND PROGRESS.*

1. WHOSOEVER shall with serious attention contemplate the divine fabrick of this inferiour orb, the various and admirable furniture which fills and adorns it; the constitution of the elements about it; and, above all, the nature of man (for whom they were created), he must

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* NAVIGATION and COMMERCE, their Original and Progress, &c. By J. Evelyn, Esq. F. R. S. 1674. 8vo.

"In this elegant discourse, besides the largeness of the historical collections, the worthy author excites England, and adviseth the most advantageous preparations for our future defence, and for aggrandising our Trade and Commerce: which ought to be our care, whilst we have the opportunity, and whilst we are less concern'd spectators of the wars round about us."—Phil. Trans. Vol. IX. June 1674. No. 104. p. 88.

"18 June 1670. My Lord Arlington carried me from Whitehall to Goring House, with the Marquis of Worcester: there we found Lord Sandwich, Viscount Stafford (since beheaded), the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others. After dinner my Lord communicated to me his Matys desire that I would undertake to write the History of our late War with the Hollanders, which I had hitherto declined: this, I found, was ill-taken, and that I should disoblige his Maty, who had made choice of me to do him this service; and if I would undertake it, I should have all the assistance the Secretary's office and others could give me, with other encouragements, which I could not decently refuse." Diary, vol. I. p. 403.

"19th Aug. 1674. His Majesty (Charles II.) told me how exceedingly the Dutch were displeased at my treatise of "The Historie of Commerce," that the Holland Ambassador had complained to him of what I had touched of the Flags and Fishery, &c. and desired the booke might be called in; whilst on the other side he assured me he was exceedingly pleas'd with what I had done, and gave me many thanks. However, it being just upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Breda (indeed, it was designed to have been published some moneths before, and when we were at defiance), his Maty told me he must recall it formally, but gave order that what copies should be publiqly seiz'd to pacifie the Ambassador, should immediately be restored to the printer, and that neither he nor the vendor should be molested. The truth is, that which touch'd the Hollander was much lesse then what the King himselfe furnished me with, and oblig'd me to publish, having caus'd it to be read to him before it went to the presse; but the error was, it should have been publish'd before the peace was proclaim'd. The noise of this book's suppression made it presently be bought up, and turn'd much to the Stationer's advantage. It was no other than the Preface prepared to be prefixed to my History of the whole warr, which I now pursu'd no further." Diary, vol. I. p. 444.

In the Index attached to the Diary and Letters, under the article "Dutch War," will be found

needs acknowledge, that there is nothing more agreeable to reason, than that they were all of them ordain'd for mutual use and communication.

2. The earth, and every prospect of her superficies, presents us with a thousand objects of utility and delight, in which consists the perfection of all sublunary things: and though, through her rugged and dissever'd parts, rocks, seas, and remoter islands, she seem at first to check our addresses; yet, when we ag'en behold in what ample baies, creeks, trending-shores, inviting harbours and stations, she appears spreading her arms upon the bordures of the ocean; whiles the rivers, who re-pay their tributes to it, glide not in direct and præcipitate courses from their conceil'd and distant heads, but in various flexures and meanders (as well to temper the rapidity of their streams, as to water and refresh the fruitful plains), methinks she seems, from the very beginning, to have been dispos'd for trafick and commerce, and even courts us to visit her most solitary recesses.

3. This meditation sometimes affecting my thoughts, did exceedingly confirm, and not a little surprize me; when reflecting on the situation of the Mediterranean sea (so aptly contriv'd for inter-course to so vast a part of the world), I concluded, that if the Hollanders themselves (who of all the inhabitants in it, are the best skill'd in making canales and trenches, and to derive waters) had joyn'd in consultation, how the scatter'd parts of the earth might be rendred most accessible, and easie for Commerce, they could not have contriv'd where to have made the in-let with so much advantage as God and Nature have done it for us; since by means of this sea we have admission to no less than three parts of the habitable world, and there seems nothing left (in this regard) to humane industry, which could render it more consummate; so impious was the saying of Alphonsus * (not worthy the name of

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several references to the various circumstances connected with this subject. Evelyn, from his own account of his proceedings, appears to have used considerable labour in the composition of his work, as in the reading of the numerous official papers which were sent him for the purpose; but when he had only planned the History, finding his intentions unsupported, he resigned them with something like disgust, and the ensuing fragment is all that remains of them.

* Roderigo de Toledo, lib. 1. c. 6.

Prince) that had he been of counsel with the Creator when he made the universe, he could have fram'd it better.

4. If we cast our eyes on the plains and the mountains, behold them naturally furnish'd with goodly trees; of which some there are which grow as it were spontaneously into vessels and canoes, wanting nothing but the launching to render them useful: but when the heart of man, or of God rather (for it was he who first instructed him to build), conspires, and that he but sets his divine genius on work, the same earth furnishes materials to equip and perfect the most beautiful, useful, and stupendious creature (so let us be permitted to call her) the whole world has to shew: and if the winds and elements prove auspicious (which was the third instance of our contemplation), this enormous machine (as if inspir'd with life too) is ready for every motion; and to brave all encounters and adventures undertakes to fathom the world itself; to visit strange and distant lands; to people, cultivate, and civilize uninhabited and barbarous regions; and to proclaim to the universe the wonders of the architect, the skill of the pilot, and, above all, the benefits of Commerce.

5. So great and unspeakable were the blessings which mankind received by his yet infant adventures, that it is no wonder to see how every nation contended who should surpass each other in the art of Navigation, and apply the means of Commerce to promote and derive it to themselves; God-Almighty (as we have shew'd) in the constitution of the world, prompting us to awaken our industry for the supply of our necessities: for man only being obliged to live politickly, and in society, for mutual assistance, found it would not be accomplish'd without labour and industry. Nature, which ordains all things necessary for other creatures, in the place where she produces them, did not so for man; but ennobling him with a superiour faculty, supply'd him with all things his needs could require. Wheresoever therefore men are born (unless wanting to themselves), they have it in their power to exalt themselves, even in these regards, above the other creatures; and the lillies which spin not, and are yet so splendidly clad, are not in this respect so happy as an industrious and prudent man; because they have neither knowledge nor sense of their being and perfections: and

though few things indeed are necessary for the animal life, yet has it no prerogative by that alone above the more rational, which man onely enjoys, and for whom the world was made; seeing the variety of blessings that were ordained to serve him, proclaims his dominion, and the vastness of his nature; nor had the great Creator himself been so glorified, without an intellectual being, that could contemplate and make use of them. We are therefore rather to admire that stupendious mixture of plenty and want, which we find disseminated throughout the creation; what St. Paul affirms of the members of the little world being so applicable to those of the greater, and no one place, or country able to say, 'I have no need of another,' considered not onely as to consummate perfections, but even divers things, if not absolutely necessary, at least convenient.

6. To demonstrate this in a most conspicuous instance, we need look no farther than Holland, of which fertile (shall we say) or inchanted spot 'tis hard to decide, whether its wants or abundance are really greater than any other countries under Heaven; since by the quality and other circumstances of situation (though otherwise productive enough), it affords neither grain, wine, oyle, timber, mettal, stone, wool, hemp, pitch, nor almost any other commodity of use; and yet we find there is hardly a nation in the world which enjoyes all these things in greater affluence; and all this from commerce alone, and the effects of industry, to which not onely the neighbouring parts of Europe contribute, but the Indies, and Antipodes: so as the whole world (as vast as it appears to others) seems but a farm, scarce another province to them; and indeed it is that alone which has built and peopled goodly cities, where nothing but rushes grew; cultivated an heavy genius with all the politer arts; enlarg'd and secured their boundaries, and made them a name in the world, who, within less than an age, were hardly consider'd in it.

7. What fame and riches the Venetians acquir'd whilst they were true to their spouse, the sea (and in acknowledgment whereof they still repeat and celebrate the nuptials), histories are loud of: but this, no longer continu'd than whilst they had regard to their fleets and their traffick, the proper business, and the most genuine to their situation.

From hence they founded a glorious city, fixt upon a few muddy and scatter'd islands; and thence distributed over Europe the product of the eastern world, 'till, changing this industry into ambition, and applying it to the inlarging of their territories in Italy, they lost their interests and acquists in the Mediterranean, which were infinitely more considerable. Nor in this recension of the advantages of Commerce is her neighbour Genoa to be forgotten; whose narrow dominions (not exceeding some private lordships in England) have grown to a considerable state; and from a barren rock to a proud city, emulous for wealth and magnificence, with the stateliest emporiums of the world.

8. The Easterlings and Anseatick towns (famous for early traffick) had perhaps never been heard of, but for courting this mistress; no more than those vaster tracts of Sweden, Norway, Muscovy, &c. which the late industry of our own people has rendred considerable. The Danes, 'tis confess'd, had long signaliz'd themselves by their importunate descents on this island, and universal piracies, whilst negligent of our advantages at sea, we often became obnoxious to them; but, when once we set-up our moving fortresses, and grew numerous in shipping, we liv'd in profound tranquillity, grew opulent and formidable to our enemies.

9. It was Commerce and Navigation (the daughter of peace and good intelligence) that gave reputation to the most noble of our native staples, Wool, exceedingly improv'd by forreigners; especially since the reigns of Edward the Second, and Third; and has been the principal occasion of instituting and establishing our merchant adventurers, and other worthy fraternities; to mention onely the esteem of our horses, corn, tin, lead, iron, saffron, fullers-earth, hides, wax, fish, and other natural and artificial commodities, most of which are indigene and domestick, others imported, and brought from forraign countries. Thus Asia refreshes us with spices, recreates us with perfumes, cures us with drougs, and adorns us with jewels; Africa sends us ivory and gold; America, silver, sugar, and cotton; France, Spain, and Italy, give us wine, oyl, and silk; Russia warms us in furrs; Sweden supplies us with copper; Denmark and the Northern tracts, with masts and materials for shipping, without which all this were nothing. It is Com-

merce and Navigation that breeds and accomplishes that most honourable and useful race of men (the pillars of all magnificence) to skill in the exportation of superfluities, importation of necessaries; to settle staples with regard to the public stock: what 'tis fit to keep at home, and what to send abroad; to be vigilant over the course of exchange; to employ hands for regulated salaries; and by their dexterity to moderate all this by a true and solid interest of state, which, without this mystery, cannot long subsist, as not alwaies admitting permanent and immutable rules: in a word, the sea (which covers half the patrimony of man, renders the whole world a stranger to it self and the inhabitants for whom 'twas made, as rude as Canibals) becomes but one family by the miracles of Commerce, and yet we have said nothing of the most illustrious product of it; that it has taught us religion, instructed us in polity, cultivated our manners, and furnish'd us with all the delicacies of virtuous and happy living.

10. Whether the first author of traffick were the Tyrians, Trojans, Lydians, those of Carthage, or (as Josephus* will) the mercurial spirits soon after the flood, to repair and supply the ruines of that universal overthrow, we are not solicitous: that it entered with the earliest and best daies of the restored world we shall prove hereafter, by the timely applications of industrious men to inlarge and improve their condition. The Romans, indeed, were not of a good while, favourable to merchandizing; for the patricians, senators, and great men might not be owners, in particular, of any considerable vessel, besides small barks, and pleasure boats; and the most illustrious nations have esteem'd the gain by traffick and commerce incompatible with *noblesse;* not for being enemies to trade, but because they esteem'd it an ignoble way of gain (*quæstus omnis indecorus patribus*, saies Livy), and were all for conquest and the sword; for, otherwise, they so encourag'd this industry, that the Latins§ (whom for a long time they held under such servitude that they might not devise their estates when they dyed), if any one of them came to be able to build an handsome ship, fit for burthen and traffick,

* Antiq. l. 1.

† Latini multis modis consequuntur civitatem Romanam; ut, si navem ædificaverint duorum millium modiorum capacem, &c. Ulpian. Instit. Tit. Latinis, N. 6.

he was *libertate donatus,* and obtained his freedom, with power to make his testament, and capable of bearing office. And one would wonder that traffick being so profitable, Lycurgus (that great law-giver amongst the Lacedemonians) should prohibit it: some believe it was for its being so obnoxious to corruption, and the luxury introduc'd amongst the people by commerce with strangers; the lying and deceit, perjury and theft, in buying, selling, and making bargains; for which reason Plato design'd the towns of his common-wealth to be built far distant from the sea; and our Saviour scourg'd the money-changers out of the temple; so difficult a thing it is for those who deal much to preserve their hands clean. But 'tis said Plato chang'd his mind; and we all know that as the Romans themselves grew wiser, so they dignified it, and took off that ill-understood reproach, as the Orator has himself told us, when (condemning the pedlary and sordid * vices of retailers) he acknowledges, that where staple and useful commodities can be brought in to supply the needs of whole countries, 'tis a commendable service, *videturque jure optimo, posse laudari;* nay, shew'd by their own example, that for the greatest men to turn merchants did less taint their blood than their sloth and effeminacy; and upon this account the wisest of the heathens (for such were Thales, Solon, Hippocrates, and even Plato himself,) have honour'd merchandize, and, of later times, many kings and princes; and then indeed does traffick rise to its ascendent, when 'tis dignified by their example, and defended by their power. This the Dukes of Florence and other potentates have long since understood, and now, at last, the French King: witness the repair of his ports, building of ships, cutting new channels, instituting companies, planting of colonies, and universal encouragement of manufactures, by cherishing and ennobling of sedulous and industrious persons. But, more yet than all this, or, rather, all this in more perfection, his Majesty (our glorious monarch), by whose influences alone (after all the combinations of his late powerful enemies) such a trade has been reviv'd and carried on, and such a fleet and strength at sea to

* Cicero de Offic. lib. i. cap. 43. Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est. —— Nihil enim proficient, nisi admodum mentiantur.

protect it, as never this nation had a greater, nor any other of the past ages has approach'd; witness, you three mighty neighbours, at once, taught to submit to him! For the blessings of navigation and visiting distant climes does not stop at traffick only; but (since 'tis no less perfection to keep than obtain a good) it enables us likewise with means to defend what our honest industry has gotten, and, if necessity and justice require, with inlarging our dominions too, vindicating our rights, repelling injuries, protecting the oppress'd, and with all the offices of humanity and good nature; in a word, justice, and the right of nations, are the objects of commerce; it maintains society, disposes to action, and communicates the graces and riches which God has variously imparted: from all which considerations 'tis evident that a spirit of commerce, and strength at sea to protect it, are the most certain marks of the greatness of empire, deduced from an undeniable *sorites*, that whoever commands the ocean, commands the trade of the world, and whoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and whoever is master of that, commands the world itself; so as had the Spaniard treble his wealth, he could neither be rich nor safe with his prodigious sloth; since, whilst he has been sitting still, we and other nations have driven the trade of the East Indies with his treasure of the West, and, uniting, as it were, extreams, made the Poles to kiss. They are not therefore small matters, you see, which men so much contend about, when they strive to improve commerce, and by degrees promote the art of navigation, and set their empire in the deep, from whence they have found to flow such notable advantages. Instances of this we might add in abundance; and that it is not the vastness of territory, but the convenience of situation; nor the multitude of men, but their address and industry, which improve a nation. Cosmo di Medices would often say, that the prince who had not the sea for his friend, was but half a prince; and this Charles the Fifth had well considered, when he gave it for a maxime to his son Philip, that if ever he would sit quiet at home, and advance his affairs abroad, he should be sure to keep up his reputation on the waters. The truth is, this great Emperor had neglected his interest at sea, and it laid the foundation of the rebellion of his Low Country subjects against his successor. To

pretend to universal monarchy without fleets, was long since looked on as a politick chymæra, and was wittily insinuated* to Antigonus by Patroclus, when (being a commander under Ptolemy Lagus's son) he sent him a present of fish and green figgs, intimating that unless he had the sea in his power, he had as good sit at home and trifle; it was but labour in vain. And this was the sense of another as great a captain, when reckoning up the infinite prerogatives which the sea afforded. Xenophon † seems to despise the advantages of the land in comparison. Truly, the Romans themselves were longer in struggling for a little earth in Italy only, than in subduing the whole world after once their eagles had taken flight towards the sea, and urg'd their fortune on the deep. When once they subdu'd Agrigentum ‡, Carthage was no longer impregnable; and after they had pass'd Gades and the Herculean Streight, nothing was too hard for them; they went whither they would, and cruiz'd as far as Thule.

11. We shall not adventure to divine who the hardy person was who first resolv'd to trust himself to a plank, within an inch of death §, to compel the woods to descend into the waters, and to back the most impetuous and unconstant element; though probably, and for many reasons, some-body long before the deluge; *isti sunt potentes* (6. Gen. 4). Grotius, on the place, will have the *navigationis repertores piratæ*, such as in succeeding ages were Jupiter Cretensis, Minos, &c. since it is not imaginable the world, that must needs be so populous, and was so curious, should have continu'd so many ages without adventures by sea: but the first vessel which we read of, was made by divine instinct and direction, and whilst the prototype lasted (which, histories tell us, was many hundred years), doubtless they built many strong and goodly ships. But, as all things are in continual flux and vicissitude, so the art in time impair'd, and men began anew to contrive for their safety or necessity in rafts and hollow trees; nay, paper, reeds, twigs, and leather (for of such were the rude beginnings of the finish'd pieces we now admire); till, advancing the art, by making use of more durable mate-

* Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. 8. † In Repub. Athen. ‡ Polybius.

§ Illi robur & æs triplex circa pectus ——. Hor.
Digitis à morte remotus quatuor.

rials, they then began to build like ship-wrights, when Pyrrhon the Lydian invented the bending of planks by fire, and made boats of several contignations; nor contented with the same model, the Platenses, Mysians, Trojans, and other nations, contended for the various shapes. Thus to Sesostris is ascribed the long-ship fitted for expedition: Hippus the Tyrian devis'd carricks and onerary vessels of prodigious bulk, for traffick or offence: Athenæus spea ɔ of some that for their enormous structure had been taken for mountains and floating islands; such was that of Hiero describ'd by the Deipnosophist*, a moving palace, adorn'd with gardens of the choicest fruit, and trees for shade: Hippagines† is said to have transported the first horses in larger boats; others ascribe it to Darius, when he retir'd into Thrace; though we think them rather of antienter date, for what else means the ferrying over King David's goods and carriages, mention'd in the second book of Samuel‡? Thus far the keel; for to the divers parts of vessels, for better speed and government, several were the pretenders. The Thasii added decks; Pisæus the rostrum, or beak-head; Tiphys the rudder; Epalamius compleated the anker, which was at first but of one flook; but before all these was the use of oars, which from the Bireme §, invented by the Erythræi, came at last to no less than fourty ordines, or banks (for so many had Ptolomy Philopater's gally ‖), which, how to reconcile with possible (though that famous vessel were built for pomp and ostentation only, and therefore with a double prow), together with those monstrous ships of war set forth by Demetrius, which had in them 4000 rowers, let the curious consult the most learned Palmerius, in his Diatriba upon a fragment of Memnon ¶; and for portentous and costly vessels, the late *Vendosme* built by Lewis the XIIIth of France, the Swedish *Magaleza*, the Venetian *Bucentoro*, not to omit those carricks which the Spaniard emploies yearly to his Indies. But, neither did all these helps suffice, 'till they added wings too: they attribute indeed the invention of masts and cross-yards to those of Creete; but to Theseus, Icarus,

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* Oneraria cerealis Siracusia, &c.

† Vide Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 57. edit. I. G. Franzio. Lips. 1779. vol. III. p. 303, note *s*.

‡ 2 Sam. xix. 18.

§ Biremis pistrix, vallata turrita, &c.

‖ Plutarch. in Demet. Athenæus, lib. c. 9.

¶ Phoc. 717.

and Dedalus the application of sails, which, 'tis said, Proteüs first skill'd to manage, and shift with that dexterity, as he was fain'd to turn himself into all shapes; and it was, doubtless, no little wonder to see that a piece of cloth (or, as Pliny, wittily, a despicable seed, for so he calls that of hemp, of which sails were made,) should be contriv'd to stir such a bulk, and carry it with that incredible celerity from one extream of the earth to the other. Of that esteem was this ingenious invention, that, besides Prometheus and the rest we nam'd, whole countries challeng'd it, and the Rhodians, Ionians, Corinthians, those of Tyrus, Ægypt, Ægineta, Boetia, with innumerable other, vaunt themselves masters of the science; nor is there any end of their names. It were a thing impossible to investigate by whom the several riggings of vessels and compleat equipments were brought into use: the skill of pilotage has aids from mathematics and astronomy *; and that of governing ships in fight is another and a different talent. These, and many more, were the daughters of time, necessity, and accident; so as even to our daies there is ever something adding or still wanting to the complement of this incomparable art. Of the magnet we shall speak hereafter, nor are we to despair in the perfecting of longitudes, *dies diem docet*, and whilst many pass, science shall be still improv'd. We shall onely observe, concerning men of war, fleets, and armadas for battel, that Minos was reported to be the author, which shews that manner of desperate combat on the waters to be neer as antient as men themselves, since the Deluge: indeed, to this prince do some attribute the first knowledge of Navigation †, and that he disputed the empire of the seas with Neptune himself, who, for his power on the watry element, was esteem'd a god. But, however these particulars may be uncertain, we are able to make proof, that the first fregats were built by the English, and, generally, the best and most commodious vessels for all sort of uses in the world; and, as the ships, so those who man them acknowledg'd for the most expert and couragious in it. But,

12. From the building of ships we pass to the most celebrious expeditions that have been made in them. The Gentiles (who doubtless

* Consult Vegetius, Pollux, Laz. Bayfius, Crescentius, &c. † Diodorus, l. 6; Strabo, l. 10.

took Saturn for Noah, and his sons for other of the deities,) magnifie sundry of their adventures by sea: and, if from the immediate offspring of that ancient patriarch, Shem and Japhet, the Asiatick-Iles, and those at remoter distances in the Mediterranean and European seas, were peopl'd (whilst the Continent, and less dissever'd Africk, was left to Cham), we have a certain epoche for the earliest expeditions, and shall less need to insist on those of the mythical and heroic age; the exploits of Osiris, Hercules, Cadmus; the wandrings of Ulysses, and the leaders that expugn'd Troy. To touch but a few of these: Bacchus, whose dominion lay about the Gulph of Persia, made of the first adventures, when from him (after the rape of Ariadne) the Tyrrian pirates learn'd the art of navigation, or rather to become more skillful rovers; if at least they were not of the first for antiquity in this art; since the Phœnicians (whether expell'd by Joshua, or transported by their curiosity,) having spread their name in the Mediterranean, were admir'd as gods for their boldness on the waters, and esteem'd among the first that navigated, according to that of the Poet,

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros*.

That Cadmus sail'd into Greece, peopl'd those iles in the Ægean, taught them letters and sciences, as he had learn'd them from the Hebrews, we have undoubted testimony. Some affirm that the Phœnicians circl'd the world long since; and Herodotus has something to that purpose, where in his Melpomene he speaks of those whom King Necus caus'd to embark from the Red Sea, and that ten years after return'd home by the Columns of Hercules through the Streights: however, that they penetrated far beyond the Western Ocean, and the shores of Africk, the expedition of Hanno, in a navy of LX ships, makes out by grave writers; so their coming as far as our Britain, the pillars which they fixt at Gades and Tingis †, to which some report they were crept in early daies: and as towards the West, so Eastward, taking colonies from Elana and the Persian-Gulph. As to what they might be for merchants, illustrious is the proof out of Esay ‡, where Tyrus is call'd "the *crowning*

* Tibullus, lib. i. eleg. vii. † Procopius. ‡ Isaiah. xxiii. 8.

city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth;" when, under the pretence of transporting commodities into Greece, they carried away Iö, daughter of Inachus, which the Cretans requited, when shortly after their amorous god sail'd away with the fair Europa in the White-Bull; for so was the vessel call'd, which gave occasion to the fable, and serves to prove how antient is the giving names and badges *. Indeed, so expert were those of Crete in sea-affairs, and so numerous in shipping, as, by the suffrage of ancient times, there were none durst contend with them for sovereignty. Let us hear the tragedian:

O Magna vasti Creta dominatrix freti,
Cujus per omne littus innumerae rates
Tenuere pontum, quidquid Assyria tenus
Tellure Nereus pervium rostris secat†.

13. The Colchick exploit in the famous Argo (so call'd from her nimble sailing) was perform'd by above 50 gallants, of which nine were chief under Jason, and Glaucus his experienc'd pilot: but, whether they went to those countries about the Euxine shores in hopes of golden mines (shadow'd by the fleece), or in expectation of the philosopher's stone (said to be in possession of King Æta), we leave to the romancers. There is in Homer a list of heros, and ships under their command, mention'd to be set out by the Παναχαίοι, or States-General of those provinces, reported to have been no less than a thousand:

Non anni domuêre decem, non mille Carinæ‡.

And that this number is not fictitious, not only the wondrous exactness of the poet in describing the commanders by name, but the number of ships under each flag, as the learned Mr. Stanley shews us, makes it good beyond exception in his excellent notes upon Æschylus, and we propose the instance, because it is so very remarkable for its antiquity.

14. But, to quit these dark and less certain memorials, and mingle that of commerce with martial undertakings. The first for whom we

* Vide Valer. Flaccum Argonaut, l. 8. Herodot. Hesychium, Suidam, Senecam, Lucianum, Strabonem. Amongst the Poets, Virgil, Persius, Statius, &c.

† Senec. Trag. in Hippolyto, act. 1.

‡ Iliad. 2.

have divine and infallible record, is of the greatest and the wisest prince that ever sway'd a scepter: for though it appear the Phœnicians had us'd the sea before, and perhaps were the first* merchants in the world since the deluge, yet it was Solomon doubtless who open'd the passage to the South; when, animated by his directions, and now leaving-off their rafts, and improving their adventures in ships and stouter vessels, they assay'd to penetrate the farthest Indies, and visit an unknown hemisphere; or, if haply they prevented him, yet were now glad to joyn with this glorious monarch, because of those advantagious ports his father had taken from the Idumeans, which might otherwise interrupt their expeditions. What a mass of gold and other precious things (the peculiar treasure of princes) this fleet of his brought home the succeeding story relates†. And there is farther notice of mariners, whose trading was for spices and curiosities; and the voyage to Tarshish (which by some is interpreted the Ocean, as indeed it signifies in the Chaldean language, but doubtless means Tartessus in Spain), is again repeated. Jehosaphat, after Solomon, neglected not these prosperous beginnings, though not with equal success; for the ships were broken at Esion-Geber. We shall onely remark, upon the account of commerce, that Solomon had no less than two fleets destin'd for traffick, of which one went to Ophir (perhaps Sophra, Taprobana, or Ceilon) in the East Indies, and the other to Tarsis, that is (Tartessus) Cales; which being then and long after esteem'd the utmost confine of the world, had its name from the Phœnicians, as well as divers other places, and ports of Europe (even as far as Italy, France, and Britanny it self), which both they and we reserve to this day in no obscure footsteps: and that Spain abounded in plenty of gold too (whatever some superficial searchers think) we learn from Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, and several grave authors‡, whose attestation may be of good weight, the Tyrians and Phœnicians frequently sailing into those parts. But, though we had yet no print of this from the sacred volumes, it is not to be devis'd how the isles of the Gentiles, and other places of inaccessible distance, could be planted and furnish'd

* Πρῶτοι δ' ἐμπορίης ἀλιδίνεος ἐμνήσαντο. Dionys. Περιηγ.

† 2 Chron. ix. 21. ‡ See Bochartus Phaleg. l. 3. c. 7. Canaan, l. 1. c. 34.

without those early intercourses by sea, which by degrees (as in part is shew'd) accomplish'd the dominions of warlike men and states, and encourag'd some to stupendious attempts.

15. To proceed to instances of unquestionable credit, we have those of the Persians and Greeks, both before and since the Peloponnesiack war: and, indeed, the Greeks were the first of the heathens that joyn'd learning with arms, that did both do and write what was worthy to be remembred; and that small parcel of ground, whose greatness was then onely valu'd by the vertue of the inhabitants, planted Trapizond in the East, and divers other cities in Asia the Less, the protection of whose liberties was the first cause of war between them and the Persians. As to exploits, the Athenians, and smaller islands of the Ægean, exceedingly amplified their bounds with their naval-power; so as Thucydides enumerates their annual descents upon Peloponnesus, during that quarrel. But the exploits of Alcibiades, both when so ungratefully exil'd from his country and after he was again restor'd to it, were celebrated in story, as well as those of Conon *, under whom we first hear of a treasurer of the navy, for the better paying of the sea-men, even in those early daies: but these conflicts did many of them concern the Persian by Tissaphernes under Darius, Artaxerxes, and others: the differences also with the Megarences, where Pisistratus obtain'd the victory, and the exploits of Themistocles; but especially that decretory battle in which Xerxes's fleet of 1500 men of war, was vanquish'd by less than 400, which gave the absolute dominion of the sea to one city, and so inrich'd it that the Lacedemonians (envious at her prosperity) maintain'd a war against it, to the almost ruine of both. See the effects of avarice! But this was indeed before the Peloponnesian war, between the LXXX and LXXXIV Olympiad, and first commenc'd against strangers, and then the Lacedemonians, Corcyreans, and other their neighbours, for the space of seven years continuance, till by the courage and good conduct of Lysander, a peace was at last concluded, with the destruction of Athens, as it usually happens to the first who give the occasion, and are the aggressors. She was yet

* Justini, Hist. Philippicæ, lib. 5.

set-up once again, by that gallant exile whom we nam'd, under the banner of Artaxerxes; but so to the desolation of poor Greece (weakn'd by her many conflicts) that King Philip, and his son Alexander, soon took their advantage, to make themselves first masters at sea, and then of the world; for they are infallible consequents. And here we might speak something of Corinth, a city (if ever any) emulous of the highest praises for traffick and exploits at sea; but we involve her amongst the Grecians, and pass over to the opposite shoar; where, upon division of the Macedonian empire, we find the Carthaginians (a people originally from Tyrus) of the earliest fame for Commerce, and so well appointed for the sea, as gave terrour to Rome herself: nor do we forget the Syracusans, renown'd for their many glorious actions at sea, which continu'd to the very Punick War, the most obstinate that history has recorded.

16. It was 492 years from the foundation of the city, before they had atchieved any thing considerable on the waters; when finding the wonted progress of their victories obstructed by those of Carthage (then lords at sea), they fell in earnest to the building of ships of war, and devising engines of offence, which before they hardly thought of. Their first expedition by sea was under Appius Claudius, against the Sicilians, which made those of Africa look about them, and gave rise to the Punick War under Cajus Duillius, and his collegue, with an hundred rostrated vessels, and seventy-five gallies: but the most memorable for number was when the two admirals M. Regulus and L. Manlius, with above an hundred thousand men (in ships that had every one three hundred at the oar), were encounter'd with a yet more prodigious force in the battle at Heraclea, unfortunate to the Carthaginians: but, neither did it so determine: for, when Hannibal (returning out of Spain) invaded Italy, the Romans found no better expedient to divert him, than by dispatching Scipio, with a fleet into Africa. The third and last contest (after a little repose) determin'd not till the utter ruine and subversion of that emulous neighbour. These several conflicts with this hostile city (which lasted near twenty years) are admirably describ'd by Polybius; especially that of M. Regulus, who with that unequal power fought three battels in one day; and in another,

Æmilius (with about the same number of ships) took and sunk above an hundred more, and slew near forty thousand of the enemy, though by the terrible and unfortunate wrack which afterwards surpriz'd him, such another victory had undone them. They made war, after this, with the Achaians, Balearians, Cilicians, Sertorians, and those of Crete; indeed, wheresoever they found resistance, diffident yet at first of this unaccustom'd manner of combate, and which for sometime caus'd them to lay it by; but they quickly resum'd it, and overcoming all difficulties, then onely might be said to speed conquerours of the world when they had conquer'd the sea, and subdu'd the waters.

17. The Piratick-War of Pompey we find celebrated by Tully, *pro lege Manilia:* he invaded the Cyclades, won Corcyra, got Athens, Pontus, and Bithynia*, and cleared the seas with that wonderful diligence, that in forty daies time he left not a rover in all the Mediterranean, though grown to that power and number as to give terrour to the Common-wealth. We forbear to speak of Sextus, his unfortunate son, vanquish'd by the treachery of his Libertus Menodorus †, and pass to the great Augustus, who in many sea conflicts signaliz'd his courage; especially in that decretory battail at Actium, where the contest was *de summa rerum*, and the world by sea, first subdu'd to the empire of a single person. What discoveries this mighty prince made, did as far exceed his prædecessours, as the frozen north and horrid coasts of Cimbria the milder clime of our Britain, which was yet in those daies esteem'd another world, and her boundaries as much unknown as those of Virginia to us; 't was call'd *Alter Orbis;* and grave authors ‡, who speak of the unpassibleness of the ocean, mention the worlds that lay beyond it: *Morinorum gentem ultimam esse mortalium*, says Ptolomy; and the prince of poets,

——*Extremique hominum Morini.*

For it appears no late fancy, that all was not discover'd long before Columbus; though those who took the heavens for a kind of hollow

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* Florus and Plutarch. † Call'd also Menas by Horace, Epod. on Ode IV.

‡ Especially Clem. Romanus. See also Josephus, Dio, Eutropius, Scaliger, &c.

arch, covering onely what was then detected, little dream'd of Antipodes. 'Tis famous yet what the prophetick tragædian * has offer'd at, and a thing beyond dispute, that the antients had the same notions of our country as of America: but to leave these enquiries at present (till we come more particularly to speak of our country in the following series), we shall onely, as to the Romans, give the curious a taste what care these wise people had of their naval preparations, when once (as we have shew'd) they found the importance of it, and after how prudent a method they dispos'd it.

18. Augustus had in his military establishment one squadron of men of war at Ravenna, as a constant guard of the Adriatic; and another riding at Misenum †, to scowr the Tyrrhen-Sea, together with a brigade of foot-souldiers at either port, to clap on board upon any sudden occasion. The Misenian fleet lay conveniently for France, Spain, Morocco, Africk, Ægypt, Sardinia, and Sicily ‡; that at Ravenna, for Epirus, Macedon, Achaia, Propontis, Pontus; the Levantine parts, Creete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, &c. § So as by the number of their vessels and arms they made a bridge (as it were) to all their provinces and vast dominions, at what distance soever ‖: and many of these particulars we could farther illustrate by medals and noble inscriptions to be gather'd out of good records, did we need the ostentation of any farther researches ¶: we shall only observe, that they had their *prætorio præfectus*, who inspected all this. Marine laws and customes they also had: whence was it else that the corn fleet was still from Alexandriato make Puteoli, as it were by coquet bound; so the ships of that port: See Acts xxviii. 11, 12, 13 Whence else was it that onely the same corn fleet as being of so absolute necessity for the sustenance of the imperial city, had the priviledge to come into harbour with top and top gallant; unless the rest did *supparum dimere*, or strike sail to the ports of the empire? So early was the claim to the flag, and the ceremonies of naval-honour stated. Yet higher; their rostrate crowns**, and that pretty insolence

* Senec. in Med. † Sueton. in Aug. c. 49. ‡ Vegetius. § Notitia Imperii.
‖ MIL. CL. P. R. AR. *Miles Classis Prætoriæ Ravennatis.*
¶ PRÆTOR. MAR. ET. CL. M. R. *Militiæ Ravennatis.* ** See Tully de Senect.

by act of senate allow'd to C. Duillius, after having won the Romans their first victory at sea, that he should, all his life after, be brought to the publick entertainments in the Town-Hall with a pipe playing before him, and flambeaux on each side*; that column too, whose fragments yet preserv'd, exhibit with the memory of that illustrious action perhaps the ancientest piece of Latin now extant, at least in the originals. All these allegations do abundantly testifie with what transports of joy that aspiring people receiv'd the accession of power by sea. They also had their *Decuriæ fabrorum Rhavennatium*, master shipwrights of the dock at Rhavenna; and we find fire-ships mention'd in Frontinus†; stink-pots, nay snake-pots, and false-colours; for such we read were us'd by Cassius, Scipio, Annibal, M. Portius, Iphicrates, Pisistratus, and others. And if the Trajan port at Ostia were now extant, we might see such a pattern of a mole, lantern, magazine for ships, and accommodation for merchants goods, as was never before in the world, and would put to shame all modern industry of that nature; to shew the care they had, and the prodigious expences they made, for this so important and necessary a work: but these things hapning in her early and best daies, the fervour quickly abated; for from the death of Augustus, and some few of the succeeding emperours (as in that decline‡, by the conduct of Belisarius, Artabanes, and some of the later captains) the Romans, as powerful by land as they were, performed not much at sea: those glorious actions were the consequents of a frugal and vigilant people; but, when softness and prodigality took off their minds from the great and noble enterprizes of their ancestors, and the defence of their country was discompos'd by factions among themselves, the Goths, Vandales, Lombards, and Saracens broke in upon them, to the utter ruine and subversion of that renowned empire.

19. But the business of Navigation and Commerce (which could not long be eclips'd, so soon as a magnanimous prince appear'd) was again reviv'd under Charles the Great; about whose time it were not hard to

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* Gruter's Inscriptions.

† Front. Stratagem, l. 4. c. 7.

‡ Vide Procopium, l. 3. Paulus Diaconus, l. 14.

find out the original of almost all the naval-offices, and *thalassiarchia* or admiralty, to this day continuing; as appears in both the *Notitiæ Imperii Occidentalis & Orientalis*, wherein there occur divers notable particulars concerning them, even till the loss of Constantinople and the imperial seat itself: but to trace this great article from its source, and shew the progress it has made in the ages past, we have but to look over the catalogue which Eusebius* has given us, adjusted to the epoche in which they had successive dominion of the sea: namely, the Lydians whom (as appearing the most conspicuous) he sets in the van: then the Pelasgi, Thraces, Rhodians, Phrygians, Phœnicians, the Ægyptians, Milesians, those of Caria, Lesbia, the Phocenses, Naxii, Eretrienses, Æginetæ, and others too long to recite: let us look back to the Ægyptians, who we read were so addicted to traffick as they essayed to joyn the Mediterranean with the Red-Sea, and thereby open a passage to the Commerce of Arabia, Ethiopia, and the shoars of India: which attempt (unsuccessful as it prov'd) did not yet impeach the Alexandrian staple, from whence Rome of old, the Genoezes, Venetians, and others of later date, have inricht themselves: for the eastern scale being in Cæsars time at Coptos, and afterwards remov'd to Alexandria; when the Arabs and Goths overran the world (and the Indian trade interrupted), was convey'd to Trebezond upon the Euxine, and from thence by caravan to Aleppo, thence again recover'd to the Red-Sea, and Alexandria by the Sultan, who then possessed Cairo, where it was long monopoliz'd by the Venetians, of whom we give a more particular account. What immense treasure the Romans received out of Asia and Syria; out of Africa from Egypt, and by the Nile; the Persian Gulf, and from India, we are told out of Strabo†. This merchandize was first convey'd over-land from Berenice, by Philadelphus (to avoid the perils of navigating the Red-Sea (to Popta on the Nilus; and thence (with the stream) to Alexandria, though many ships adventur'd to pass from Muris (or the Berenice above-mention'd) even to the very Indies; by which means there came yearly to Rome no less than 1000 tuns of gold, besides other precious commodities. But, when the

* In Thesaurus Temporum. † Lib. 17.

empire fell to decay, the Venetians (as we noted) took their advantage, till then a few scatter'd cottages of poor fisher-men and others, fugitives from the Gotic Inundation, and setling by degrees upon a cluster of divers muddy and almost inaccessible islands: see what Commerce can effect! But these industrious people assay'd another way, namely, from Ganges through Bactria, and the River Oxus, and so by the Caspian Lake, Astracan, and the Volga; thence to Tanaïs by the Euxine, and so to Venice; truly an immense circle, and which soon wearied them out, when even of later times the negoce of India was supplied from Tripoly, and Alexandretta (cities of Syria), and from Aleppo by caravan, to which scale merchants came from Armenia, Arabia, Ægypt, Persia, and generally from all the oriental countries. From Aleppo again they return'd to Bir near the Euphrates; thence to Badaget, or Ophram in Media; Balsara, and the gulph all down the stream: to this Balsara is yet brought all sorts of Indian commodities, as far as Æthiopia, and the islands of that oeean; where, being charg'd on smaller vessels, they are tow'd-up against the Euphrates to Bagdet; in which passage being now and then interrupted by the thievish Arabs (especially at the frontiers), intelligence is familiarly convey'd by the inter-nunce of pidgeons trained up for the purpose, that is, carried in open cages from the dove-houses, and freed with their letters of advice (contriv'd in narrow scrowls about their bodies, and under the wing), which they bring with wonderful expedition: as they likewise practise it from Scanderoon to Aleppo upon the coming in of ships, and other occasions. These were the later intercourses from Venice to and from the oriental parts, till in the year 1497 that the famous Vasco de Gama (that fortunate Portugueze, and whom we may truly call the restorer of Navigation,) found out a nearer way, by going farther about; for Henry, the third son of John the First of Portugal*, hearing that Bethencourt, a Norman, had detected certain islands in the Atlantick Ocean some years before †, sent two ships in search of the Africa shoars southwards: ten years after this, Gonsalves Zargo and Tristan Vaz made discovery of Madera ‡, and certain Genoëzes had sail'd as far as

* 1410. † 1344. ‡ Detected before by one Machin, an English man.

Sierra Leona, within eight degress of the Æquator; after which, there was little advance till the reign of Alphonsus the Second, in whose time the Portuguezes coasted as far as the promontory of St. Katherine, under the second degree of southern latitude: but John the Second sending men by the old way of Alexandria, and the Midland-Sea to Goa, Peter Covilan, an active spirit amongst them, hearing of a famous cape, which extending itself far into the sea, and that being doubl'd, did open a passage into the east, brought news of it to King Emanuel (then reigning), who thereupon employ'd the two brothers Vasques (whom we nam'd) and Paulo, with four vessels and 160 men, with that success, as to discover a passage to the Indies by Long-Sea, to the almost utter ruine of Venice; and, in a short time after, to the total interruption of that tedious circle by land, rivers, and lakes, which we have been describing; nor are we to forget Petrus Alvarez, Almeïda, and others: and in this manner for divers years (at least till the reign of John the Third) did the Portugals and Spaniards carry the trade of the world, from the rest of the world, till the Hollanders (being prohibited all intercourse with the ports belonging to the Catholick-Kings) attempted the same discovery, and in short time so out-did the former, that by the year 1595 they had establish'd a company for the East-Indies, and within a while after, another for the West *, which has subdu'd the best part of Brazile, and in the year 1628 fought and took the Spanish Plate-fleet to their immense inrichment: but in what manner they have setled themselves and factories in those parts, and by what arts maintain'd it, will require a fuller discovery.

20. We not long-since mention'd the Goths and Vandals, and who almost has taken notice of the ancient port of Wisby, formerly a receptacle of ships, and famous emporium in those parts? when even the laws and ordinances of Wisby took place, like those of Oleron, from Muscovy, to the streights of Gibraltar; and though both Olaus Magnus, Herbestan, and others, have exceedingly celebrated this city, and haven; yet we cannot learn how it came to be deserted, unless by

* 1624.

luxury and dissentions of the inhabitants; by none (that we can find) recorded: but that it was once in so flourishing a state, testifie the yet remaining heaps, the columns of marble, jasper, and porphyrie; the gates of brass and iron, exquisitely wrought, and other foot-steps of august foundations. Albertus the Swedish King endeavour'd by great privileges to have (it seems) establish'd again, and restor'd it to its ancient splendour, but it did not succeed: nevertheless, the laws we mention'd (written in the old Theutonick language, and without date), obtain'd amongst the Germans, Danes, Flemmings, and almost all the northern people; we mention the instance to shew, that as some places have set-up and thriven by their industry, so others have lost what they once possess'd; and that this vicissitude is unavoidable, Tyrus, and Carthage, and Corinth, and Syracuse (that in their turns contended with all the world for Navigation and Commerce), are pregnant examples. The famous Brundusium (whence the great Pompey fled from the fortune of Cæsar) is now quite choak'd-up: Joppa is no more, and Tinjis, which of old deriv'd its name from Commerce, and was a renown'd emporium near three hundred years before Carthage was a city, was lately the desolate Tangiers; though now again, by the influence of our glorious monarch, raising its aged head with fresh vigour. But what's become of hundreds we might name; Spina near Ravenna, Luna in Etruria, Lesbss, and even Athens her self*? When nearer home, and at our own doors, Stavernen in Friezland, anciently a famous port, now desolate; Antwerp (lately the staple for the spice and riches of the East, and that sold more in one month than Venice did in four and twenty) lies abandoned. The stately Genoa (which once employ'd twice-twenty thousand hands in the silken manufacture) is now, with her-elder-sister Venice, ebbing apace; Venice, I say, the belov'd of the sea, seems now forlorne, compar'd to what she was, and from how small a principle she had spread!

21. The Bretons and Normans (especially against the Saracens), those of Province, Marseilles, Narbonne, &c. had long since been famous at We say long since, for the ancient Gaules had great commerce with

* Strabo, Dionys. Halicarnas. See Isaiah, chap. xxiii.

those of Carthage (as appears out of Polybyus and Livy), but the French in general have of later daies, and since the reign of Charles the Eighth, performed little considerable. Francis the First (that magnificent Prince, who had made the famous Andrea Doria his admiral) built indeed no less than fifty gallies for the Italick-War, and had some conflicts with our king his neighbour; but Henry the Fourth seem'd wholly negligent of sea-affairs, relying upon the generosity of Queen Elizabeth, in whose daies neither he nor any other potentate about her, durst pretend to shipping, or such fleets as might give jealousie to their allies; which, had this incomparable Princess, or rather her peaceful successor, as well observ'd with the Hollanders in point of Commerce and Trade too, the ages to come, as well as present, had been doubly oblig'd to their memory. But the scene is now chang'd, as well with them as with France; since Cardinal de Richelieu, in the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, instituting a colledge and fraternity of merchants about thirty years since; and by opening, enlarging, and improving their ports and magazines, has put the present Monarch into such a condition, as has exceedingly advanc'd his Commerce, and given principle to no inconsiderable navy; and if Claud. Pat. Sesellius *, the Bishop of Marseilles' prophecies succeed (who writ about the time of Lewis the Twelfth), the northern world is like to have an importunate neighbour within few years to come, from his growing power, even upon the ocean.

22. The Danes and more northern people were formidable (especially to this island) under the conduct of their brave Canute, Ubbo the Frizian, and other captains; making frequent descents upon us in mighty fleets, encounter'd by the Saxons: but all these living more by brigandize and piracy than by traffick, gave place to the Spaniard and Portugals, whose successful expeditions and discoveries have rendred them deservedly more worthy for these last six or seven hundred years, than any we have hitherto mention'd, for their shedding of blood and invasions. Nor with less glory, and timely application of themselves to sea-affairs, did the formerly-mention'd Genoëzes, and others of the Ligurian coast, signalize

* De Repub. Galliæ, l. 2.

their courage, as well as their dexterity in traffick, especially against the Saracens; since which they did exceedingly flourish, till the Dukes of Tuscany, by better policy, and the direction of Count Dudley (pretended Duke of Northumberland), raising its neighbour Ligorn from a despicable and neglected place to a free and well-defended port, did well nigh ruin it; for by this means the greatest merchants for repute in the world (namely, those of Genoa) are become the greatest and sordidst usurers in it; as having otherwise little means to employ the riches which they formerly got by a more honest and natural way of trade. But as the opening of Marseilles may in time endanger that of Ligorn, whilst the French King is courting all the world with naturalization, and other popular immunities; other princes are instructed how to render themselves considerable, who are blest with any advantagious post upon the bordures of the ocean; and of this, Gotenberg (not to mention Villa-Franca, and some other ports,) is now a worthy instance, which till of late was hardly known beyond its wooden suburbs, though it must be acknowledg'd that both the Danes and Sweeds had perform'd notable exploits; the former from Herald the Third, by the conduct of Ubbo the Frisian (not to insist on their heavy impositions on this island), and the latter from Gustavus the First, who serv'd himself of gallies even upon the Northern Seas, built for him by the Venetians, and set out that enormous ship we mentioned, which carryed thirteen hundred men. What conquests the late great Adolphus made, with an armada of two hundred ships, is known to the amazement of Europe.

23. We have more than once shew'd from how humble a rise Venice had exalted her head, and spread the fame of her conquests, as well as Navigation, over Asia, Ægypt, Syria, Pontus, Greece, and other countries bordering upon the ocean: she war'd against the Istrians, and vanquish'd the Saracens. In the Holy-land they won Smyrna, devasted all the Phœnician shoars, especially under Dominico Michaele, who with two hundred vessels, having rais'd the siege of Joppa, took Chios, Samos, Lesbos; to omit their successes against the Genoëzes emulous of their growth, but never to forget the former, and of late strenuous resistance against the Turk; especially in that signal battle of Lepanto,

and what their famous general Capello did at Tunis and Algiers of later time, and the building, furniture, and œconomy of their arsenal and magazines celebrated throughout the world; when (before the lucky Portuguezes had doubl'd the Cape of Bon-Esperanza) the sweet of the Levantine Commerce (transfer'd from this port onely) invited men to build not ships alone, but houses and palaces in the very bosom of Neptune, with a stupendious expence, and almost miraculous. The government of their maritime affairs, care of their forrests, victualling, courage and industry of their greatest noble-men, who are frequently made captains of single gallies, and sometimes arriving to be chief admirals, come near a dictatorship; are things worthy of praise, and of the name they have obtain'd. Genoa (whom we mention'd) had signaliz'd it self against the Saracens, the Republic of Pisa, and even Venice it self, especially under Paganus Doria in the year 1352, near the Bosphorus streight; and with the Island of Tenidos had been hir'd by the young Andronicus to come into his assistance. From the time of Cosmo di Medices, and Sylvius Piccolomini their Admiral, the Florentines gave proof of their valour in Africa, and of their care for sea affairs, the Arsenal at Pisa gives a commendable instance.

24. The Rhodans (to whom some attribute even the invention of Navigation, and whose constitutions were universally receiv'd,) obtain'd a mighty repute at sea; and the courageous exploits of the Maltezes and other military orders against the common enemy, the Turk, are renown'd over the world; witness ten thousand which they slew, and half as many that they took in the year 1308, with hundred thousands of those miscreants destroy'd by them since their removal to Malta; especially when joyn'd with the gallies of Venice and Genoa, in the years 1601, 1625, 1638, and other slaughters innumerable. We name the Turk, and they give us cause to remember them, by what the Christian Pale has too often felt, when, more by their numbers than their courage, they took from it Cyprus, Rhodes, and the never to be forgotten Candia, besides their conquests and incursions on the rest of Europe and Asia; they are not, 'tis confess'd, of any name for much Commerce, but for the disturbance of it, which calls aloud upon the Christian world to put a timely period to their insolence, before it be

incorrigible, and to pursue the bold and brave exploits of our Blakes, Lawsons, and Sprags, against the Moores and Barbares, and by example of our heroic prince, to restore that security to trade, which can onely make it re-flourish.

25. The Æthiopians, Persians, Indians, and Chinezes (for those of Tartary present or ancient Scyths come hardly into this account), may be reckon'd among the nations of traffic; especially the last nam'd, as who are by some thought to have had knowledge of the magnet before the Europeans; nay, so addicted were they to sailing, that they invented veliferous chariots, and to sail upon the land: it was long since that they had intercourse with those of Madagascar, and came sometimes as far as the Red-Sea with their wares; and for vessels have to this day about Nankin, jonks of such prodigious size, as seem like cities rather than ships, built full of houses, and replenish'd with whole families: in short, there is hardly a nation so rude, but who in some degree cultivate navigation, and are charm'd with the advantages of commerce. But it would cost an immense volume to discourse at large of these things in particular, and to mention onely the brave men who have in all ages signalized themselves at sea for their arms, or more peaceful arts; to count the names of the famous captains and adventures of later times, whose expeditions have been war-like, and for invasion, and many for discoveries and commerce. Here then we contract our sails, and shall direct our course nearer home, from whence we have been so long diverted.

26. The first that presents itself to our second consideration, are the Spaniards and Castilians, who (upon the success of their neighbours the Portugals), making use of that fortunate stranger Columbus, prompted by a magnanimous genius and a little philosophy, discover'd to us a new world. This great man being furnish'd out by Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, in four voyages, which he made from the year 1492 to 1502, detected the Antillias, Cuba, Jamaica, &c. with some of the *Terra firma;* though, to let pass Zeno (a noble Venetian, reported to have discover'd the North-east part of America above an hundred years before *), there be who tells us, that a certain obscure mariner

* 1390.

(Alphonso Zanches de Huelva by name) had the first sight of this goodly prospect eight years before this glorious Genoëze (for Columbus was of that city), or any of the pretenders. This poor sea-man, hurried upon those unknown coasts by tempests, which continu'd for almost a full month, was carried as far as St. Domingo in Hispaniola: how he return'd is not said; but that from the observations of this adventure Christophero receiv'd the first notices of what he afterwards improv'd, being at that time in the Maderas, where Zanches arriving, died not long after, and bequeath'd him all his charts and papers. There are persons likewise who affirm, that some mean Biscayers (losing themselves in pursuit of whale-fishing) had fall'n upon some of the American Islands, above an hundred years before either of the former; but, since of this we have no authentic proofs: certain it is that Columbus, taking his conjectures from the spiring of certain winds from the Western points, by strong impulse, concluded that there must needs be some continent towards those quarters. Upon this confidence, he offers first his service to John King of Portugal, and then to our Henry the Seventh of England, by both which princes rejected for a romantic dream, he repairs to the Court of Spain, where, partly by his importunity, and much by the favour of Isabella, he was with great difficulty set out at last; when to equip him, the royal lady was fain to pawn some of her jewels: but it was well repaid, when for the value of 17,000 crowns he not long after return'd her almost as many tuns of treasure, and within eight or nine years, to the Kings sole use, above 1,500,000 of silver, and 360 tuns of gold *. See the reward of faith, and of things not seen! These fortunate beginnings were pursu'd by Americus Vesputius (a Florentine, and a stranger too), who being sent by Emanuel of Portugal to the Molucca Islands (five years after), hapning to be driven upon the same coast, carried away the name, though not the honour, from all the former, though there be who upon good proof affirm that John Chabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian (born with us at Bristol), had discover'd Florida, and the shoars of Virginia, with that whole tract as far as New-found-land, before the bold Genoëze; nay, that Thorn and Eliot (both countrymen of ours) detected this New-world before Columbus

* 1497.

ever set foot upon it; for we will say nothing of the famous Owen Gwynedd, whose adventures are of yet greater antiquity, and might serve to give reputation to that noble enterprize, if we had a mind to be contentious for it. But,

27. That indeed the most shining exploits of this age of discoveries were chiefly due to the several heros of this island, we have but to call over the names of Drake, Hawkins, Cavendish, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, Raleigh, and others of no less merit: for impossible it was that the English should not share in dangers with the most renowned in so glorious an enterprize; our Drake being the first of any mortal to whom God vouchsafed the stupendious atchievement of encompassing not this New-World alone, but New and Old together; both of them twice-embrac'd by this demi-god; for Magellan, being slain at the Manillias, was interrupted in his intended course *, and left the exploit to Sebastian Camus his colleague.

28. This voyage of Drake was first to Nombre de Dios; where coming to a sight of the South-Seas, with tears of joy in his eyes, his mind was never in repose till he had gotten into it, as in five years after he accomplish'd it, when passing through the Magellan Streight towards the other Indies, and doubling the famous promontory, he circumnavigated the whole earth, and taking from the Spaniard, St. Jago, Domingo, Cartagena, and other signal places, crown'd in the name of his mistress the Queen, at Nova Albion, he return'd to his country, and to a crown of immortal honour. This gallant man was leader to Cavendish, another countryman of ours, of no less resolution; for these brave persons, scorning any longer to creep by shoars, and be oblig'd to uncertain constellations, plow'd-up unfathomable abysses, without ken of earth or heaven, and really accomplish'd actions beyond all that the poets of old, or any former record, fruitful in wonders, could invent or relate.

29. And now every nation, stimulated by these adventures, daily added new things to the accomplishment of the art; things, I say, unknown to former ages. And herein were the Portugals very prosperous, one of whose princes brought first into use the astrolabe, and tables of declination, with other arithmetical and astronomical rules applicable to

* 1528.

navigation; besides what several others had from time to time invented: but neither were these to be compar'd to the nautic box and feats of the magnet, before which the science was so imperfect, and mariners so terrified at long voyages, that there were laws to prohibit sailing, even upon the Mediterranean, during the winter season; and, however great things have been reported of Plato's Atlantic, the discoveries of Hanno, Eudoxius, and others of old time, from the Persian Gulph, as far as Cales: it was still with sneaking by the shoar, in continual sight of land, or by chance, which indeed has been a fruitful mother in these and most other discoveries, that men might learn humility, and not sacrifice to their own uncertain reasonings. In that memorable expedition* of the French to invade our country, there was hardly a pilot to be found who durst adventure twenty leagues into the main; and those who had been the most assur'd did hardly reach within many degrees of the Æquinoctial. The Azores were first stumbl'd upon by a roaming pirat, surpriz'd by storm: all the Asiatic Indian seas, and some of Africa, lay almost as much in the dark as the Hyperboreans and horrid North. And though this defect was encounter'd more than two ages past†, by that ever to be renown'd Italian, Flavio of Melphi (for we pass what is reported of the ancient Arabs, Paulus Venetus, and others), yet was it near fourscore years after ere it came so far North as these countries of ours, to which his needles continually pointed. But it was now when the fullness of time was come, that by this means the Western Indies should be no longer a secret, and what have been the incomparable advantages which this despicable stone has produc'd (the property whereof is ever to have its poles converted to the poles of the world, and its axes directed parallel to the axes of the world), is argument of admiration: but that by virtue of this dull pebble such a continent of land, such myriads of people, such inexhaustible treasures, and so many wonders should be brought to light, plainly astonishes, and may instruct the proudest of us all not to contemn small things, since so it oftentimes pleases the Almighty to humble the loftiness of men, and to choose the base things of the world to confound the things that are mighty. And less than this we could

* 1305. † 1465.

not say concerning that inestimable jewel by whose aid and direction the commerce and traffick of the world has receiv'd such advantages.

30. We have now dispatch'd the Portugals and the Spaniards: there remain the English and the Hollanders, who, courting the good graces of the same mistress, the trade of the world, divide the world between them. Deservedly then we celebrate the industry of the Batavians: they must really be look'd upon as a wonderful people; nor do we diminish our selves whilst we magnifie any worthy actions of theirs, since it cannot but redound to our glory, who have been the occasion of it, and that as often as they have forgotten it, we have been able to chastize them for it: it is, I say, a miracle, that a people (who have no principle of trade among themselves) should in so short a space become such masters of it: their growth ('tis confess'd) is admirable; and if it prove as solid and permanent as it has been speedy, Rome must her self submit to the comparison: but we know who has calculated her nativity *, and that violent things are not alwaies lasting. We will yet give them their due; they are gyants for stature, fierce in beard and countenance, full of goodly towns, strong in munition, numerous in shipping; in a word, high and mighty states, and all this the product of commerce and navigation; but by what just arts equally and in all parts improv'd, we may hereafter enquire, as well as to whose kindness they have been the most obliged and the most ingrateful. We omit to speak here of their discoveries and plantations, which the curious may find in the journals of Heemskerk, Oliver Vander-Nordt, Spilberg, Le Maire (who went six degrees farther South than Magellan himself, and found a shorter passage into those seas); to these we may add L'Eremite, the late compilers of their Atlasses, and others, which many volumes would hardly comprehend, because they are generally known. Tacitus, and other famous authors, have celebrated their early exploits at sea; and, of later times †, Fredric Barburossa did bravely against the Saracens at Pelusium in Ægypt. The Frizians greatly infested the Danes, and those of Flanders, especially under William the son of John Count of Holland, and in the time of Philip the good Duke of Burgundy. They were the first that wore the broome, when, anno 1438, they had

* Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra. † 1219.

clear'd the Levantine seas, subdu'd the Genoëzes, and vanquish'd the French about an hundred years after*: how they plagu'd the Spaniard and Portugals, from the year 1572 to almost this day, there is no body ignorant of; and for that of their discoveries, *Quæ vero ignota marium litora quasve desinentis mundi oras scrutata non est Belgarum nautica* †? was justly due to them from Strada; and the truth is, they have merited of fame for many vertues, and shew'd from what small and despicable rudiments great things have emerged; and that traffick alone, which at the first raised, has hitherto supported this grandure against a most puissant monarch for almost an age intire: but, their admission of forreigners, increase of hands, encouraging manufactures, free and open ports, low customes, tolleration of religions, natural frugality, and indefatigable industry, could, indeed, portend no less. We conclude then with England, which, though last in order, was not the last in our design; when, upon reflection on our late differences with our neighbours of Holland, we thought it not unsuitable to preface something concerning the progress of that commerce which has been the subject of so many conflicts between us.

31. To the little which has been hitherto said of the great things which our nation has perform'd by sea in the later ages, we might superadd the gallantry and brave adventures of former; since from no obscure authors we learn ‡, the Britains to have accompanied the Cimbrians and Gauls in their memorable expedition into Greece, long before the Incarnation of our Lord, and whilst they were yet strangers to the Roman world; not to insist on the Cassiterides, known to the Phœnicians, and with so much judgment vindicated by a learned author § in that his excellent and useful Institution. In all events we resort to the greatest captain, and, without dispute, the purest of ancient writers: the description which Cæsar ‖ makes of the supplies this island afforded the Gauls (and which made him think it worth his while to bring over his legions hither), will inform us, that the structure of their vessels was not alto-

* V. Pont. Heuterus Austr. l. 13.

† Stradæ de Bello Belgico, Decas. 1. lib. 1. pag. 18. folio, Rom. 1632.

‡ Camden; Strabo, l. 3.

§ W. Howell, Institution of Gen. Hist.—Bocharti Canaan, l. 1. c. 39. & l. 3. c. 9.

‖ De Bello Gall. lib. 3.

gether of twigs and oxes-hides; and the Veneti, it seems, had then a navy of no less than 200 sail, built of goodly oak, tall, and so bravely equipped for war, and to endure the sea, as that great general acknowledg'd the Romans themselves had nothing approach'd it: which we mention, because divers grave authors believe the British vessels (sent sometime as auxiliaries) were thought to be like them. And the slender experience which the Gauls (or, in truth, any other neighbour of theirs) had of the opposite shoars, when the Britains were thus instructed both for defence and commerce (and at that time permitted certain merchants onely to frequent their coasts), is a fair præscription how early she intituled her self to the dominion of the seas; which, if at any time interrupted by barbarous surprise or invasion (as in the ages following it seem'd to be), yet neither did that continue any longer than till the prevalent force was established, which soon asserting the title, as lords, and in right of England, maintain'd her prærogative from time immemorial. I know not why, therefore, a solitary writer or two should go about to deprive this nation of more than twelve hundred years at once, because an heroick prince has had the misfortune to have his mighty actions reported by some weak and less accurate pens; yet such as the times wherein they liv'd could furnish, especially too, since this has been the fate of as brave men as any whom history has recorded: but, by this pretence, some there are who would take from us the renowned Arthur, who is reported to have led his squadrons as far as Ice-land *, and brought the Northern people under his flag, planting the confines of the British Ocean as far as the Russian tracts; and this (together with all the Northern and Eastern isles) to be, *de jure*, appendices unto this kingdom, we may find in the *leges Edwardi*, confirm'd by the Norman Conquerour, for so it had been left to the famous Edgar (to mention onely Egbert, Alfred, Ethelred, &c. princes all of them signally meritorious for their care of the sea), who, soon finding by experience what benefit and protection his country receiv'd by the extraordinary vigilancy on the coasts, and the vindicating of his dominions on the waters, cover'd them at once with no less than four thousand sail;

* See 'APXAIONOMIA, sive, de Priscis Anglorum Legibus, written by Lambard, and published by Mr. Wheelock.

nor, it seems, without cause (the time consider'd), since we lay so expos'd to a barbarous enemy. Alfred (whom we mention'd) found it so in his daies (a sober and well-consulted prince), and therefore provided him self of the same expedient against the troublesome Danes, whom he not seldome humbl'd; but this maxime, as often neglected, did as certainly expose the nation to prey and contempt, as not long after it, to the Norman power*, and may so again to a greater, when through a fatal supineness we shall either remit of our wonted vigilance and due provisions, or suffer our upstart neighbours to incroach upon us; so true is that saying, *by what means any thing is acquir'd, by the same 'tis preserv'd.* Did this island wisely consider the happiness of not needing many frontiers to protect her from hourly alarms, or inland fortresses to check the suddain and rude incursions to which all continents are obnoxious, she would not think her bounty to her Prince a burthen, who, by maintaining a glorious and formidable navy at sea, not onely renders her inhabitants secure at home, without multiplying of governours and guarnisons (which are ever jealous to a free and loyal people), but, unless wanting to themselves, repairs their layings-out with immense advantages; and by securing and improving that trade and commerce which onely can render a nation flourishing, and which has hitherto given us the ascendant over the rest of the world: so true is another axiom, *Qui mare teneat, eum necesse est rerum potiri*†; but without which 'tis in vain to talk of sovereignty.

32. By these politicks King John was enabl'd to pass the seas into Ireland with a fleet of 500 sail, imperiously commanding whatever vessels they should meet withal about the eight circumfluent seas, to arrest them, and bring them to understand their duty: but our third Edward (to whom the house of Burgundy ow'd so much) equipp'd above a thousand tall ships upon another occasion, with an handful whereof he defeated a prodigious navy of the French and Spaniard that were gotten together; and we have seen a perfect and undoubted list of no fewer than 700 men of war which this Prince brought before Calais, though

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* Nimis multa exstare documenta Britanniæ esse dominos qui essent maris. Grotii, Annales et Hist. Belgicis, lib. 13.

† Cic. ad Attic. l. 10. ep. 8.

he made use of but 200 of them, to vanquish a fleet consisting of more than double the number, with the loss of thirty thousand French; which had such an influence on his neighbours, that whereas till then there had been some remisness in the nation, and a declension of sea-affairs, the bravest and greatest men in the land began greedily to embrace maritime employments, and the title of Admiral*, introduc'd in his prædecessors time, was now held in the highest esteem.

33. We mention'd the house of Burgundy, and it had reason to remember us and our wool, which was the fairest flower of that ducal coronet, and, as some good antiquaries remark, really gave institution to their golden fleece: however it were, this wise prince, representing to the Flemings their miserable posture (at that time obnoxious to the French, as of late they have likewise been), and inhibiting the importation of forraign cloths, the serene and quiet condition of this happy island invited them over to settle here, erect their manufacture amongst us, and joyn their art to our nature.

34. We pass by the exploits and glorious atchievments perform'd by our Kings against the Saracens in the Holy-War, which charg'd the shields of the ancient nobless, and of which all Asia resounded. Here our Edwards, Henries, and Richards, did memorable things; in particular, Richard the Second took of the French almost an hundred ships at once, of which some were vessels of great burthen, richly fraite; and an Earl of Arundel (bearing this Princes name) beat, took, and destroy'd 226 ships, deep laden with 13,000 tuns of wine, coming from La Rochelle, after an obstinate encounter, and many brave exploits. To these we might add, the gallant preparations of Henry the Fifth, and of several more, had we a design or any need to accumulate instances of our puissance and successes at sea, so thickly sown in forreign as well as domestic histories: but he that would be instructed for a more ample discourse, may take notice of the League made between Charles the Great and our Mercian Offa (now more than 700 years since), as he may find it in an epistle of the learned Albinus, or the learned Alcuin ('tis all one), and consult our countrymen Walsingham, (William of) Malmesbury, and

* *Thalassiarcha.* See Vossius de Vitiis Sermonis et Glossematis Lat. l. 2. It is deriv'd from *Emir*, or *Amir Præfectus*, in Arab.

other writers, where he will see in what high repute this nation has been, both for its numerous shipping and the flourishing commerce it maintain'd in the most known parts of the world; and which we may farther confirm by the several authentic statutes and immunities yet extant, not omitting the *policy of keeping the sea*, facetiously, yet solidly set forth in the good *old prologue*, intituled, *The Process of the Libel*, written more than 200 years past, not unworthy our deepest reflexions: and verily, it were a madness in us to neglect the care of those causes from whence (as by a series of them will yet appear) the effects of all our temporal blessings spring, and by vertue whereof they can only be maintain'd.

35. Henry the Seventh, and his magnificent successor, were both of them powerful at sea, though the too weak faith of the former depriv'd him of the most glorious accession that was ever offer'd to mortal man. This he endeavour'd to have repair'd by the famous Cabott, whom he afterwards employ'd to seek adventures; and, though the success were not equal, it was yet highly laudable, and (as we have shew'd) not altogether without fruit.

36. Henry the Eighth, his son, had divers conflicts with the French *, triumphing sometimes in sails of cloth-of-gold, and cordage of silk: but that which indeed repair'd the remissness of the one and profusion of the other, and gave a demonstration of how absolute concern traffic and strength at sea are to this island, was the care which Queen Elizabeth took, when, by her address alone, she not only secur'd her kingdoms from the formidable power of Spain, but reap'd the harvest too of that opulent monarch, and brought his Indies into her own Exchequer; whilst that mighty prince had onely the trouble to conquer the New-World, and prepare the treasure for her: and this she did by her influence on navigation, and by the courage and conduct of those renowned heros who made her reign so famous.

37. This glorious Princess had 130 sail of fair ships, when she sent over for the Island voyages, of which 60 were stout men of war; and with these (besides many other exploits) she defended Holland, defied

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* Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hist. Hen. VIII. See also that rare piece of Hans Holbein's in his Majesty's Gallery at Whitehall.

Parma, and aw'd the whole power of Spain: with an handful of these (comparatively) she defeated the invincible Armada in 1588, encounter'd and took gallions and other vessels of prodigious strength and bulk; and what havock was made at Cales, by yet a smaller number, her enemies to this day feel. Grotius*, speaking of this action, tells us, that the wealth gotten there by the Earl of Essex was never any where parallel'd with the like naval success; and that if these beginnings had been pursu'd (as with ease they might, had the brave man's counsel been follow'd), it had prov'd one of the most glorious enterprises that history has recorded: however, besides the immense spoil and treasure they took, and the marks they left of their fortitude (to the loss of 1200 great guns of the enemies, irreparable in those daies), the Spaniard was not so redoubted abroad as they left him miserably weakn'd at home. To these we may number the trophies won by particular adventurers: Sir Francis Drake having, with four ships onely, taken from the Spaniard a million and 189,200 ducats in one expedition, anno 1587; in a single bottom, 25,000 *pezos* of the most refined gold; and after, with a squadron of five and twenty sail, terrifying the whole ocean, he sack'd St. Jago, Domingo, and Cartagena (as before mention'd), and carried away with him, besides other incredible booty, 240 pieces of artillery, which was a prodigious spoil in those early daies, and when those instruments of destruction were not in such plenty as now they are. What shall we say of John Oxenham, one of the Argonauts with Drake? who, in a slender bark, near Nombre-de-Dios, having drawn up his vessel to land, and cover'd it with a few boughs, marched with his small crew over unknown paths, till arriv'd at a certain river, and there building a pinnace with the timber which they fell'd upon the spot, he boldly launches into the South Sea, and, at the Island of Pearls, took from the Spaniard 60,000 *lb.* weight of massie-gold, and 200,000 in silver! though lost in his return with it, by the perfidy of his associates. Such an exploit is hardly to be parallel'd in any story. Sir Richard Grinvill, in another voyage to Cadiz, with but 180 souldiers (of which 90 were sick and useless) in the ship Revenge, main-

* Annal. l. 5.

tain'd a conflict for 24 hours against 50 Spanish gallions, sinking four of their best vessels. Than this, what have we more! what can be greater! In sum, so universal was the reputation of our countrymen in those daies for their strenuous exploits at sea, that even those who took all occasions to depress and extenuate them, are forc'd here to acknowledge, and that from the pen of an author whose word goes far "That the Greeks and Romans, who of old made good all their mighty actions by naval victories, were at this time equal'd by the fortitude and courage of the English *."

38. 'Twas in her daies they discover'd far into the North-east, and North-west, Cathaian, and China passages, by the indefatigable diligence of Willoughby, Burrough, Chancelor, Button, Baffin, Frobisher, James, Middleton, Gilbert, Cumberland, and others †, worthy to be consign'd to fame: in her brother's, the Sixth Edward's reign, the formerly-mention'd Chabott had six times attempted the North-west tracts to the Indies; and long before these, a bold prince of ours essay'd to pass the Moluccas by the same course, entred the streights of Anian, and is by some intituled to the first discovery of the Canaries. The Summer-Islands, and the goodly continent of Virginia, were first detected, and then planted by the English; among whom we may not pass by the industry of Captain Jones, Smith, and other late adventurers, whose great exploits (as romantic as they appear) were the steady effects of their courage and good fortune. We have said yet nothing of Pool, who began the whale-fishing; nor of Captain Bennet, who discover'd Cherry-Island; Pet and Jackman, that pass'd the Vaigates, Scythian Ices, and the river Ob, as far as Nova Zembla; of John Davis, who had penetrated to 86 degrees of latitude, and almost set his foot upon the Northern Pole: here let us also remember Captain Gillan, to the lasting honour of his highness Prince Rupert, and the rest of those illustrious adventurers; nor forget to celebrate the heroic inclination of his sacred Majesty, our great Charles, under whose auspices Sir John Nar-

* Graiorum Romanorumque gloriæ, qui res olim suas navales per acies asseruerunt, non dubite tunc Anglorum & fortuna, & virtus respondit. Grotii, Annales et Hist. Belg.

† See Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, folio, 1599.

borough has lately pass'd and repass'd the Magellan Streight, by which that modest and industrious man has not onely performed what was never done before, but has also made way for a prospect of immense improvement. Finally,

39. It was Queen Elizabeth who began and establish'd the trade of Muscovy, Turky, Barbary, and even that of the East Indies too, however of late interrupted by ungrateful neighbours; nor less was she vigilant at land than at sea; mustering at once no fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand fighting-men of her own vassals, not by uncertain computation, but effectually fit for war. And indeed, but for the extraordinary virtue of this brave virago, not England alone, but even France and Holland, had truckl'd under the weight of Spain, whose ambition was then upon its highest pinnacle: in one word, Navigation and Commerce were in her days in so prosperous a condition, that they seem to have ever since subsisted but upon the reputation of it; and the success of our countrymen in their attempts at sea was so far superiour to other nations, as by the suffrage of the most learned strangers (and to shew it was universal) they could but acknowledge, *Omnibus hodie gentibus Navigandi industriâ & peritiâ, superiores esse Anglos, & post Anglos, Hollandos*;* for we do not fear to give even our greatest enemies their dues, when they deserve it.

40. We now arrive to King James and Charles the First (Princes of immortal memory); and for the former, there was in his time built (besides many others) those two gallant ships, the Trades-Increase, and the Prince; the one for encouragement of Commerce, and the other a Man of War; and though upon different accounts, and at different times, they both unhappily miscarried, yet they serv'd to testifie that neither defence nor trade were neglected, since as to that of the first, Sir Walter Raleigh doubts not to affirm, that the shipping of this nation, with a squadron of the Navy-Royal, was in this Princes time able, in despight of Europe, to command the ocean, much more to bring the Nether-Lands to due obedience: but says he, as I shall never think him a lover of his country or Prince who shall perswade his Majesty from cultivating their amity, so would I counsel them to

* Keckermanni, Systema Politicum, 8vo, 1625.

remember and consider it; that seeing their intercourse lies so much through the British seas that there is no part of France, from Calais to Flushing, capable of succouring them; that, frequently, out-wards by Western-winds, and ordinarily, home-wards, both from the Indies, Straites, and Spain, all Southerly-winds (the breezes of our climate) thrust them of necessity into his Majesties harbours; how much his Majesties favour does import them. For if (as themselves confess) they subsist by Commerce onely, the disturbance of that (and which England alone can disturb) will also disturb their subsistence. I omit the rest; because I can never doubt either their gratitude or their prudence. But this brave man was, it seems, no prophet to foresee how soon they would forget themselves: they began in his days to be hardly warm in comparison, and indeed it is not (as observes the same person) much beyond a century, that either the French, Spanish, or Hollander, had any proper fleets belonging to them as kingdoms or states; the Venetians, Genoezes, and Portugals, being then (as we have noted) the only competitors both for strength and traffick; the Dutch little considerable, since within these fifty years, the Spanish and Portugals employ'd many more ships at sea than the Hollander (their fishing-busses excepted), who, 'til furnish'd with our artillery, were very contemptible, as may be made out by undeniable evidence: insomuch that the formerly-mention'd Raleigh affirms, one lusty ship of his Majesties would have made forty Hollanders strike sail, and come to an anchor: they did not then (says he) dispute *de Mari Libero*. But will you know in a word from him, what it was that has exalted them to this monstrous pitch? It was the employing their own people in the fishery upon our coasts; by which they infinitely inrich'd themselves; 2. Their entertaining of auxilliaries in their difficult land-services, by which they preserv'd their own vassals; 3. The fidelity of the house of Nassaw, from which they had a wise and experienc'd general; 4. The frequent excursions of the Duke of Parma into France, hindring the prosecution of his growing successes; 5. The imbargo of their ships in Spain, and interdicting them free trade with that nation, which first set them upon their Indian adventures; 6. And, above all, the kindness of Queen Elizabeth. But the case is (it seems)

much alter'd since that worthy Knight made his observations, and took his leave of the Prince of Orange at Antwerp; when (after Leicester's return) he pray'd him to say to her Majesty, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur;* for that they had wither'd in the bud without her assistance.

41. We have yet but only mention'd the inherent right of the crown of England to the dominion of the seas, because the legality and the reason of it have been asserted by so many able and famous pens, from which we learn that it doth of justice appertain to the Kings of Great Britain *, not only as far as protection extends (though there were no other argument to favour us), but of sacred and immemorial royalty: but 'tis pretended by those great names † who have of late disputed this subject, and endeavoured to depose our Princes of this empire *Jure naturæ & gentium*, that the sea is *Fluxile elementum, & quod nunquam idem possideri non posse;* that 'tis always in succession, and, that one can never anchor on the same billow; that water is as free as the air; and that the sea terminates empires which have no bounds; and therefore that no empire can terminate that which acknowledges none; and though all this were nothing; that his Majesties father had tamely lost it to the late usurpers, which is an insolent scoff of Marisotus's, triumphing over a fetter'd lion; whilst for all this, to patch up a wretched pretence, he descends to take hold of a certain obsolete and fœudatarie complement, sometime since passing between the two Kings; as if a ceremonious acknowledgment for a province or two in France (which is an usual deference among Princes upon certain tenures) gave sufficient title and investiture to all that the Kings of England possess in the world besides. But in this sort do the partizans of aspiring monarchs manage their egregious flatteries, whilst to silence all the world, we can shew it prescription so far beyond the present race of Kings, that even the name of their Pharamond was not known ‡ when the empire on the sea set limits to the coasts of Gaul, and said, "hitherto shall ye come."—Nor to that alone, but even as far

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* Seldeni, Mare Clausum, folio, 1635. † Grotius. Is. Pontanus. Moriscoti orbis Maritimi, fol. 1643. Cleirac Coustumes de la Mer, 4to, 1647. ‡ Mela.

as Spain it self; for to what pretence could those Princes have to this dominion, whose very monarchy is but of yesterday, in respect to the goodly extent which now they call France? and especially when the only maritime provinces were shread into so many fragments and cantons, under their petty Princes; for so were Narbonne, Bretayne, Aquitaine, and even Normandy it self (portions belonging then to our Kings), nor had they 'till of later days so much as the office of admiral belonging to the sea, that is, till their expedition into the Holy-Land, when yet they were fain to make use of the Genoezes to transport them, as we have it confess'd by their own authors*. As to their other arguments, we need not spend much breath to dilute those pittiful cavils of the instability and fluctuation of the waves, &c.; which could not be there without a channel and a bottom to contain them, as if we contended for the drops of the sea, and not for its situation, and the bed of those waters; and since rivers and streams have the same reason on their side to exempt them from being in common, and at every man's disposure.

And these things I have only touch'd to repress the pruriency of some late flatterers, who not only injure a truth as resplendent as the sun, but the justice of a great Prince, whom by these false colours they would provoke to unrighteous disputes; whilst we pretend to nothing but what carries with it the strongest eviction a thing of this nature is capable of.

42. Needless it would be to amuse the reader with recounting to him at large how, in the ancient division of things, the sea having been assign'd over with the land, there sprung up from the same original a private dominion; but undoubtedly, when God gave to man the soveraignty of the ocean, by intitl'ing him to the fish which were produc'd in the bowels of it, (that is, to the thing itself by its use and enjoyment,) by the same grant he passed over to him, and consign'd to his disposure the distribution of it, and introduction of a separate and peculiar jurisdiction. There is nothing more perspicuous than our case, and as to his Majesties claim (the reasons for it rightly consider'd) from

* Jo. Tilius de Rep. Gall. l. 2.

so many royal predecessours, and so long a tract of years, who for security of Navigation and Commerce between their neighbours and allies were at such vast expences to equip and set forth great ships and navies; and that upon the intreaty and solicitation of those who recurr'd to their protection, and might themselves justifie the prescribing rules and boundaries to such as should pass the seas, and receive such recognitions and emoluments as were peculiar and within their circle, both for their honour and maintenance.

The deduction shall be very short, considering how vast an ocean of matter lies before us; but it shall be full.

43. Cæsar, ere he had invaded Britain *, summoning the Gallic merchants to inform him of the shores and situation of our ports, could it seems learn nothing from them; for, says he, not a man of them frequented that rivage without licence; and when Claudius had subdu'd the more Southern parts of the nation, the British Sea following the fate of the whole island, came with the same privileges to be annex'd to the empire, and did never loose them through all the revolutions which happen'd; but that as soon as the prevalent power came to be settl'd, they immediately asserted their dominion on the sea. That of very wide extent this nation had peculiars of its own, the consternation of the Calidonians evince †, when in the time of Domitian, Agricola sailing round the island, they were in such perplexity to see him in their chambers, for so they called those northern streams. But not longer to insist on these early beginnings, and what the Romans did when the frame of that empire was chang'd about the time of the great Constantine ‡, the *Comites* of the Saxon shore (substitutes to him who commanded the West) had their jurisdiction over all the sea, from the borders of that shoar, and West part of Denmark, to the Western Gallia all along the other side.

44. There are who put some stress here upon ancient inscriptions, especially that mentioned by Gruter of a præfect of a British fleet; and on the ornaments and ensigns of dominion found in several medals and antiquities to be met withal in the collections of learned men;

* De Bello Gall. lib. 4. † Tacit. in Vit. Agric. ‡ Notitia Imp. Occid.

vindicating the peculiar we contend for, and continu'd from Edward the Third in several fair stamps, nor are they to be rejected. It suffices us, that whatever the government were, still the dominion of the sea return'd with that of the land to the nation*; as when the Britains rejected the Roman yoak, which now extended when it came under the power of the English Saxon Kings and Danes, is known to all the world, as well as with what mighty navies Edgar, Canute, and others, asserted and protected it, under no lower style than that of King, Supreme Lord and Governour of the Ocean lying round about Britain; for so runs the settlement of certain revenues given by King Edgar to the Cathedral of Worcester, says Mr. Selden.

45. Since the Norman conquest, the government of the several provinces or sheriffs exercised jurisdiction on the sea as far as their countys extended. Henry the Third constituted captain guardians, and our first Edward distributed this guard to three admirals; so did the second of that name; and the form of our ancient commissions to the several admiralties, mention the dominion of our Kings upon the sea, nor did any other nation whatsoever contest it as having little or nothing on the opposite shoars; whilst 'tis evident the English Monarchs possess'd their right in its intire latitude for more than a thousand years under one intire empire, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of the sea as an appendant.

46. To this we might add the pass-ports sued for by forreigners from the reign of Henry the Fourth, and so down to Queen Elizabeth, who during her war with Spain sometimes gave leave to the Swedes, Danes, and Ansiatic Towns, and sometimes prohibited them petitioning for passes to sail through her seas; nay more, she caus'd to be taken and brought into her harbours laden ships of those nations transgressing her orders, as far as the streights of Lisbon, which she could never have justify'd had she not been acknowledged Sovereign of the seas through which they were to pass. And though her successor King James appointed certain limits on the English coast by imaginary lines drawn from point to point round the island, in which he some-

* Zosimus, lib. 6. Vide Claudiani de Laudibus Stilichonis, lib. 2.

times extended them far into the sea; it was not to circumscribe a jurisdiction (a thing which he most industriously caution'd his Ministers never to yield * so much as in discourse) beyond which he did not pretend, but in relation only to acts of hostility between the two great antagonists, the Spaniard and the Hollander, declaring himself both Lord and Moderator of the British seas from his royal predecessors.

47. In several commissions † given to sea commanders by Edward the Third, the words are, "Our progenitors the Kings of England have before these times been lords of the British seas on every side;" and in a certain bill prefer'd in Parliament ‡ to the same Prince, 'tis said that the English were ever in the ages past so renown'd for navies and sea affairs, that the countries about them usually esteem'd and call'd them Soveraigns of the sea; and from the same parliamentary testimony in the reign of Henry the Fifth we learn that the Estates in that august assembly, did with one consent affirm it as a thing unquestionable that the Kings of England were lords of the sea §, and that that sea was all which flow'd between the stream on both sides, and made no doubt but a tribute might be impos'd by authority of parliament upon all strangers passing through them, as we shall find Richard the Second to have done long before.

48. In the reign of Edward the Second ‖, Robert Earl of Flanders, complaining of injuries done his subjects at sea, alledges that the King of England is bound in right to do him justice, for that he was Lord of the sea. But there cannot in the world be a more pregnant instance for the vindication of this dominion, and the silencing all objections, than the famous complaint against the Genoeze Grimbaldi, who, during the war between the French and those of Flanders, infesting the seas and disturbing Commerce, occasion'd all the nations of Europe bordering on the sea, to have recourse and appeal to the kings of England; whom from time to time and by right immemorial they acknowledged to be in peaceable possession of the sovereign lordship and dominion of the seas of England, and islands of the same; this libel or complaint

* Rot. Pat. 2 Jac. part 32.

† Rot. Scot. 10 Ed. Membran. 16.

‡ Rot. Pat. 46 Ed. III. n. 2.

§ Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. V. Mem. 3. Art. 6.

‖ Rot. Pat. 14 Edw. II. p. 2. m. 26. in dorso.

was exhibited in the time of Edward the First, almost three hundred years since, and is still extant in the archives of the Tower.

49. And thus we have seen how the sea is not only a distinct province, capable of propriety, limits, and other just circumstances of peculiar dominion, as a bound, not bounding his Majesties empire, but as bounded by it in another respect; and that this was never violated so much as by syllogism 'till some mercenary pens were set on work against Spain, through whose tender sides, at that time, and with great artifice, the Barnevelt faction endeavour'd to transfix us*. Soon it was perceiv'd, and as soon encounter'd; in the mean time that one would smile to find their mighty champion then fairly acknowledge upon another occasion, and when it seems he resolv'd to speak out,—*Angliæ Regina oceani imperium* †, that the Queen of England was dominatrix of the sea. So great is the truth, and will prevail. In a word, if the premier occupant be a legal and just plea to the right of other possessions, the Kings and Queens of England, descending from or succeeding to them who first asserted the title are still invested with it: sure we are, this argument was held good and illustrated by the first and best foundation of empire, when the state of Venice (claiming the Adriatic by no other) held that famous controversie with Ferdinand of Friuli, by their advocate Rapicio and Chizzola, commissioners being mutually chosen to determine it; and how far antiquity is on our side, the Greeks, Romans, Tyrians, Phœnicians, and others, have abundantly declar'd, and with what caution they interdicted strangers here with us, till the Claudian expedition annex'd it, with the dominion of all Britain, to that glorious empire, which to protect against the piratical Saxons (then not seldom infesting our coasts) the *comites maritimi tractus* were by the Præfect establish'd, as we have already shew'd; and so it continu'd for near five hundred years after, when the Saxons, taking greater advantage of the Roman remissness (distracted as they grew by intestine troubles), made their descent upon us, and with the fortune of conquest carried that likewise of the sea.

50. We have but mention'd King Edgar, whose survey is so famous

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* 1509. Treaty with Spain, concerning trade to the Indies. † 1570. Grot. Annal. lib. 2.

in story, when with more than four thousand vessels he destin'd a quaternion to every sea, which annually circl'd this Isle, and, as a monument of their submission, was sometime row'd in his royal gally by the hands of eight kings. This signal action becoming the reverse of a medail, was by a like device illustrated in the rose-noble, in which we have represented the figure of a king invested with his regalia, standing in the middle of a ship, as in his proper and most resplendent throne; for the same reason likewise (as some interpret) did Henry the Eight add the portcluse to his current money, as a character of his peculiar title to this dition, exclusive to all others.

51. We have spoken of the Danes and Normans, and their successive claim, and of the *custodes maritimi*, more antient than that of Admiral, as now constituted, which indeed began with the Edwards, when the French, at war with Flanders, but pretending to usurp that dignity, were fain to abolish their new office, and, acknowledging they had no right, pay the damages of the depredations they made, as appears by that famous record in the Tower mention'd by Sir John Burroughs, in which the title of our Kings is asserted from immemorial prescription; nay, when at this time he had not all the opposite shoar to friend.

52. The constitution of our Cinque-Ports give another noble testimony to this claim, and the addition of two more Admirals by our Third Edward, guarding as many seas as there were superiour officers of this denomination, not omitting the title of Lords of both Shoars, anciently us'd from hence to Henry the Fifth; nay, when Edward renounc'd his claim to Normandy (as at the treaty of Charters *), the French themselves acknowledg'd this right, and therefore neither here, nor at the Court of Delegates in France, did they claim any pretence to the Islands or interfluent seas. But what need we a more pregnant instance than that universal deference to the laws of Oleron (an island of Aquitania then belonging to this Crown), published after the Rhodan had been long antiquated, which obtain'd over all the Christian world. And to this we might add the Dane-gelt (in plain English, a ship-money tax), impos'd as well on strangers as denisons that practic'd commerce upon

* 1166.

our coasts and seas East and North, where the great *intercursus* was; nor expir'd it here, but continu'd customary, as appears by innumerable records for enabling the King to protect the seas, and to obstruct or open them as he saw convenient, with title to all royal fishes, wracks, and goods found floating in *alto-mari*, as we can prove by several commissions and instruments, and confirm by precedents, not of our municipal constitutions alone, but such as have been binding, and accepted for such, of the nations about us; witness that famous accord made between our Edward the First and the French King, Philip the Fair, calling him to account for the piracies we have mention'd. And,

53. To this we might produce the spontaneous submission of the Flemings in open Parliament, in Edward the Second's reign, and the honour, or rather duty of the flag, which King John, with his Peers, had many ages since challeng'd upon the custom ordain'd at Hastings*, decreed to take place universally, not barely as a civility, but as a right of importance for the making out and confirmation of our title to the dominion we have been vindicating; and that this has been claim'd and paid *cum debitâ reverentiâ* (to use the express words of those old commissions which had been long since given by William and Maurice Princes of Orange) to all the sea commanders in those days, we have for almost this whole later century seen the matter of fact testified not only by continual claims, orders, commissions, and instructions, but by searching divers authentick journals, which have noted the particulars in a thousand instances: nor has this been paid to whole fleets only, bearing the royal pavillion, but to single vessels, and those of the smaller craft (as they are stil'd) wearing his Majesties cognizance, to whom this homage has been done, even by the greatest navies, meeting them in any of the British seas in their utmost latitudes. Nor has this been so much as question'd (1672), till that arch rebel, for ends of his own, would once have betray'd it†, and that the late demagogue De Witt, with no less insolenc, would have perverted his countrymen, by entring into an injurious disquisition in justification of the wrong he would have made us swallow;

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* 1200. MS. Commen. de Rebus Admir. fol. 28.

† Oliver Cromwell. See his letter to the Ambassador at London.

but his Majesty was not so to be hector'd out of his right, as appears by the honourable provision he has made to secure it, in the late treaty with the Dutch, and what all the world has paid us, which puts it out of dispute. In the mean time it was necessary, and no way improper to the scope of this Treatise, that after what has been so newly pretended, to the prejudice of the title we have asserted, some thing should be said to abate the confidence of impertinent men, and to let the world know that our Princes (to whom God and Nature has imparted such prerogatives) will not be baffl'd out of them by the sentences and sophisms of lawyers, much less by sycophants, and such as carry not the least shadow of reason. But it would fill many volumes to exemplifie the forms of our ancient commissions, from time to time, investing our Admirals with the exercise of this soveraign power; as well as that of safe conducts, writts of seizure and arrests, the copies of grants and permission to fish (of which in the next period) obtain'd of our Kings by petition, &c. to be found at large in our books, Parliament Rolls, and other authentick pieces too long for this tract: but, if any will be contentious, because they are some of them of ancient date, we have, and shall yet shew instances sufficient, and *ex abundanti*, for this last age, to which our antagonists have from time to time submitted, not only in the wide and ample sea, or at our own coasts, but in the very ports and harbours of strangers, where they looked for protection; that all the world may blush at the weak and unreasonable contentions which would invalidate this claim, if at least there be in the world any such thing as right, prescription, deference, or other evidence, which, amongst sober men, is agreed to be law for the clearing of a title. To sum up all, then, if right or prescription, succession of inheritance, continual claim, matter of fact, consent of history, and confessions even from the mouths and pens of adversaries, be of any moment to the gaining of a cause, we may bespeak our nation, as he did King James upon another occasion, and as justly transfer it to his glorious successor,—*Queis dat jura mari, &c.* *

And with this I should conclude, did not the fishery, which is an-

* Grot. Sylva, l. 2.

other irrefragable proof of his Majesties dominions, require a little survey before we shut up this discourse.

54. How far this royal jurisdiction has extended may best be gather'd out of the reverend Camden, speaking of King James the Sixth of Scotland, and of Queen Elizabeth of England *, who, first discovering the whale-fishing, had consequently title to those seas, as far as Green-land Northward; and what it was to the South the proclamation of our Third Edward (yet extant) abundantly makes appear. This, confirm'd by the Fourth of that name, guards and convoys were appointed to preserve the rights inviolable; as was likewise continued by the three succeeding Henrys, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, and their descendents, who impos'd a certain tribute upon all forreiners, in recognition of their indulgence to them †. Witness the French, the Dukes of Britain, of Burgundy (especially Philip), and those of Flanders, who never presum'd to cast a net without permission, and a formal instrument first obtained, the originals whereof are yet to be seen, and may be collected out of both the French and Burgundian stories; and, as it doth indeed to this day appear, by his Majesties neighbourly civility, granted to the French King for the provision of his own table, and to the town of Bruges in Flanders, by a late concession ‡, the number and size of boats and other circumstances being limited, upon transgression whereof the offenders have been imprison'd, and otherwise mulcted.

55. And as the French, so the Spaniards did always sue to our Princes for the like priviledge and kindness. King Phillip the Second (as nearly related as he was to Queen Mary his wife), finding a proviso in an act of Parliament §, that no forreiner should fish in those seas without permission, paid into the Exchequer no less than an annual rent of one thousand pounds, for leave to fish upon the North of Ireland for the supply of his dominions in Flanders. Now for the Dutch.

56. That famous record *pro hominibus Hollandiæ* (so the title runs) points to us as far as our First Edward ||, not only how obsequious then they were in acknowledging the King's dominion on the sea, but his

* Annales Rerum Ang. regnante Eliz. et Britannia.

† 1489. ‡ Rot. Franc. 38 Memb. 9 et 14 Hen. VI.

§ Stat. Hib. Ed. IV. cap. 6.—1 Jacob. Proclam. 6 Mar. || 1295.

protection and permission to fish on the environs of it*: and his successor, Edward the Third, as he gave leave to the Counts of Holland (who always petition'd for it), so he prescribed laws and orders concerning the burden of the vessels to be employ'd about it. The like did Henry the Sixth to the French and others †, with the season, place, and method to be observ'd, which are all of main importance in the cause: and this was so religiously inspected in former times, that Edward the Fourth constituted a triumvirat power to guard both the seas and the fishery against all pretenders whatsoever, as had Richard the Second long before him, who impos'd a tribute on every individual ship that pass'd through the Northern Admiralty, for the maintenance of that sea-guard, amounting to six-pence a tun upon every fishing vessel weekly, as appears by a most authentick record, and the opinion of the most eminent judges at that early day; who, upon consideration that none but a sovereign power could impose such a payment, gave it in as their opinion that this right and dominion was a branch of the royal patrimony, and inseparable. Nay, that wise Prince, Henry the Seventh, thought it so infinitely considerable, that (upon deeply weighing the great advantages) he was setting up a trade, or staple of fish, in preference (say some) to that of wool itself, and all other commerce of his dominions; which being long before the Low-Countries had a name for merchants, they had still perhaps neglected, if some renegados of our own (Violet and Stephens by name) had not encourag'd the Dutch of Enchusen (with other mal-contented persons of the craft, deserting their country and their loyalty,) to molest his Majesties streams upon the accompt of these men, since which they and others have continu'd their presumptions even to insolence.

57. Neither was less the care of King James ‡ to vindicate this incomparable prerogative than any of his predecessors §, who, having deriv'd that accession of the Shetland Islands by marriage with a daughter of Denmark ||, publish'd his proclamations immediately after his coming into England: for it must be acknowledg'd that Queen Eliza-

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* Rot. Pat. 23 Ed. I. memb. 5.

† Rot. Pat. 22 Ed. IV. mem. 2.

‡ 1606.

§ 1458.

|| 1609.

beth did not so nicely and warily look after this jealous article as had been wish'd, diverted by her extraordinary pity and abundant indulgence to the distressed States. But this Prince roundly asserts his patrimony, upon many prudent reasons of state *, and especially for encouragement of the maritime towns, fallen much to decay, and plainly succumbing under the injurious dealing of such as took the fish from before their dores, and renew'd his commands, that none should for the future presume so much as to hover about, much less abide on our coasts, without permission first obtain'd under the Great Seal of England, and upon which the Hollanders petition'd for leave, and acknowledg'd the limits appointed them as formerly they had done. Let us hear the historian describe it, and blush.

" The Hollanders (says he †) taking infinite plenty of herring upon this coast, and thereby making a most gainful trade, were first to procure leave (by antient custom) out of Scarborow-Castle, for the English to permit them to fish; reserving indeed the honour to themselves, but resigning the benefit to strangers, to their incredible inriching, &c." What could be said more to our purpose, or to our reproach? This was that which King James endeavour'd to bring into a better method, when, taking notice of the daily incroachment of our neighbours, he enjoyn'd his ambassador (who was then Sir Dudley Carleton ‡) to expostulate it with the States, as may be seen in that sharp letter of Mr. Secretaries, dated the twenty-first of December 1618, in which he tells them, " That unless they sought leave from his Majesty, and acknowledg his right, as other Princes had done and did, it might well come to pass, that they who would needs bear all the world before them by their *mare liberum*, might soon endanger their having neither *terram, nec solum, nec rempublicam liberam.*" I do only recite the passage as I find it publish'd, and take notice how prophetick it had lately like to have been.

58. This happy Prince, taking umbrage at the war between the Hollander and the Spaniard, did fix limits by commission and survey, nearer than which (though as moderator he offer'd equal protection to

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* See copy of a letter in Sir Robert Cotton's library, and the credentials given to Sir Henry Wotton. † Camden's Britannia. ‡ 1618.

both) no enemy to another state might commit any hostile act *, and producing his reasons for it, asserted his right so to do; not as if those boundaries circumscrib'd his dominions, but as being sufficient for the vindication of his due in that great article. And their not observing this, incited King Charles the First, of blessed memory, to animadvert upon it, when in the year 1639 our good friends behaved themselves with so little respect in that memorable conflict with the Spaniard; and when approaching too near our shoars, they were check'd for their irreverence in his Majesties imperial chambers, indeed, for the first (but seeming) affront, that this nation did ever receive upon it.

59. And now it will not be amiss, nor inconsistent with our title, to let the world see the immense advantages of the trade which has been driven upon the sole account of the fishery, by the prodigious emolument which it has (to our cost and reproach) afforded our more industrious neighbours, the foundation of whose greatness has been laid in the bottom of our seas, which has yielded them more treasure than the mines of Potosi, or both Indies to Spain.

. . . . . .

Who would believe that this people raise yearly by the herring and other fisheries a million of pounds sterling, and that Holland and Zealand alone (whose utmost verge doth hardly exceed many English shires) should from a few despicable boats be able to set forth above twenty thosand vessels of all sorts, fit for the rude seas, and of which more than 7000 are yearly employ'd upon this occasion? 'Tis evident that by this particular trade they are able to breed above fourty thousand fisher-men, and one hundred and sixteen thousand mariners (as the census has been accurately calculated), and the gain of it is so universal, that there's hardly a beggar, nor an hand in their country which doth not earn its bread. This is literally true, and the consideration of it seem'd so important, that even in the days of Charles the Fifth, that great monarch is reported to have sometimes visited the tomb of Bueckeld (where he had been above two hundred years interr'd) in solemn recognition of his merit, for having, as 'tis said, been the inventor of pickling and curing herrings: in a word, so immense is the advantage

* Seldenus, l. 2. c. 22. † 1639.

which this article alone brings the state, that a very favourable rent, still in arrear to his Majesties Exchequer, for permission to fish (as should be prescribed and appointed them), amounts to more than half a million of pounds, and the custom only at home of what they take, with the tenth fish for waftage, to near five hundred thousand pounds more; but the quantities which they sell abroad, to a sum almost not to be reckon'd. Then, let it be computed, the hands employ'd for spinning of yarn, weaving of nets, and making other necessaries for the salting, curing, packing, and barrelling, building of vessels, and fitting them out to sea: it is certain the shipping (which is more than all Europe can assemble besides), sea-men, commerce, towns, harbours, power, publick-wealth, and affluence of all other things, is sprung from this source; and that in barter for fish (without exportation of coin) they receive from Spain, Italy, Germany, &c. oil, wine, fruit, corn, honey, wax, allum, salt, wool, flax, hemp, pitch, tarr, sope-ashes, iron, copper, steel, claw-boards, timber, masts, dollars, armour, glass, mill-stones, plate, tapestry, munition, and all things that a country (which has no one material of these of proper growth) can need to render it consummately happy. The Indies and farthest regions of the earth participate of this industry; and, to our shame be it spoken, we blush not to buy our own fish of them, and purchase that of strangers which God and Nature has made our own, inriching others to our destruction by a detestable sloath; whilst to encourage us we have timber, victuals, havens, men, and all that at our dores which these people adventure for in remoter seas, and at excessive charges. And thus the prize is put into our hands, whilst we have not the hearts to use it; nor do we produce any reasons why we are thus unconcern'd, that ever I could find were solid *: some objections, indeed, are presented, but they appear'd to me so dilute and insignificant, that 'tis not possible to compose one's indignation at the hearing of them, and see a kingdom growing every day thinner of people, and fuller of indigence, without some extraordinary emotion: to see with what numerous and insulting fleets our neighbours have

* See Roger L'Estrange's late Discourse of the Fishery, 4to, 1674, and 8vo, 1695.

been often prepar'd to dispute our title to these advantages, by the benefit and supply of that which we neglect and condemn as unpracticable. If this be not enough to raise in us some worthy resentments, let the confession of the Dutch themselves incite us to it, who (in a proclamation publish'd near fifty years since *) have stil'd their fishing trade the golden mines of their provinces, and stimulated an industrious and emulous people with all the topicks of encouragement. Were this alone well consider'd and briskly pursu'd, there would need no great magick to reduce our bold supplanters to a more neighbourly temper: the subjects of this nation have no more to do than apply themselves to the fishery to recover at once their losses, and as infallibly advance the prosperity of the kingdom as 'tis evident it has enabled our late antagonists to humble Spain, and from little of themselves, to grapple with the most puissant monarch of Europe, and bring him to the ground. For my part, I do not see how we can be able to answer this prodigious sloath of ours any longer, and especially since 'tis evident it will cost us but a laudable industry, and (in regard of our situation and very many advantages above them) much less trouble and charge: or suppose a considerable part of our forrein less-needful expences were diverted to this work, what were the disadvantages? We talk much of France (and perhaps with reason); but are we so safe from our dear friend, upon this composure, as never to apprehend any future unkindness? For my own part, I wish it with my soul: but of this I am sure, we may prevent or encounter open defiance; but whilst we are thus undermin'd, we suffer a continual hostility, since the effects of it ruine our commerce, and by consequence the nation. Nor speak I here of our neighbours the Hollanders only, but of those of Hamborough, Lubec, Embden, and other interlopers, who grow exceedingly opulent whilst we sit still and perish, whose advantages for taking, curing, uttering, and employing of hands (were the expedients mention'd put in practice, or the ruinous numbers of our men daily flocking to the American plantations, and from whence so few return, prudently stated, and acts of naturalization promoted,) are so infinitely superiour to theirs; but so our cursed neg-

* 1624.

ligence will yet have it, not for want of all royal encouragement, but a fatality plainly insuperable.

60. We have said little yet of our American fishery, and the loss we make of a vast treasure on the coasts of Virginia, Green-land, Barmudas, &c. sacrificing infinite wealth, both at home and abroad, to the Spaniards, French, those of Portugal, and Biscay. 'Tis well known that Green-land was first detected by the English about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and afterwards the royal standard erected there, in token of dominion, by the name of King James's New-land, his Majesty asserting his just rights by many acts of state, as more particularly on the tenth of January 1613, when he signified his pleasure by Sir Noel Caroon, then in Holland, in vindication of his title both to the Island fishery, and all other emoluments whatsoever *jure dominii*, as first discoverer, and to prohibite strangers interposing and fishing in his seas without permission *. For this effect, commissioners were establish'd † at London to grant licences, yearly renewable, for such as would fish on the English coast; at Edenbrough on the Northern, and by proclamation ‡ interdicting all un-licenced practices, the Duke of Lennox (as Admiral of Scotland) being order'd to assert the right of the assize-herring, which was paid.

61. The following years § what interruptions happen'd, upon our neighbours desires of coming to an adjustment for the indulgences they had found, is universally known, 'till the year 1635, when, to prevent some incroachments and disorders of those who fished under his protection, the late King Charles of blessed memory issu'd out his proclamations, and gave instructions to his ministers abroad ||, signifying that no strangers should presume to fish in the British seas without his Majesties licence; and that those who desired them might be protected, he thought fit to equip and set forth such a fleet as became his care and vigilancy for the good and safety of his people, and the honour of the nation. This was the year and the occasion of building several considerable ships, and, amongst others, that famous vessel the Royal Sove-

* 1608. † 1609. ‡ 1616. § 1617.

|| See Mr. Secretary Cook's letter, April 16, 1635, to his Majesty's Resident at the Hague.

raign, which to this day bears our triumphant Edgar for its badge and cognizance, and to mind the world of his undoubted right to the dominion of the seas, which he had by this time asserted and secur'd beyond danger of dispute, had not a deluded people (as to their own highest concern, glory, and interest,) and the fatality of the times disturb'd the project of an easie tax as an imaginary invasion of their liberties, which that blessed Prince design'd only to protect them: it is fresh in memory what were the opinions of Attourny Noy, many learned civilians, and near a jury of grave Judges upon this conjuncture; and the instances of King Etheldreds having levy'd it many hundred years before, shew'd it to be no such innovation; nor could there be a more pressing occasion than when all our neighbours around us were (as now) in a state of hostility. But I list not here to interrupt my reader upon this chapter, which has already suffer'd so many sore digladiations and contests; only as to matter of fact, and as concern'd the navigation and improvement of commerce, I touch it briefly, and pass to what followed, which was the setting out no less than sixty tall ships, first under the Earl of Lindsey *, and afterwards Northumberland †, by the account of whose accurate journal, it appears how readily our neighbour fishermen (though under convoy of fleets superiour to ours in number) sued for and took licences to the value of fifteen hundred pounds fifteen shillings and two pence, as I have perus'd the particulars. I do only mention the licences which were also taken and accepted at land, and they not a few, distributed by Sir William Boswell at the Hague itself, upon which his Majesties Minister then at Bruxelles advertis'd the Infanta, that the Dunkerkers should take care not to molest such of the Hollanders (though at that time in actual hostility with them) as had his Majesties permission, and accordingly the Cardinal did grant them passes, which they took without scruple; so as we find it was not for nothing that they came under protection, but receiv'd a real benefit. Nor was this a novel imposition, but familiar and customary, as appears by the many precedents which we have recited; to which we may add that of the Scotch fishery under King James the First, 1424, 21 Act of the first

* 1635. † 1636.

Parliament, having already spoken of what concern'd our own Princes, especially what Richard the Second impos'd, Henry I. V. VI. VII. Queen Mary, &c. with that of Edward the First *pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, &c. which protection is yet extant, and granted frequently by treaties, as a privileg only during the subsistance of such treaties, and no farther, totally rescinding and abolishing the pretences grounded by some upon the *intercursus magnus* made with the Dukes of Burgundy*: so as to summ up all that has been produc'd to fortifie our domestick evidences, we have many Acts of Parliament, we have the several successours of our Princes granting licences to strangers, we have the assiduous instances made by King James by his Ambassadours and Secretaries of State, we have the acknowledgments actually and already paid and accounted for to the Exchequer, and have seen the occasion of the late interruptions of it, and the invalidity of mens pretences; and if these be not evidences sufficient to subvert the sophisms of a few mercenary pens, and dismount the confidence of unreasonable people, it is because there is so little vigour in our resolutions at home, and so little justice in the world abroad. Nor has this been arrogated by the monarchs of this nation, but a right establish'd upon just reason, namely, that they might be enabled to clear the seas of rovers and pirates, and protect such as follow'd their lawful affairs: and for this effect the Kings of England did not only take care to defend their own subjects, but to convoy and secure all strangers, sometimes (as we have seen) by proclamation, sometimes by fleets and men of war, where they fish'd by agreement, upon treaty, or leave obtain'd, yet restraining them to certain limits, retaining the dominion of the neighbouring seas, as in the reign of Henry the Fourth, where we find an accord made between him and the French King†, that the subjects of either nation might fish in one part of the seas and not in another; the possession of all privileges of this nature ever accompanying the royal licence, and strangers having either special indulgences, or being under protection of special officers appointed in former times‡ for the safe guarding of the fishery, who were so impower'd by patent, and had certain dues appointed for that

* 1495. † Rot. Fra. Hen. IV. 29. ‡ Edw. IV. Rich. III. Hen. VII.

attendance, which they levied upon all forreiners, with the express direction (in the reign of Henry the Seventh) that the acknowledgment was to be so levied, notwithstanding any letter of safe-conduct which stranger fishermen might pretend from any king, prince, or government whatsoever: so as by all the arguments of right, claim, and prescription, the title is firm; all other pretences of right or possession interrupted, arrogated, and precarious, or else extinguish'd by infractions of treaties, never since reviv'd by any subsequent act.

62. We might here mention the toll paid the King of Denmark at the Sundt, and the respect which strangers shew to his castle at Cronnenberg, according to a treaty made between them and the Dutch *; and to the Swedish King, whom they acknowledg soveraign of the Baltick and Northern tracts to an immense extent, where he receives tribute, as well as those of Denmark and Poland, by impositions at Dantzick and the Pillau, where they only enjoy for it a cold and hungry passage, whilst with us we give them not only passage, harbours and protection through a dangerous sea, but an emolument accompanying it, which inriches our neighbours with one of the most inestimable treasures and advantagious commerce under heaven. To this we also might add what has obtain'd the suffrages not only of our own countrymen of the long robe, and others, but of almost all the disinterested learned persons who have discuss'd this subject, universally agreeing, that as to a peculiar and restrictive right, fisheries may and ought to be appropriated, and that as well in the high-seas (as the lawyers term them) as in lakes and rivers, and narrower confinements, and as the Republick of Genoa does at this day let to farm their fishery for Thunnies in their neighbouring seas; and the contract between Queen Elizabeth and Denmark about the like liberty upon the coast of Norway, and the prohibitions made, and the licences given by that crown at this present, do abundantly evince, namely, that the Dane is, and hath of long time been in possession upon the coasts we have mention'd, and of as much as we assert to be due to his Majesty in the British seas.

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* 1649.

MR. EVELYN'S LETTER TO MR. AUBREY*.

SIR,

WITH incredible satisfaction I have perus'd your Natural History of Surrey, &c. and greatly admire both your industry in undertaking so profitable a work, and your judgment in the several observations which you have made. It is so useful a piece, and so obliging, that I cannot sufficiently applaud it. Something I would contribute to it if it were possible; but your *Spicelegium* is so accurate, that you have left nothing almost for those who shall come after you. Surrey is the country of my birth, and my delight; but my education has been so little in it, by reason of several accidents, that I am asham'd to discover how ignorant I am of a thousand of those excellent remarks which I find you have taken notice of to my reproach.

You have been pleas'd to mention Wotton (the seat of my brother), inviron'd as it is with wood (from whence it takes its denomination) and water, and that from different sources, capable of furnishing all the amœnities of a villa and garden after the Italian manner, as running fifty foot higher than the arëa of the first parterre. That which I would observe to you from the wood is, that where goodly oaks grew and were cut down by my grand-father almost a hundred years since, are now altogether beech; and where my brother has extirpated the beech there rises birch: under the beech spring up innumerable hollies, which, growing thick and close together in one of the woods next the meadow, is a viretum all the year long, which is a very beautiful sight when the leaves of the taller trees are fallen.

It is in my Sylva where I give the dimensions of a plank of prodigious amplitude, cut from an oak growing in one of the parks there about or near that house, which holds almost six foot in breadth, and about ten in length, half a foot in thickness, as it remains supported on a frame of brick-work †. There are in the skirts of this parish (which

* Extracted from his History of Surrey, 1719, 8vo. vol. I.

† The table to which Evelyn alludes is still preserved in the family house at Wotton; it is shortened in its length, and but 5 feet 2 inches in diameter,

extends almost as far as the wild of Sussex) certain pits out of which they dig jeate. The stone about the grounds in other parts is the rag, and what you call iron-stone, of which there lies abundance loose in the sands, and about certain sugar-loaf mountains South-west of Wotton; which, with the boscage upon them, and little torrents between, make such a solitude as I have never seen any place more horridly agreeable and romantick. In the church-yard at Wotton, digging to enlarge the vault where our family lies interr'd, was found an entire skeleton of gigantic stature; it is not yet twenty years since; but after the workmen and labourers had done wondering at it, and taken measure of divers of the bones, &c. (which tho' I have not at present, I can recover from an ingenious servant of my brothers) without farther curiosity they flung into the foundation they were digging, and superstructed upon them.

In this parish upon White-down, (which is contiguous to that tract of hills which runs from Darking towards Guildford, and so to Portsmouth,) in the Chalk-delves is frequently found cockle-shells, periwinkles, &c. and in the cart-roats where the rains have gull'd, that kind of pyrites which the country-people call thunder-stones. It is incredible what goodly beeches grow upon that hill, expos'd as they are to the most impetuous winds, and with a very little earth, and that extreamly loose adhering to their roots. From hence is one of the largest prospects in England; but superior to this is another about two miles South of my brothers house *, from the summit whereof in a clear day may be seen (besides the whole vale or wild of Sussex, and much of Kent) part of eleven other shires; so as for the extent and circumference of Vista, I take it to be much beyond that from the Keepe at Windsor, or any that I have ever observ'd either in England or elsewhere. The ascent to it is yet northward, almost upon an even line from the foot of White-downe. The brow from whence this prospect is beheld with little acclivity (caused by the sliding some parts of it into the grounds below, either by its own weight or some earthquake,) goes descending nine or ten miles, almost as far as Horseham in

* Leith Hill, the highest ground in this county.

Sussex; and the bare places from whence the earth is slid, I have seen as far as Lewes, thirty miles from it.

Somewhat below this rising is the famous Roman way, call'd now Stone-street Causeway, which had been very well worth your taking notice of, both for the length, breadth, and materials of it, to have continu'd so firm in so rotten and deep a country for so many years; but it is now interrupted by divers inclosures which would be search'd by some diligent person. Not far from my brothers house, upon the streams and ponds since fill'd up and drain'd, stood formerly many powder-mills, erected by my ancestors, who were the very first who brought that invention into England; before which we had all our powder out of Flanders. My grand-father transferr'd his patent to the late Sir John Evelyns grand-father, of Godstone in the same county; in whose family it continu'd 'till the late Civil Wars. That which I would remark upon this occasion is, the breaking of a huge beam of fifteen or sixteen inches diameter in my brothers house (and since crampt with a dog of iron); upon the blowing up of one of those mills, without doing any other mischief that I can learn; but another standing below towards Shire, shot a piece of timber thro' a cottage, which took off a poor womans head as she was spinning.

The barren hills formerly cover'd with a fine carpet of turf have within these forty years been exceedingly improv'd by Devonshiring, as we call it, that is by paring off, drying, burning, and spreading the swarth. Formerly they were full of sheep feeding among the wild thyme; now they are sown with corn, and maintain'd in heart with liming and other manuring. The mutton is small, but very sweet. Wheat-ears do often frequent these downs.

In this parish were set up the first brass-mills for the casting, hammering into plates, cutting, and drawing it into wire, that were in England: first they drew the wyre by men sitting harness'd in certain swings, taking hold of the brass thongs fitted to the holes, with pincers fasten'd to a girdle which went about them; and then with stretching forth their feet against a stump, they shot their bodies from it, closing with the plate again; but afterwards this was quite left off, and the effect performed by an *Ingenio* brought out of Sweden; which I sup-

pose they still continue: but the mills are remov'd to farther distance from my brothers house.

There was likewise a fulling-mill upon the same stream, now demolished; but the hammer for iron remains. These I mention because I do not remember to have seen such variety of mills and works upon so narrow a brook, and in so little a compass; there being mills for corn, cloth, brass, iron, powder, &c.

These streams are naturally full of trouts, but they grow to no bigness, by reason of the frequent draining of the waters to irrigate their lands.

You well observe the number of ponds and little lakes in this country: one of my brothers (now deceas'd) had at a place call'd Baynards, within his park, a pond of sixty acres. The house was honourably built by Sir George Moore, many years past Lieutenant of the Tower. The soil is so addicted to oaks, that to tell of their prodigious growth within fifty years would astonish those who should measure the timber now growing. It is a sour loamy ground.

I do not find you have yet made your thorough journey about Banstead, where was the famous Woodcot of which you shall find mention in Mr. Burtons notes upon Antoninus's Itinerary. There are to this day Roman coins, urns and bricks, &c. dug up by the rusticks.

At Ashted near Ebisham (belonging to the Right Honourable the Earl Marshal) are found a certain huge and fleshy snail, which the Italians call *bavoli* or drivelers brought out of Italy, propagated here, and had *in deliciis* by his grand-father Thomas Earl of Arundel, &c.

In the sandy banks about Albury do breed the trogladytic martines, who make their boroughs in the earth.

I know not whether you took notice of the smoke-jack in my brothers kitchen-chimney, which has been there I have heard near a hundred years, and has seldom stood still from its first setting up, night or day; it makes very little noise, needs no winding up, and for that preferable to the more noisy inventions. I am told Mr. Smith of Michams spits are turn'd by the water, which indeed runs thro' his house. It is indeed the most chrystal stream we have in our country, and comes by Bedington, which I do not find you have yet visited, no more

than Wimbleton, Nonsuch, Richmond, Oatlands, Coomb, Roehampton, Cammerwell, Lambeth, Battersey, Kingston, Ditton, Southwark, and divers other observable places, which I doubt not but you reserve for another perambulation *.

Sir, I beseech you to accept or pardon these trifling interpolations, which I have presum'd to send you; not that they can add any thing to your work, but testify the disposition I have to serve you, if it lay in the power of, Sir,

Your most faithful Servant,

Feb. 8. 1675-6. J. Evelyn.

Sir,

My hasty writing will require your pardon; I have set things down tumultuarily as they came into my sudden thoughts.

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* Mr. Aubrey afterwards visited these places, anno 1692.

AN ABSTRACT

OF A

LETTER FROM THE WORSHIPFUL JOHN EVELYN, Esq.

SENT TO ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE R. SOCIETY CONCERNING THE DAMMAGE DONE TO HIS GARDENS BY THE PRECEDING WINTER *.

SIR,

I SHOULD be altogether inexcusable for not having been to wait upon the Society of late if my health had permitted, with some other unexpected occasions, before I remov'd from Lond. which I could not decently avoid. This was, I assure you, a sensible affliction to me; and now I am come into the country, have beheld the havock which a rude season has made in my poor gardens, and receiv'd your letter, wherein you acquaint me that the Society expects an account of my sufferings. I must begin with the Poet—*jubes renovare dolorem:* in a word, the past winter has been so severe in my territories, and where it could expugne the more defensible, and such as were inclosed; it has ravaged all that lay open and were abroad without any mercy.

As to timber trees. I have not many here of any considerable age or stature, except a few *elms*, which (having been decaying many years) one cannot well find to have receiv'd any fresh wounds distinguishable from old cracks and hollownesses; and indeed I am told by divers, that *elms* have not suffer'd as the great *oaks* have done; nor do I find amongst innumerable of that species *(elms)* which I have planted, and that are now about 25 and 30 years standing, any of them touched. The same I observe of *limes*, *wall-nuts*, *ash*, *beech*, *horn-beams*, *birch*, *chesnut*, and other foresters. But, as I said, mine are young comparatively; and yet one would think that should less protect them, because more tender: so as it seems the *rifting* so much complain'd of has hap-

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* See Philosophical Transactions, No. 158, 1684, p. 559; and Evelyn's Diary, vol. I. p. 533.

pen'd chiefly among the over-grown trees, especially *oaks*. My Lord Weymouth made his lamentations to me, and so has the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Ferrars, Sir William Fermor, and others concern'd in the same calamity, which I mention because of their distant habitations. But, if rightly I remember, one of these noble persons lately told me, that since the thaw, the trees which were exceedingly split, were come together and clos'd again, and I easily believ'd it; but that they are really as solid as before, I doubt will not appear when they shall come to be examin'd by the axe, and converted to use: nor has this accident happen'd only to standing timber, but to that which has been fell'd and season'd, as Mr. Shish *, the master builder in his Majesties ship yard here, inform'd me. So much for our *indiginæ*.

As for *exotics*, I fear my *cork-trees* will hardly recover: but the spring is yet so very backward, even in this warm and dry spot of mine, that I cannot pronounce any thing positively, especially of such whose bark is very thick and rugged, such as is the *cork*, *enzina*, and divers of the resinous trees. The *Constantinopolitan*, or horse-chesnut, is turgid with buds, and ready to explain its leaf. My *cedars*, I think, are lost; the *ilex* and *scarlet oak* not so; the *arbutus* doubtful, and so are *bays*, but some will escape, and most of them repullulate and spring afresh, if cut down near the earth at the latter end of the month. The *Scotch fir*, *spruce*, and *white Spanish* (which last uses to suffer in their tender buds by the spring frosts) have receiv'd no dammage this winter: I cannot say the same of the *pine*, which bears the greater cone, but other *Norways* and *pinasters* are fresh. *Laurel* is only discoloured, and some of the woody branches mortified, which being cut to the quick will soon put forth again, it being a succulent plant. Amongst our shrubs, *rosemary* is entirely lost, and to my great sorrow, because I had not only beautiful hedges of it, but sufficient to afford me flowers for the making a very considerable quantity of the Queen of Hungaries celebrated water: so universal, I fear, is the destruction of this excellent plant, not only over England, but our neighbour countries more Southward, that we must raise our next hopes from the seed. *Halimus*, or

* An account of this ingenious man may be seen in Evelyn's Diary, vol. I. p. 488.

sea purseslan, of which I had a pretty hedge, is also perish'd, and so another of French *furses;* the *cypress* are all of them scorch'd, and some to death, especially such as were kept shorn in pyramids; but amongst great numbers there will divers escape, after they are well chastis'd, that is, with a tough hazel or other wand to beat off their dead and dusty leaves, which, growing much closer than other shrubs, hinder the air and dews from refreshing the interior parts. This discipline I use to all my tonsile shrubs with good success, as oft as a winter parches them. The berry bearing *savine*, which, if well understood and cultivated, were the only best *succedaneum* to cypress, has not suffer'd in the least; it perfectly resembles the cypress, and grows very tall and thick. I think the *arbor thuya* is alive, and so is the American *acacia, acanthus, paliurus*, and *pomegranad.* My *laurustinus* looks suspiciously; some large and old *alaturnus's* are kill'd, especially such as were more expos'd to the sun, whereas those that grow in the shade escape: the reason of which I conjecture to be from the reciprocations of being somewhat relax'd every day, and then made rigid and stiff again all night, which bending and unbending so often, opening and closing the parts, does exceedingly mortifie them, and all other tender plants which, growing in shady places, undergo but one thaw and change. Most of these yet will revive again at the root, being cut close to the ground. The *phillyreas angusti* and *serratifolio's* (both of them incomparably the best for ornamental hedges of any the perennial greens I know) have hardly been sensible of the least impression, more than tarnishing of their leaves; no more have the Spanish *jasmines*, and *Persian;* and I enumerate these particulars the more minutely, that gentlemen who are curious may take notice what plants they may trust to abroad in all events, for I speak only of such as are exposed. As for the choicer rarities which are set in for hyemation, they certainly escape, or are impaired accordingly as they are treated by the more or less experienced and industrious gardener, or commodiousness of the conservatory. But to say what may be added on this subject would require a large chapter, not a letter: I would in the mean time advise such as have suffer'd detriment in the green houses not to despair when they see the leaves of their *myrtles, oranges, oleanders, jasmines*, and other precious shrubs,

russet, or altogether shrivell'd and falling; but to cut them to the quick, plaster the wounds, and plunge their cases and pots, trimm'd with fresh mould, &c. in a warm bed, carefully refresh'd, shaded, air'd and treated as sick patients, and as the prudent gardener best knows how; but, above all, that he be sure not to expose them 'till these Eastern winds (which I call our English *etesians*, and which makes our springs so uncomfortable, when we think winter and all danger past) be qualified, for they are deadly to all our plants abroad, and frequently do us more prejudice than the most churlish winters, as commonly finishing the destruction of what the frosts have spared. Nor are we to be flatter'd with a warm day or two, which are apt to tempt gardners to set out their plants before the end of April, or that we find the wise *mulberry* put forth, which is certainly the most faithful monitor; nor should we indeed cut or transplant any of the *perennials* 'till of themselves they begin to sprout.

I need say nothing of *holly*, *yew*, *box*, *juniper*, &c. hardy and spontaneous to our country; and yet, to my grief again, I find an holly standard, of near 100 years old, drooping and of doubtful aspect; and a very beautiful hedge, tho' indeed much younger, being clipp'd about Michaelmas, is mortified near a foot beneath the top, and in some places to the very ground; so as there's nothing seems proof against such a winter which is late cut and expos'd. This hedge does also grow against the South, and is very russet, whilst the contrary side is as fresh and green as ever; and in all other places of my plantations that are shaded, the unshorn hollies maintain their verdure, and are, I judge, impregnable against all assaults of weather.

Among the fruit trees and murals, none seem to have suffer'd, save *figs;* but they, being cut down, will spring again at the root. The *vines* have escaped; and of the esculent plants and sallads most, except *artichokes*, which are universally lost, and (what I prefer before any sallad eaten raw when young) my *sampier* is all rotted to the very root. How to repair my loss I know not, for I could never make any of the seed which came from the rock *sampire*, though mine were of the very kind to grow.

The arborescent, and other *sedums*, *aloes*, &c. tho' hous'd, perished

with me; but the *yucca* and *opuntia* escap'd. Tulips, many are lost; and so the *Constantinople narcissus*, and such *tuberosæ* as were not kept in the chimney corner where was continual fire: some *anemonies* appear, but I believe many are rotted; but I have made no great search in the flowery *parterre*, only I find that most capillaries spring, and other humble and repent plants, notwithstanding all this rigorous season.

My *tortoise*, which, by his constant burying himself in the earth at approach of winter, I look upon as a kind of *plant-animal*, happning to be obstructed by a vine-root from mining to the depth he was usually wont to interr, is found stark dead, after having many years escaped the severest winter. Of *fish* I have lost very few; and the *nightingales*, which, for being a short wing'd bird, and so exceeding fat at the time of the year, we commonly suppose them to change the climate (whereas indeed they are hardly able to flee an hundred yards), are as brisk and frollic as ever; nor do I think they alter their summer stations, whatever become of them all winter. I know not yet of any body who has given tolerable satisfaction in this particular amongst our ornithologists.

Thus, Sir, I have sent you a rhapsody of such observations as I have been able to make since my return home, and I wish they may prove of any importance to the Society, to which, and to yourself,

I am, Sir,

a most devoted and obedient servant.

Says Court, Deptford,
April 14, 1684.

Mundus Muliebris:

OR,

THE LADIES DRESSING-ROOM UNLOCK'D,

AND

HER TOILETTE SPREAD.

IN BURLESQUE.

TOGETHER WITH

THE FOP-DICTIONARY,

COMPILED FOR THE USE OF THE FAIR SEX.

—— Tanquam famæ discrimen agatur,
Aut animæ: tanta est quærendi cura decoris. JUVENAL, Sat. 6.

Such care for a becoming dress they take,
As if their life and honour were at stake.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR R. BENTLEY, IN RUSSEL-STREET, IN COVENT-GARDEN.
1690.

Quarto, 30 pages, including the title-page.

In the Diary, 10th March 1685, when delineating the character and accomplishments of his excellent daughter Mary, who died of the small pox on the 14th of the same month, J. Evelyn has a slight reference to this Poem, at that time five years previous to its publication; and from the manner in which he mentions it, the tract would almost seem to have been of her own composition, illustrated by his notes. The passage alluded to states that "she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris*, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex."

PREFACE.

THIS paper was not to come abroad without a Preface, as well as Comment for instruction of our young master, who, newly launch'd from the University (where he has lost a year or two), is not yet travell'd, or if haply he has made *le petit tour* (with the formall thing his governour *), having never read Tully's Offices through since he came from school, sets up for a *beau*, and equipp'd for the town at his return, comes to seek adventures in an ocean full of rocks and shelves, and wants a skilful pilot to steer him as much as any vessel that goes to the Indies; and oftentimes returns home leaky, and as poorly freighted as those who have been near shipwreck'd, or lost their voyage.

It is for direction of such as are setting out towards this great and famous emporium (whether the design be for miss or marriage), what cargo he must provide; not as merchants do for America, glass-beads and baubles in exchange for gold and pearl, but gold and pearl, and all that's precious, for that which is of less value than knives and childrens rattles.

You see, squires, what you are to prepare for as adventurers, or by way of barter, if you think to traffick here and to carry the fair one, especially if she be at her own disposal, or (being come some considerable time out of the country) has been initiated into the conversation of the town. The refined lady expects her servants and humble admirers should couch her in the forms and decencies of making love in fashion; in order to this, you must often treat her at the *play*, the *park*, and the *musick;* present her at the *raffle;* follow her to *Tunbridge* at the season of drinking of waters, though you have no need of them your self: you must improve all occasions of celebrating her shape, and how well the mode becomes her, though it be ne'er so fantastical and ridiculous; that she sings like an angel, dances like a goddess, and that you are charmed with her wit and beauty: above all, you must be sure to find some fault

* Whom the French call, *maître des ours*, a bearward.

or imperfection in all other ladies of the town, and to laugh at the fopps like yourself. With this, a little practice will qualifie you for the conversation and mistery of the *ruelle;* and if the whole morning be spent between the glass and the comb, that your perruque fit well, and cravat-strings be adjusted, as things of importance; with these and the like accomplishments you'll emerge a consummate *beau, Anglicè* a coxcomb. But the dancing-master will still be necessary to preserve your good meen, and fit you for the winter-ball.

Thus you see, young sparks, how the stile and method of wooing is quite changed, as well as the language, since the days of our fore-fathers (of unhappy memory, simple and plain men as they were), who courted and chose their wives for their modesty, frugality, keeping at home, good-housewifery, and other oeconomical virtues then in reputation: and when the young damsels were taught all these in the country, and at their parents houses, the portion they brought was more in virtue than money, and she was a richer match than one who could have brought a million, and nothing else to commend her. The presents which were made when all was concluded were a ring, a necklace of pearls, and perhaps another fair jewel, the *bona paraphernalia* of her prudent mother, whose nuptial kirtle, gown, and petticoat, lasted as many anniversaries as the happy couple liv'd together, and were at last bequeath'd, with a purse of old gold, rose-nobles, spur-royals, and spankees, as an house-loom to her grand-daughter.

They had cupboards of ancient useful plate, whole chests of damask for the table, and store of fine Holland sheets (white as the driven snow), and fragrant of rose and lavender, for the bed; and the sturdy oaken bedstead, and furniture of the house, lasted one whole century; the shovel-board, and other long tables, both in hall and parlour, were as fixed as the freehold; nothing was moveable save joynt-stools, the black jacks, silver tankards, and bowls: and though many things fell out between the cup and the lip, when happy ale, March beer, metheglin, malmesey, and old sherry, got the ascendant amongst the blew-coats and badges, they sung *Old Symon* and *Cheviot-Chase*, and danc'd *Brave Arthur*, and were able to draw a bow that made the proud Monsieur tremble at the whizze of the grey-goose-feather. 'Twas then ancient hospitality

was kept up in town and country, by which the tenants were enabled to pay their landlords at punctual day; the poor were relieved bountifully, and charity was as warm as the kitchen, where the fire was perpetual.

In those happy days, Sure-foot, the grave and steady mare, carried the good knight, and his courteous lady behind him, to church and to visit the neighbourhood, without so many hell-carts, ratling coaches, and a crue of *lacqueys*, which a grave livery servant or two supply'd, who rid before and made way for his worship.

Things of use were natural, plain, and wholesome; nothing was superfluous, nothing necessary wanting; and men of estate studied the publick good, and gave examples of true piety, loyalty, justice, sobriety, charity, and the good neighbourhood compos'd most differences; perjury, suborning witnesses, alimony, avowed adulteries, and misses (publickly own'd), were prodigies in those days, and laws were reason, not craft, when mens titles were secure, and they served their generation with honour, left their patrimonial estates improv'd to an hopeful heir, who, passing from the free-school to the college, and thence to the inns of court, acquainting himself with a competent tincture of the laws of his country, followed the example of his worthy ancestors, and if he travell'd abroad, it was not to count steeples, and bring home feather and ribbon, and the sins of other nations, but to gain such experience as rendred him useful to his prince and his country upon occasion, and confirm'd him in the love of both of 'em above any other.

The virgins and young ladies of that golden age * *quæsierunt lanam & linum*, put their hands to the spindle, nor disdain'd they the needle; were obsequious and helpful to their parents, instructed in the managery of the family, and gave presages of making excellent wives. Nor then did they read so many romances, see so many plays and smutty farces; set up for visits, and have their days of *audience*, and idle pass-time: honest *gleek*, *ruff*, and *honours*, diverted the ladies at *Christmas*, and they knew not so much as the names of *ombre*, *comet*, and *basset*. Their retirements were devout and religious books, and their recreations in the dis-

* Prov. ch. xxxi. verses 13. 19.

tillatory, the knowledge of plants and their virtues, for the comfort of their poor neighbours and use of the family, which wholesome plain dyet and kitchen physick preserved in perfect health. In those days the scurvy, spleen, &c. were scarce heard of, till forreign drinks and mixtures were wantonly introduc'd. Nor were the young gentlewomen so universally afflicted with hysterical fits, nor, though extremely modest, at all melancholy, or less gay and in good humour: they could touch the lute and virginal, sing *like to the damask rose*, and their breath was as sweet as their voices: they danc'd the *Canarys*, *Spanish Pavan*, and *Selengers Round*, upon sippets, with as much grace and loveliness as any *Isaac*, *Monsieur*, or *Italian* of them all, can teach with his fop-call and apish postures.

To shew you then how the world is alter'd among us, since forreign manners, the luxury (more than Asiatick, which was the final ruine of the greatest, wisest, and most noble monarchy upon earth) has universally obtain'd among us, corrupting ancient simplicity; and in what extravagant forms the young gallant we describ'd is to court the sex, and make his addresses (whether his expedition be for marriage or mistresse), it has been thought good by some charitable hands that have contributed to this catalogue, to present him with an enumeration of particulars, and computation of the charges of the adventurer, as follows.

A VOYAGE TO MARRYLAND;

OR, THE LADIES DRESSING-ROOM.

Negotii sibi qui volet vim parere,
Navem & mulierem, hæc duo comparato.
Nam nullæ magis res duæ plus negotii
Habent, forte si occeperis exornare.
Neque unquam satis hæ duæ res ornantur,
Neque eis ulla ornandi satis satietas est.

PLAUT. PŒNULUS, Act. 1. Scen. 2.

Whoever has a mind to abundance of trouble,
Let him furnish himself with a ship and a woman;
For no two things will find you more employment,
If once you begin to rig them out with all their streamers,
Nor are they ever sufficiently adorned,
Or satisfy'd, that you have done enough to set them forth *.

He that will needs to Marry-land
Adventure, first must understand
For 's bark what tackle to prepare,
Gainst wind and weather, wear and tare:
Of point d'Espagne a rich cornet,
Two night-rails, and a scarf beset
With a great lace, a colleret:
One black gown of rich silk, which odd is
Without one colour'd, embroider'd boddice:
Four petticoats for page to hold up,
Four short ones nearer to the crup:
Three manteaus, nor can madam less
Provision have for due undress;
Nor demy sultane, spagnolet,
Nor fringe to sweep the Mall forget:

* "The man that wants employment in abundance,
Let him procure a woman and a ship;
For no two things can furnish you more business:
Especially when you begin to rig them.
These two things are never rig'd enough;
Nor is there any end of 't, they so love it."

THORNTON's Translation.

Of under bodice three neat pair
Embroider'd, and of shoos as fair:
Short under petticoats pure fine,
Some of Japan stuff, some of Chine,
With knee-high galoon bottomed;
Another quilted white and red;
With a broad Flanders lace below:
Four pair of *bas de soy* shot through
With silver, diamond buckles too,
For garters, and as rich for shoo:
Twice twelve day smocks of Holland fine
With cambric sleeves, rich point to joyn
(For she despises Colbertine);
Twelve more for night, all Flanders lac'd,
Or else she 'll think her self disgrac'd;
The same her night-gown must adorn,
With two point wastcoats for the morn:
Of pocket *mouchoirs* nose to drain,
A dozen lac'd, a dozen plain:
Three night-gowns of rich Indian stuff;
Four cushion-cloths are scarce enough,
Of point and Flanders, not forget
Slippers embroider'd on velvet:
A manteau girdle, ruby buckle,
And brilliant diamond rings for knuckle:
Fans painted and perfumed three:
Three muffs of sable, ermine, grey;
Nor reckon it among the baubles,
A palatine also of sables.
A saphire bodkin for the hair,
Or sparkling facet diamond there:
Three turquois, ruby, emerauld rings
For fingers, and such pretty things,
As diamond pendants for the ears,
Must needs be had; or two pearl pears,
Pearl neck-lace, large and Oriental,
And diamond, and of amber pale;
For oranges bears every bush,
Nor values she cheap things a rush.

Then bracelets for her wrists bespeak
(Unless her heart-strings you will break),
With diamond croche for breast and ——,
Till to hang more on there 's no room.
Besides these jewels, you must get
Cuff buckles, and an handsome set
Of tags for palatine, a curious hasp
The manteau 'bout her neck to clasp:
Nor may she want a ruby locket,
Nor the fine sweet quilted pocket;
To play at *ombre*, or *basset*,
She a rich *pulvil* purse must get,
With guineas fill'd, on cards to lay,
With which she fancies most to play:
Nor is she troubled at ill fortune,
For should the bank be so importune
To rob her of the glittering store,
The amorous fop will furnish more.
Pensive and mute, behind her shoulder
He stands, till by her loss grown bolder,
Into her lap *rouleau* conveys,
The softest thing a lover says:
She grasps it in her greedy hands,
Then best his passion understands;
When tedious languishing has fail'd,
Rouleau has constantly prevail'd.
But to go on where we left off,
Though you may think what 's said enough;
This is not half that does belong
To the fantastic female throng:
In pin-up ruffles now she flaunts,
About her sleeves are *engageants*;
Of ribbon various *echelles*,
Gloves trimm'd, and lac'd as fine as Nell's *.
Twelve dozen *Martial*, whole and half,
Of jonquil, tuberose (don't laugh),
Frangissan, orange, violett,
Narcissus, jassamin, ambrett:

* Eleanor Gwynn, better known by the familiar name of *Nell*, one of the mistresses of Charles II.

And some of chicken skin for night,
To keep her hands plump, soft, and white:
Mouches for pushes, to be sure,
From Paris the *trés-fine* procure,
And Spanish paper, lip, and cheek,
With spittle sweetly to belick:
Nor therefore spare in the next place,
The pocket *sprunking* looking-glass:
Calembuc combs in *pulvil* case
To set and trim the hair and face:
And that the cheeks may both agree,
Plumpers to fill the cavity.
The *settée*, *cupée*, place aright,
Frelange, *fontange*, favorite;
Monté la haute, and *palisade*,
Sorti, *flandan* (great helps to trade),
Bourgoigne, *jardiné*, *cornett*,
Frilal next upper painer set,
Round which it does our ladies please,
To spread the hood called *rayonnés*:
Behind the noddle every baggage
Wears bundle *choux*, in English cabbage:
Nor *cruches* she, nor *confidents*,
Nor *passages*, nor *bergers* wants;
And when this grace Nature denies,
An artificial *tour* supplies;
All which with *meurtriers* unite,
And *creve cœurs* silly fops to smite,
Or take in toil at park or play,
Nor holy Church is safe, they say,
Where decent veil was wont to hide
The modest sex religious pride:
Lest these yet prove too great a load,
'Tis all compris'd in the *commode*;
Pins tipt with diamond point and head,
By which the curls are fastened,
In radiant firmament set-out,
And over all the hood *sur-tout*:

Thus face that erst near head was plac'd,
Imagine now about the wast,
For *tour* on *tour*, and tire on tire,
Like steeple Bow, or Grantham spire,
Or Septizonium, once at Rome,
(But does not half so well become
Fair ladies head), you here behold
Beauty by tyrant mode controll'd.
The graceful oval, and the round,
This horse tire does quite confound;
And ears like satyr, large and raw,
And bony face, and hollow jaw;
This monstrous dress does now reveal,
Which well-plac'd curls did once conceal,
Besides all these, 'tis always meant
You furnish her apartment
With Moreclack tapestry, damask bed,
Or velvet richly embroidered:
Branches, *brassero, cassolets,*
A *cofre-fort*, and cabinets,
Vasas of silver, porcelan, store
To set, and range about the floor:
The chimney furniture of plate
(For iron 's now quite out of date);
Tea-table, skreens, trunks, and stand,
Large looking-glass, richly japann'd;
An hanging shelf, to which belongs
Romances, plays, and amorous songs;
Repeating clocks the hour to show
When to the play 'tis time to go,
In pompous coach, or else sedan'd
With equipage along the Strand,
And with her new beau fopling mann'd.
A new scene to us next presents,
The dressing-room and implements,
Of toilet plate, gilt and emboss'd,
And several other things of cost.
The table miroir, one glue pot,
One for pomatuma, and what not?

Of washes, unguents, and cosmeticks;
A pair of silver-candlesticks;
Snuffers and snuff-dish; boxes more,
For powders, patches, waters store,
In silver flasks, or bottles, cups
Cover'd, or open, to wash chaps;
Nor may Hungarian Queens be wanting,
Nor store of spirits against fainting;
Of other waters, rich and sweet,
To sprinkle handkerchief is meet;
D'ange, orange, *mill-fleur*, myrtle,
Whole quarts the chamber to bequirtle:
Of essence rare, and *le meillure*,
From Rome, from Florence, Montpellier,
In filgran casset to repel
When scent of gousset does rebel,
Though powder'd alum be as good,
Well strew'd on, and well understood;
For vapours that offend the lass
Of sal-ammoniack a glass:
Nor brush for gown, nor oval salver,
Nor pincushion, nor box of silver,
Baskets of fil'gran, long and round,
Or if Japonian to be found,
And the whole town so many yield,
Calembuc combs by dozens fill'd
You must present, and a world more,
She 's a poor miss can count her store.
The working apron, too, from France,
With all its trim apurtenance;
Loo masks, and whole, as winds do blow,
And miss abroad 's dispos'd to go:
Hoods by whole dozens, white and black,
And store of coiffs she must not lack,
Nor velvet scarfs about her back,
To keep her warm; all these at least
In amber'd skins, or quilted chest
Richly perfum'd, she lays, and rare
Powders for garments, some for hair,

Of Cyprus, and of Corduba,
And the rich *polvil* of Goa:
Nor here omit the bob of gold
Which a pomander ball does hold;
This to her side she does attach
With gold crochet, or French pennache,
More useful far than ferula
For any saucy coxcomb's jaw;
A graceful swing to this belongs,
Which he returns in cringe and songs,
And languishing to kiss the hand,
That can perfumed blows command.
All these, and more, in order set,
A large rich cloth of gold toilet
Does cover, and, to put up rags,
Two high embroidered sweet bags,
Or a large perfum'd Spanish skin,
To wrap up all these trinkets in:
But I had almost quite forgot
A tea and (likewise) chocolate pot,
With *molionet* and caudle cup,
Restoring breakfast to sup up;
Porcelan saucers, spoons of gold,
Dishes that refin'd sugars hold;
Pastillos di Bocca we
In box of beaten gold do see,
Inchas'd with diamonds, and tweeze
As rich and costly as all these,
To which a bunch of onyxes
And many a golden seal there dangles,
Mysterious cyphers, and new fangles.
Gold is her toothpick, gold her watch is,
And gold is every thing she touches:
But, tir'd with numbers, I give o'er;
Arithmetick can add no more.
Thus rigg'd the vessel, and equipp'd,
She is for all adventures shipp'd,
And portion, 'ere the year goes round,
Does with her vanity confound.

THE FOP-DICTIONARY,

OR,

AN ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE OF THE HARD AND FOREIGN NAMES AND TERMS OF THE ART COSMETICK, &c.

TOGETHER WITH

THEIR INTERPRETATIONS, FOR INSTRUCTION OF THE UNLEARNED *.

Attache. Any thing which fastens to another, &c.

Bas de soye shot through. Silk stockings, with gold or silver thread wove into the clock.

Berger. A plain small lock *(à la sheperdesse)* turn'd up with a puff.

Bourgoigne. The first part of the dress for the head next the hair.

Branches. Hanging candlesticks, like those used in churches.

Brasiere. A large vessel, or moving-hearth of silver, for coals, transportable into any room, much used in Spain.

Calumbuc. A certain precious wood, of an agreeable scent, brought from the Indies.

Campaine. A kind of narrow picked lace.

Casset. A dressing-box.

Cassolet. Perfuming pot, or censer.

Choux. The great round boss or bundle, resembling a cabbage, from whence the French give it that name.

Cofre-fort. A strong box of some precious or hard wood, &c. bound with gilded ribs.

Colbertine. A lace resembling net-work, of the fabrick of Monsieur Colbert, superintendent of the French King's manufactures.

Collaret. A sort of gorget.

Commode. A frame of wire, cover'd with silk, on which the whole head-attire is adjusted at once upon a bust, or property of wood carved to the breasts, like that which perruque-makers set upon their stalls.

Confidants. Smaller curles near the eares.

Cornet. The upper pinner, dangling about the cheeks like hounds ears.

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* London: Printed for R. Bentley, in Russell-street, in Covent-garden. 1690.

Cosmeticks. Here used for any effeminate ornament; also, artificial complections and perfumes.

Creve-cœur. Heart-breakers, the two small curl'd locks at the nape of the neck.

Crochet. The hook to which are chain'd the ladies watch, seals, and other intaglias, &c.

Cruches. Certain smaller curles, placed on the forehead.

Cuppée. A kind of pinner.

Echelles. A pectoral, or stomacher, lac'd with ribbon, like the rounds of a ladder.

Engageants. Deep double ruffles, hanging down to the wrists.

Favorites. Locks dangling on the temples.

Ferula. An instrument of wood us'd for correction of lighter faults, more sensibly known to school-boys than to ladies.

Fil-grain'd. Dressing-boxes, baskets, or whatever else is made of silver wire-work.

Flandan. A kind of pinner joyning with the bonnet.

Firmament. Diamonds, or other precious stones heading the pins, which they stick in the tour and hair, like stars.

Frelan. Bonnet and pinner together.

Font-Ange. The top-knot, so call'd from Mademoiselle de Fontange, one of the French Kings mistresses, who first wore it.

Gris. The grey furr of squirrels bellies.

Japonian. Any thing varnished with laccar, or China polishing, or that is old or fantastical.

Jardinée. That single pinner next the Bourgogne.

Loo Mask. An half mask.

Martial. The name of a famous French perfumer, emulating the Frangipani of Rome.

Miroir. In general, any looking-glass; but here, for the table, toilet, pocket *sprunking* glass.

Molionet. The instrument us'd to mingle chocolate with the water.

Monte la haut. Certain degrees of wire to raise the dress.

Mouchoire. It were rude, vulgar, and unseemly to call it handkerchief.

Mouches. Flies, or black patches, by the vulgar.

Meurtrieres. Murderers; a certain knot in the hair, which ties and unites the curls.

Palatine. Formerly called Sables, or Tippet, because made of the tails of that animal.

Palisade. A wire sustaining the hair next to the dutchess, or first knot.

Passagere. A curl'd lock next the temples.

Pastillo di Bocca. Perfum'd lozenges to improve the breath.

Pennache. Any bunch or tassel of small ribbon.

Plumpers. Certain very thin, round, and light balls, to plump out and fill up the cavities of the cheeks, much us'd by old Court-Countesses.

Polvil. The Portugal term for the most exquisite powders and perfumes.

Raggs. A compendious name generally us'd for all sorts of point, lace, &c. whence the women who bring them to ladies chambers are call'd ragg women, but whilst in their shops, Exchange women.

Rare, les meilleures. Best, and most excellent; but in *languages de beau, rare & la meilleure,* happily rhyming with *Montpellier.*

Rayonné. Upper hood, pinn'd in circle, like the sun-beams.

Rouleau. Is forty nine guineas, made up in a paper roll, which Monsieur F——, Sir J——, and Father B——, lend to losing gamesters that are good men, and have fifty in return.

Ruffles. By our fore-fathers call'd cuffs.

Settée. The double pinner.

Sorti. A little knot of small ribbon, peeping out between the pinner and bonnet.

Septizonium. A very high tower in Rome, built by the Emperor Severus, of seven ranks of pillars, set one upon the other, and diminishing to the top, like the ladies new dress for their heads, which was the mode among the Roman dames, and is exactly describ'd by Juvenal in his 6th Satyr:

> *Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum*
> *Ædificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis:*
> *Post minor est:* ——
>
> Such rows of curles press'd on each other lye,
> She builds her head so many stories high,

That look on her before, and you would swear
Hector's tall wife Andromache she were,
Behind a pigmy—

Spanish Paper. A beautiful red colour, which the ladies, &c. in Spain paint their faces withal.

Spagnolet. A kind of narrow-sleev'd gown, *a la Spagnole.*

Sprunking. A Dutch term for pruning, tiffing, trimming, and setting out, by the glass or pocket *miroir.*

Sultane. A gown trimm'd with buttons and loops.

Surtout. A night-hood covering the entire dress.

Toilet. Corruptly call'd the *twilight*, but originally signifying a little cloth.

Tour. An artificial dress of hair on the forehead, &c.

Tres fine. Langage de beau; extremely fine and delicate: *cum multis aliis.*

For, besides these, there are a world more; as *assassin*, or *venez a moy*, a certain breast-knot, as much as to say, Come to me, Sir, &c.: *Duchesse*, a knot next the hair, immediately above the *tour*, &c. with innumerable others now obsolete, and for the present out of use; but we confine ourselves to those in vogue.

To conclude, those who have the curiosity, by comparing these terms with the ancients, thereby to inform themselves how this elegant science is improv'd, especially since we have submitted to and still continue under the empire of the French (for want of some royal or illustrious ladies invention and courage to give the law of the *mode* to her own country, and to vindicate it from foreign tyranny), may for divine history consult Isaiah, ch. iii. ver. 16, &c.; and for prophane, read Plautus his Poenulus, act i. scen. 2. and his Aulularia, act iii. scen. 5.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE "COMPLEAT GARDENER*,"

BY MONS. DE LA QUINTINYE,

CHIEF DIRECTOR OF ALL THE GARDENS OF THE FRENCH KING:

MADE ENGLISH BY JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

I cannot conceive but it must needs be a very acceptable Advertisement, and of universal concern to all noble-men and persons of quality, lovers of gardens, and improvers of plantations, of all diversions and employments the most natural, usefull, innocent and agreeable (at what distance soever) from a place of so easy and speedy correspondence, and which is so nere this great city to give this notice.

That of all I have hitherto seen, either at home or abroad, or found by reading many books publish'd on this subject, pretending to speak of nurseries and plantations for store and variety; directions for the designing (or as they term it) the skillful making, plotting, laying-out, and disposing of a ground to the best advantage; in a word for whatsoever were desireable for the furniture of such a ground, with the most excellent and warantable fruit (I say warantable, because it is peculiarly due to their honest industry, and so rarely to be met with elsewhere) and other accessories to gardens of all denominations, as in that vast and ample collection which I have lately seen, and well considered at Brompton Park near Kensington †; the very sight of

* "Or, Directions for cultivating and right ordering of Fruit Gardens and Kitchen Gardens; with divers Reflections on several Parts of Husbandry. In Six Books. By the famous Monsr De La Quintinye, Chief Director of all the Gardens of the French King. To which is added, his Treatise of Orange Trees, with the Raising of Melons, omitted in the French Editions. Made English by John Evelyn, Esq. With Plates. London: Printed for Matthew Gillyflower, at the Spread Eagle in Westminster Hall, and James Partridge, at the Post-house at Charing Cross. 1693." Folio, 518 pages.

† April 24, 1694. "I went to visit Mr. Waller, an extraordinary young gentleman of greate accomplishments, an excellent botanist, a rare ingraver on brass, writer in Latin, and a poet. I carried him to see Brompton Park, where he was in admiration at the store of rare plants, and the method he found in that noble nursery, and how well it was cultivated." Diary, 4to. vol. ii. p. 41.

"Brompton Park garden, belonging to Mr. London and Mr. Wise, has a large long green-house, the front all glass and board, the north side brick. Here the King's greens, which were in sum-

which alone gives an idea of something that is greater than I can well express, without an enumeration of particulars; and of the exceeding industry, method, and address of those who have undertaken and cultivated it for publick use; I mean Mr. George London (chief gardner to their Majesties) and his associate Mr. Henry Wise. For I have long observ'd (from the daily practice and effects of the laudable industry of these two partners) that they have not made gain the only mark of their pains; but with extraordinary and rare industry endeavour'd to improve themselves in the mysteries of their profession, from the great advantages, and now long experience they have had, in being employed in most of the celebrated gardens and plantations which this nation abounds in; besides what they have learn'd abroad, and where horticulture is in highest reputation *.

I find they not only understand the nature and genius of the several soils, but their usual infirmities, proper remedies, composts and applications to re-invigorate exhausted mould, sweeten the foul and tainted, and reduce the sower, harsh, stubborn and dry, or over moist and diluted earth to its genuine temper and constitution; and what aspects and situations are proper for the several sorts of mural, standard, dwarf, and other fruit trees.

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mer at Kensington, are placed, but they take but little room in comparison of their own. Their garden is chiefly a nursery for all sorts of plants, of which they are very full." See Account of several Gardens near London upon a view of them in December 1691, by I. Gibson, Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 189.

* These distinguished nurserymen were the most eminent in their profession at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. *George London* was apprentice to Rose, the royal gardener, often mentioned by Evelyn, and sent by him to France to study the beauties of Versailles. On his return he was made head-gardener to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, and at the beginning of the revolution was appointed superintendant of the royal gardens, at a salary of 200*l.* a year, and Page of the Back-Stairs to Queen Mary. In connection with Cooke (gardener to Lord Essex), Lucre, and Field (gardeners to the Earl of Bedford), he established the Brompton Nursery. The first place they laid out was Lord Weymouth's (now the Marquess of Bath) at Longleat, where each partner staid a month. Switzer, in his "Gardener's Recreation," says that London might have been called director-general of the gardens of England, most of which he visited once or twice each year, riding generally fifty or sixty miles a day. Two of the partners died, and a third selling his share to Wise, the whole fell to London and Wise, and was then worth from 30 to 40,000*l.* perhaps, says Switzer, as much as that of all the nurseries of France put together. London's last work was Edger in Essex. He died in 1713.

Of Wise little is known, excepting that he laid out grounds, and in particular Blenheim.

They have made observations, and given me a specimen of that long, but hitherto wanting particular, of discriminating the several kinds of fruits by their characteristical notes, from a long and critical observation of the leafe, taste, colour, and other distinguishing qualities; so as one shall not be impos'd upon with fruits of several names; when in truth there is but one due to them. For instance, in peares alone, a gentlemen in the country sends to the nurseries for the *liver blanch*, *piguigny de chouille*, *rattau blanc*, &c.; the English St. Gilbert, Cranbourn pears, and several other names; when all this while they are no other than the well known cadillac. The same also hap'ning in peaches, apples, plums, cherris and other fruit; for want of an accurate examination (by comparing of their taste, and those other indications I have mentioned), for which gentlemen complain, and not without cause, that the nursery-men abuse them; when 'tis their ignorance, or the exotic name of which they are so fond.

I find they have likewise apply'd themselves to attain a sufficient mastery in lines and figures for general design, and expeditious methods for casting and levelling of grounds; and to bring them into the most apt form they are capable of; which requires a particular address; and to determine the best proportions of walks and avenues, starrs, centres, &c. suitable to the lengths; and how, and with what materials, whether gravel, carpet, &c. to be layed.

They have a numerous collection of the best designs, and I perceive are able of themselves to draw and contrive others applicable to the places, when busie works and parterres of imbroidery for the coronary and flower gardens are proper or desired. And where fountains, statues, vases, dials, and other decorations of magnificence are to be plac'd with most advantage.

To this add a plentiful and choice collection of orange trees, lemon, mertil, baies, jassmines, and all other rarities and exotics requiring the conservatory; after they have embellish'd their proper stations abroad during the Summer, and for continuing a no less ornament in the green house during Winter.

They have a very brave and noble assembly of the flowery and other trees: perennial and variegated ever greens and shrubs, hardy and fittest

for our climate; and understand what best to plant the humble boscage, wilderness, or taller groves with; where and how to dispose and govern them, according as ground and situation of the place requires, both for shelter and ornament. For which purpose (and for walks and avenues) they have store of elms, limes, platans, Constantinople-chesnuts, black cherry-trees, &c.

Nor are they, I perceive, less knowing in that most useful, though less pompous part of horticulture, the potagere, meloniere, culinarie garden: where they should most properly be plac'd for the use of the family; how to be planted, furnish'd and cultivated so as to afford great pleasure to the eye, as well as profit to the master. And they have also seeds, bulbs, roots, slips for the flower garden, and shew how they ought to be order'd and maintain'd.

Lastly, I might super-add the great number of grounds and gardens of noble-men and persons of quality which they have made and planted *ab origine*, and are still under their care and inspection, though at considerable distances, and how exceedingly they prosper, to justifie what I hear freely said in their behalf.

And as for the nursery part in voucher, and to make good what I have said on that particular, one needs no more than take a walk to Brompton Park upon a fair morning, to behold and admire what a magazine these industrious men have provided, fit for age and choice in their several classes, and all within one inclosure: such an assembly I believe, as is no where else to be met with in this kingdom, nor in any other that I know of.

I cannot therefore forbear to publish (after all the encomiums of this great work of Monsr. de la Quintinye which I confess are very just) what we can and are able to perform in this part of agriculture; and have some amœnities and advantages peculiar to our own, which neither France nor any other country can attain to; and is much due to the industry of Mr. London and Mr. Wise, and to such as shall imitate their laudable undertakings.

Be this then for their encouragement, and to gratifie such as may need or require their assistance.

J. Evelyn.

ADVERTISEMENT BY J. EVELYN,

PREFIXED TO

M. DE LA QUINTINYES DIRECTIONS CONCERNING MELONS.

It is now more than twenty years since Monsieur de la Quintinye, being in England, that receiving the honour of a visit from him at my house *, and falling into discourse of gardens, he afterwards, on my request, sent me some directions from Paris concerning the ordering of melons; it being in effect the same, though somewhat more ample, which was about that time published by Mr. Oldenburg. It may not perhaps be unwelcome to our gard'ner, or improperly annex'd to this useful part of horticulture, especially coming from the most experienc'd, (Trans. Royal Soc.) in relation to this delicious fruit: however (and for what reason I enquire not) omitted as to any particular and full instructions in this long expected work of his.

I give it therefore in the method I long since cast it for some friends of mine.

J. EVELYN.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE CURIOUS,

PREFIXED TO

M. DE LA QUINTINYES TREATISE OF ORANGE TREES.

It were to be wish'd that the author (whom I had the honour to know) had liv'd to put his last hand to this whole work, and added to his *potagere* the culture of melons, in which he was the most exquisite master, but has in a manner quite omitted it. Not that what he has obliged the world withal, is not the most perfect and consummate piece

* When Quintinye came to England to visit Evelyn, King Charles the Second offered him a pension to stay and superintend the royal gardens here, but this he declined, and returned to serve his own master.

that was ever I believe publish'd on this agreeable subject, but because 'tis said, he did himself intend it, and perhaps to have abbreviated some periods and repetitions which now and then occur to the translator, but which he cannot honestly pretermit to justifie the version. As to what imports this little treatise in which I have been concern'd out of my affection to this sweet and innocent toil, and to prevent mistakes and needless circumlocution (had I over-nicely followed the text), let the reader take notice that I use the word *Case* indifferently for the box, table, or other vessel, in which these choice trees are commonly planted.

Oringist, for the gard'ner pretending to the culture of orange trees.

Casing or In-casing, for the action, or putting the trees into the case or vessel.

Un-casing, for the taking them out of the case or vessel.

Re-Casing, for the planting them again into the same, or some other case or vessel.

Green-house, for the place or conservatory where the trees are inclosed and shut up during the winter.

Clod (or Mot), for that earth, sod, or whole mass of mould adhering to the roots: the rest are obvious.

As to what the author has mention'd in chap. IX. speaking to the prejudice of using fire, and supplying it with lighted flambeaux and lamps; besides that he no where says how the smoak is to be convey'd out of so very close a place, nor any thing of the number of lights and lamps, if the house be large and ample, which would be a considerable charge if maintain'd with wax, or oyl-olive (for such it ought to be, to avoid the intollerable smell and *fuligos* of gross and cheaper materials), it gives me an opportunity of adding something to the justification and melioration of what I lately publish'd in the last edition of my Hortensial Kalender. It is certain that a naked or stov'd fire, pent up within the house without any exit or succession of external, fresh, and unexhausted vital air, must needs be extreamly noxious and pernicious to these delicate and tender plants. But that which answers all the ends and operations of natural air, and the objections against the use of fire, any other way save by lamps and flambeaux, I conceive is preferable to

them. I acknowledge to have seen by experience that the naked fire made too near the pipes is intolerable, melting even cast iron itself: but as I no where recommend that metal, but that the pipes be made of crucible earth, and propose the whole but as a laudable experiment; so I do not question but if such pipes were contriv'd to be placed at farther distance from the fire, or that there were a reasonable thick fire-stone laid flat or rather arch-wise (on which there might be strew'd a bath or bed of sand) between the naked fire and the pipes, to intercept and moderate the intenser heat (with due regard to register and govern the blast), but that a gentle and benign warmth would ensue, and such as should only recreate, without the least inconvenience to our nicest exotics: add to this, and for the more equal distribution of this genuine temper, that the noses of the pipes might easily be inserted into a larger pipe of laton, which should be applied either to the blind wall the whole length of the house within, or in the middle, which being pierced with frequent small holes, would breathe it more equally through the conservatory. There might also be placed a vessel or kettle upon the fire-stone-diaphragma, to be at any time fill'd and supplied by a tunnel from without with water, the vapour of which would exceedingly temper the pipes, and contribute to the perfection of this experiment.

Facile est inventis addere.

J. Evelyn.

Acetaria:

A DISCOURSE OF SALLETS.

By J. E. S.R.S.

AUTHOR OF THE KALENDARIUM.

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστιν ἀρτῦσαι καλῶς.

Crat. in Glauc.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR B. TOOKE, AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE GATE IN FLEET STREET,

1699.

As this tract was the last, and at the same time one of the most singular of Evelyn's publications, it is probably entitled to a more particular notice than most of the preceding, since it was written at a very advanced period of his life, he being then upon the verge of eighty. His industry and his abilities were however still unimpaired: but notwithstanding the matured judgment and the agreeable vivacity of language which this tract evinces, it had not the same rapidity of sale that marked some of his former productions. In 1706 it was re-published with a new title-page only, printed upon paper of a lighter colour, professing to be a second edition, but as a proof that it was *not* so, the same list of errata is attached to it as appeared to the first edition of 1699. Mr. Evelyn presented this book to the Chancellor Sommers, to whom it was dedicated, 21st October 1699, and received his Lordship's thanks in a letter of extraordinary civility (see Diary, vol. II. p. 66).

In a letter to Dr. Beale, dated 11th July 1679, he says, "I have sometimes thought of publishing a treatise of *Acetaria*, which (though but one of the chapters of *Elysium Britannicum* *) would make a competent volume, accompanied with other necessaries, according to my manner; but whilst I as often think of performing my so long since promised, more universal, hortulan work, I know not how to take that chapter out, and single it for the presse, without some blemish to the rest. When again I consider into what an ocean I am plunged, how much I have written and collected for above these twenty years, upon this fruitful and inexhaustible subject (I mean of horticulture), not yet fully digested to my mind, and what insuperable paines it will require to insert the dayly increasing particulars into what I have already in some measure prepared, and which must of necessitie be don by my owne hand, I am almost out of hope that I shall ever have strength and leisure to bring it to maturity, having for the last ten years of my life been in perpetual motion, and hardly two moneths in a yeare at my owne habitation, or conversant with my family."—Ibid. p. 106.

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* Never completed: but amongst the MSS. at Wotton there are parts of a projected work bearing this title, consisting of miscellaneous observations on a variety of subjects, but nothing digested.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD JOHN SOMERS, OF EVESHAM,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, AND PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

My Lord,

The idea and plan of the Royal Society having been first conceiv'd and delineated by a great and learned Chancellor, which high office your Lordship deservedly bears, not as an acquisition of fortune but your intellectual endowments; conspicuous (among other excellencies) by the inclination your Lordship discovers to promote natural knowledge; as it justifies the discernment of that assembly to pitch upon your Lordship for their President, so does it no less discover the candor, yea, I presume to say, the sublimity of your mind, in so generously honoring them with your acceptance of the choice they have made.

A Chancellor, and a very learned Lord *, was the first who honoured the chair; and a no less honorable and learned Chancellor † resigns it to your Lordship: so as after all the difficulties and hardships the Society has hitherto gone through, it has thro' the favour and protection of its Presidents not only preserv'd its reputation from the malevolence of enemies and detractors, but gone on culminating, and now triumphantly in your Lordship, under whose propitious influence, I am perswaded, it may promise it self that which indeed has hitherto been wanting to justifie the glorious title it bears of a Royal Society. The emancipating it from some remaining and discouraging circumstances, which it as yet

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* Lord Viscount Brouncker, Chancellor to the late Queen Consort Henrietta-Maria, now Dowager. His Lordship sat as President from 1698, in which year he was elected a Fellow, to 1703, and died of an apoplexy April 26, 1716.

† The Right Honourable Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer; created Earl of Halifax at the accession of George I. He is also known as one of the authors of the poem entitled "The City Mouse and Country Mouse," a burlesque of Dryden's "Hind and Panther," which he wrote in conjunction with Prior. He was the son of George Montague, a younger son of the Earl of Manchester, was born at Horton in Northamptonshire April 16, 1661, and died May 19, 1715.

labours under; among which, that of a precarious and unsteady abode is not the least.

This honor was reserv'd for your Lordship; and an honor, permit me to call it, not at all unworthy the owning of the greatest person living, namely, the establishing and promoting real knowledge; and (next to what is divine) truly so called; as far, at least, as humane nature extends towards the knowledge of nature, by enlarging her empire beyond the land of spectres, forms, intentional species, vacuum, occult qualities, and other inadæquate notions, which by their obstreperous and noisy disputes affrighting, and (till of late) deterring men from adventuring on further discoveries, confin'd them in a lazy acquiescence, and to be fed with fantasms and fruitless speculations, which signifie nothing to the specifick nature of things, solid and useful knowledge; by the investigation of causes, principles, energies, powers, and effects of bodies and things visible; and to improve them for the good and benefit of mankind.

My Lord, that which the Royal Society needs to accomplish an entire freedom, and (by rendering their circumstances more easie) capable to subsist with honor, and to reach indeed the glorious ends of its institution, is an establishment in a more settl'd, appropriate, and commodious place*; having hitherto (like the Tabernacle in the Wilderness) been only ambulatory for almost forty years: but Solomon built the first temple; and what forbids us to hope that as great a prince may build Solomon's house, as that great Chancellor (one of your Lordship's learned predecessors) had design'd the plan†, there being nothing in that august and noble model impossible, or beyond the power of nature and learned industry.

Thus, whilst King Solomon's temple was consecrated to the God of nature and his true worship, this may be dedicated and set apart for the works of nature, deliver'd from those illusions and impostors that are still endeavouring to cloud and depress the true and substantial philophy; a shallow and superficial insight wherein (as that incomparable person rightly observes) having made so many atheists, whilst a pro-

* See the note, p. 556.

† Verulamii Atlantis.

found and thorow penetration into her recesses (which is the business of the Royal Society) would lead men to the knowledge and admiration of the glorious Author.

And now, my Lord, I expect some will wonder what my meaning is, to usher in a trifle with so much magnificence, and end at last in a fine receipt for the dressing of a sallet with an handful of pot-herbs! But yet, my Lord, this subject, as low and despicable as it appears, challenges a part of natural history; and the greatest princes have thought it no disgrace, not only to make it their diversion but their care, and to promote and encourage it in the midst of their weightiest affairs: he who wrote of the cedar of Libanus wrote also of the hysop which grows upon the wall.

To verifie this, how much might I say of gardens and rural employments, preferrable to the pomp and grandeur of other secular business, and that in the estimate of as great men as any age has produc'd! And it is of such great souls we have it recorded, that after they had perform'd the noblest exploits for the publick, they sometimes changed their scepters for the spade, and their purple for the gardiner's apron. And of these, some, my Lord, were emperors, kings, consuls, dictators, and wise statesmen, who amidst the most important affairs, both in peace and war, have quitted all their pomp and dignity in exchange of this learned pleasure; nor that of the most refin'd part of agriculture (the philosophy of the garden and parterre only), but of herbs and wholesome sallets, and other plain and useful parts of geoponicks, and wrote books of tillage and husbandry, and took the plough-tackle for their banner, and their names from the grain and pulse they sow'd, as the marks and characters of the highest honour.

But I proceed no farther on a topick so well known to your Lordship; nor urge I examples of such illustrious persons laying aside their grandeur, and even of deserting their stations (which would infinitely prejudice the publick, when worthy men are in place and at the helm), but to shew how consistent the diversions of the garden and villa were with the highest and busiest employment of the commonwealth, and never thought a reproch, or the least diminution to the gravity and veneration due to their persons and the noble rank they held.

Will your Lordship give me leave to repeat what is said of the younger Pliny, nephew to the naturalist, and whom I think we may parallel with the greatest of his time, and perhaps of any since, under the worthiest Emperor the Roman world ever had? A person of vast abilities, rich, and high in his master's favour, that so husbanded his time, as in the midst of the weightiest affairs to have answered, and by his example* made good, what I have said on this occasion. The ancient and best magistrates of Rome allow'd but the ninth day for the city and publick business; the rest for the country and the sallet garden. There were then fewer causes indeed at the bar, but never greater justice, nor better judges and advocates. And 'tis hence observed, that we hardly find a great and wise man among the ancients, *qui nullos habuit hortos*, excepting only Pomponius Atticus; whilst his dear Cicero professes, that he never laid out his money more readily than in the purchasing of gardens, and those sweet retirements, for which he so often left the *rostra* (and court of the greatest and most flourishing state of the world), to visit, prune, and water them with his own hands.

But, my Lord, I forget with whom I am talking thus; and a gardiner ought not to be so bold. The present I humbly make your Lordship is indeed but a sallet of crude herbs: but there is among them that which was a prize at the Isthmian games; and your Lordship knows who it was both accepted and rewarded as despicable an oblation of this kind. The favor I humbly beg is your Lordship's pardon for this presumption. The subject is mean, and requires it, and my reputation in danger, should your Lordship hence suspect that one could never write so much of dressing sallets, who minded any thing serious, besides the gratifying a sensual appetite with a voluptuary Apician art.

Truly, my Lord, I am so far from designing to promote those *supplicia luxuriæ* (as Seneca calls them) by what I have here written, that were it in my power I would recall the world, if not altogether to their pristine diet, yet to a much more wholesome and temperate than is now

* Si quid temporis à civilibus negotiis, quibus totum jam intenderat animum, suffurari potuit, colendis agris, priscos illos Romanos Numam Pompilium, Cincinnatum, Catonem, Fabios, Ciceriones, aliosque virtute claros viros imitare; qui in magno honore constituti, vites putare, stercorare agros, et irrigare aquaquam turpe et inhonestum putarunt. In Vit. Plin. 2.

in fashion : and what if they find me like to some who are eager after hunting and other field-sports, which are laborious exercises; and fishing, which is indeed a lazy one? who, after all their pains and fatigue, never eat what they take and catch in either: for some such I have known; and tho' I cannot affirm so of my self (when a well drest and excellent sallet is before me), I am yet a very moderate eater of them. So as to this book-luxury, I can affirm, and that truly, what the Poet says of himself (on a less innocent occasion), *Lasciva pagina, vita proba.* God forbid, that after all I have advanc'd in praise of sallets, I should be thought to plead for the vice I censure, and chuse that of Epicurus for my lemma; *in hac arte consenui*; or to have spent my time in nothing else. The plan annext to these papers, and the apparatus made to superstruct upon it, would acquit me of having bent all my contemplations on sallets only. What I humbly offer your Lordship is (as I said) part of natural history, the product of horticulture and the field, dignified by the most illustrious, and sometimes tilled *laureato vomere;* which, as it concerns a part of philosophy, I may (without vanity) be allow'd to have taken some pains in cultivating, as an inferior member of the Royal Society.

But, my Lord, whilst you read on (if at least you vouchsafe me that honor to read at all), I am conscious I rob the publick of its most precious moments.

I therefore humbly again implore your Lordship's pardon; nor indeed needed I to have said half this to kindle in your breast that which is already shining there (your Lordship's esteem of the Royal Society), after what you were pleas'd to express in such an obliging manner, when it was lately to wait upon your Lordship, among whom I had the honor to be a witness of your generous and favourable acceptance of their addresses, who am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,
J. Evelyn.

THE PREFACE.

THE favourable entertainment which the "Kalendar" has found, encouraging the bookseller to adventure upon a ninth impression, I could not refuse his request of my revising and giving it the best improvement I was capable, to an inexhaustible subject, as it regards a part of horticulture, and offer some little aid to such as love a diversion so innocent and laudable. There are those of late who have arrogated, and given the glorious title of "Compleat and Accomplish'd Gardiners" to what they have publish'd, as if there were nothing wanting, nothing more remaining, or farther to be expected from the field; and that Nature had been quite emptied of all her fertile store; whilst those who thus magnifie their discoveries have, after all, penetrated but a very little way into this vast, ample, and as yet unknown territory, who see not that it would still require the revolution of many ages, deep and long experience, for any man to emerge that perfect and accomplish'd artist gardiner they boast themselves to be. Nor do I think men will ever reach the end and far extended limits of the vegetable kingdom; so incomprehensible is the variety it every day produces, of the most useful and admirable of all the aspectable works of God; since almost all we see, and touch, and taste, and smell, eat and drink, are clad with and defended (from the greatest prince to the meanest peasant), is furnished from that great and universal plantation, epitomiz'd in our gardens, highly worth the contemplation of the most profound divine and deepest philosopher.

I should be asham'd to acknowledge how little I have advanc'd, could I find that ever any mortal man from Adam, Noah, Solomon, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and the rest of Nature's interpreters, had ever arriv'd to the perfect knowledge of any one plant or vulgar weed whatsoever: but this perhaps may yet possibly be reserv'd for another state of things, and a longer day*; that is, when time shall be no more, but knowledge shall be encreas'd.

* Ut hujusmodi Historiam vix dum inchoatum, non ante absolvendam putem,
Exitio terras quam dabit una dies. Joan. Raius Præfat. Hist. Plantarum, fol. 1686.

We have heard of one who studied and contemplated the nature of bees only, for sixty years; after which, you will not wonder, that a person of my acquaintance should have spent almost forty in gathering and amassing materials for an hortulan design, to so enormous an heap, as to fill some thousand pages, and yet be comprehended within two or three acres of ground; nay, within the square of less than one (skilfully planted and cultivated) sufficient to furnish and entertain his time and thoughts all his life long, with a most innocent, agreeable, and useful employment. But you may justly wonder, and condemn the vanity of it too, with that reproach, "This man began to build, but was not able to finish *! This has been the fate of that undertaking, and, I dare promise, will be of whosoever imagines (without the circumstances of extraordinary assistance, and no ordinary expence) to pursue the plan, erect, and finish the fabrick as it ought to be.

But this is that which abortives the perfection of the most glorious and useful undertakings; the unsatiable coveting to exhaust all that should or can be said upon every head. If such a one have any thing else to mind or do in the world, let me tell him, he thinks of building too late; and rarely find we any who care to superstruct upon the foundation of another, and whose ideas are alike. There ought therefore to be as many hands and subsidiaries to such a design (and those masters too) as there are distinct parts of the whole (according to the subsequent table), that those who have the means and courage may (tho' they do not undertake the whole) finish a part at least, and in time unite their labours into one intire, compleat, and consummate work indeed.

Of one or two of these, I attempted only a specimen in my "Sylva" and the "Kalendar;" imperfect, I say, because they are both capable of great improvements: it is not therefore to be expected. Let me use the words of an old and experienc'd gardiner †, "Cuncta me dicturum, quæ vastitas ejus scientiæ contineret, sed plurima; nam illud in unius hominis prudentiam cadere non poterat. Neque enim est ulla disciplina aut ars, quæ singulari consummata sit ingenio.

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* Luke, ch. xiv. v. 30,

† Columella, de Re Rustică, lib. 5. cap. 1.

May it then suffice *aliquam partem tradidisse*, and that I have done my endeavour.

—— Inutilis olim
Ne videar vixisse.

Much more might I add upon this charming and fruitful subject (I mean, concerning gardening). But this is not the place to expatiate, deterr'd, as I have long since been, from so bold an enterprise as the fabrick I mention'd. I content my self then with an humble cottage, and a simple potagere, appendant to the Kalendar; which, treating only, and that briefly, of the culture of moderate gardens, nothing seems to me shou'd be more welcome and agreeable, than whilst the product of them is come into more request and use amongst us than heretofore (beside what we call and distinguish by the name of fruit), I did annex some particular directions concerning SALLETS.

THE PLAN OF A ROYAL GARDEN,

Describing and shewing the Amplitude and Extent of that Part of Georgicks which belongs to Horticulture.—In Three Books.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. Of principles and elements in general.
CHAP. II. Of the four (vulgarly reputed) elements; fire, air, water, earth.
CHAP. III. Of the celestial influences, and particularly of the sun, moon, and of the climates.
CHAP. IV. Of the four annual seasons.
CHAP. V. Of the natural mould and soil of a garden.
CHAP. VI. Of composts, and stercoration, repastination, dressing and stirring the earth and mould of a garden.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I. A garden deriv'd and defin'd; its dignity, distinction, and sorts.
CHAP. II. Of a gardiner, how to be qualify'd, regarded, and rewarded; his habitation, cloathing, diet, under-workmen and assistants.
CHAP. III. Of the instruments belonging to a gardiner; their various uses, and mechanical powers.

CHAP. IV. Of the terms us'd and affected by gardiners.
CHAP. V. Of enclosing, fencing, platting, and disposing of the ground; and of terraces, walks, allies, malls, bowling-greens, &c.
CHAP. VI. Of a seminary, nurseries; and of propagating trees, plants, and flowers, planting and transplanting, &c.
CHAP. VII. Of knots, parterres, compartiments, borders, banks, and embossments.
CHAP. VIII. Of groves, labyrinths, dedals, cabinets, cradles, close-walks, galleries, pavilions, porticos, lanterns, and other relievos; of topiary and hortulan architecture.
CHAP. IX. Of fountains, jettos, cascades, rivulets, piscinas, canals, baths, and other natural and artificial water-works.
CHAP. X. Of rocks, grotts, cryptæ, mounts, precipices, ventiducts, conservatories, of ice and snow, and other hortulan refreshments.
CHAP. XI. Of statues, busts, obelisks, columns, inscriptions, dials, vasas, perspectives, paintings, and other ornaments.
CHAP. XII. Of Gazon-theatres, amphitheatres, artificial echos, automata, and hydraulic musick.
CHAP. XIII. Of aviaries, apiaries, vivaries, insects, &c.
CHAP. XIV. Of verdures, perennial greens, and perpetual springs.
CHAP. XV. Of orangeries, oporothecas, hybernacula, stoves, and conservatories of tender plants and fruits, and how to order them.
CHAP. XVI. Of the coronary garden; flowers and rare plants, how they are to be raised, governed, and improved; and how the gardiner is to keep his register.
CHAP. XVII. Of the philosophical medical garden.
CHAP. XVIII. Of stupendous and wonderful plants.
CHAP. XIX. Of the hort-yard and potagere; and what fruit-trees, olitory and esculent plants, may be admitted into a garden of pleasure.
CHAP. XX. Of sallets.
CHAP. XXI. Of a vineyard, and directions concerning the making of wine and other vinous liquors, and of teas.
CHAP. XXII. Of watering, pruning, plashing, pallisading, nailing, clipping, mowing, rowling, weeding, cleansing, &c.
CHAP. XXIII. Of the enemies and infirmities to which gardens are obnoxious, together with the remedies.
CHAP. XXIV. Of the gardiner's almanack, or *kalendarium hortense*, directing what he is to do monthly, and what fruits and flowers are in prime.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I. Of conserving, properating, retarding, multiplying, transmuting, and altering the species, forms, and (reputed) substantial qualities of plants, fruits, and flowers.

CHAP. II. Of the hortulan elaboratory; and of distilling and extracting of waters, spirits, essences, salts, colours, resuscitation of plants, with other rare experiments, and an account of their virtues.

CHAP. III. Of composing the *hortus hyemalis*, and making books, of natural, arid plants and flowers, with several ways of preserving them in their beauty.

CHAP. IV. Of painting of flowers, flowers enamell'd, silk, calicos, paper, wax, gums, pastes, horns, glass, shells, feathers, moss, *pietra comessa*, inlayings, embroyderies, carvings, and other artificial representations of them.

CHAP. V. Of crowns, chaplets, garlands, festoons, *encarpa*, flower-pots, nosegays, poesies, deckings, and other flowery pomps.

CHAP. VI. Of hortulan laws and privileges.

CHAP. VII. Of the hortulan study, and of a library, authors, and books assistant to it.

CHAP. VIII. Of hortulan entertainments, natural, divine, moral, and political; with divers historical passages, and solemnities, to shew the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and universal use of gardens.

CHAP. IX. Of garden burial.

CHAP. X. Of Paradise, and of the most famous gardens in the world, ancient and modern.

CHAP. XI. The description of a villa.

CHAP. XII. The corollary and conclusion.

—— Laudato ingentia rura,
Exiguum colito. ——

ACETARIA.

SALLETS in general consist of certain esculent plants and herbs, improv'd by culture, industry, and art of the gard'ner; or, as others say, they are a composition of edule plants and roots of several kinds, to be eaten raw or green, blanch'd or candied; simple and *per se*, or intermingl'd with others according to the season. The boil'd, bak'd, pickl'd, or otherwise disguis'd, variously accommodated by the skilful cooks, to render them grateful to the more feminine palate, or herbs rather for the pot, &c. challenge not the name of sallet so properly here, tho' sometimes mention'd; and therefore,

Those who criticize not so nicely upon the word, seem to distinguish the *olera* *, which were never eaten raw, from *acetaria*, which were never boil'd; and so they derive the etymology of *olus* from *olla*, the pot. But others deduce it from ὅλος, comprehending the universal genus of the vegetable kingdom, as from πᾶν *panis*, esteeming that he who had bread and herbs † was sufficiently bless'd with all a frugal man could need or desire: others again will have it *ab olendo, i. e. crescendo*, from its continual growth and springing up: so the younger Scaliger on Varro. But his father Julius extends it not so generally to all plants as to all the esculents, according to the text. "We call those *olera* (says Theophrastus ‡) which are commonly eaten;" in which sense it may be taken to include both boil'd and raw. Last of all, *ab alendo*,

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* Olera à frigidis distinct. See Spartianus in Pescennio. Salmas. in Jul. Capitolin.

† Panis erat § primis virides mortalibus herbæ;
Quas tellus nullo sollicitante dabat.
Et modo carpebant vivaci cespite gramen;
Nunc epulæ tenera fronde cacumen erant.
Ovid. Fastor. lib. iv. 395.

‡ Καλοῦμεν γὰρ λάχανα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν χρείαν, Theophrast. Plant. l. vii. cap. 7.

§ Quoted incorrectly; the original beginning, "Messis erant."

as having been the original and genuine food of all mankind from the creation *.

A great deal more of this learned stuff were to be pick'd up from the *cumini sectores*, and impertinently curious; whilst as it concerns the business in hand, we are by sallet to understand a particular composition of certain crude and fresh herbs, such as usually are, or may safely be eaten with some acetous juice, oyl, salt, &c. to give them a grateful gust and vehicle, exclusive of the ψυχραὶ τράπεζαι †, eaten without their due correctives, which the learned Salmasius ‡, and, indeed generally, the old physicians § affirm (and that truly) all crude and raw λάχανα require to render them wholsome; so as probably they were from hence, as Pliny thinks ||, call'd *acetaria*, and not (as Hermolaus and some others) *acceptario ab accipiendo*, nor from *accedere*, though so ready ¶ at hand, and easily dress'd, requiring neither fire, cost, nor attendance, to boil, roast, and prepare them, as did flesh and other provisions; from which, and other prerogatives, they were always in use. And hence indeed the more frugal Italians and French, to this day, accept and gather *ogni verdura*, any thing almost that is green and tender, to the very tops of nettles; so as every hedge affords a sallet (not unagreeable), season'd with its proper *oxybaphon* of vinegar, salt, oyl, &c. which doubtless gives it both the relish and name of salad, *ensalada* **, as with us of sallet, from the sapidity, which renders not plants and herbs alone, but men themselves, and their conversations, pleasant and agreeable. But of this enough, and perhaps too much; least, while I write of salt and sallet, I appear myself insipid. I pass therefore to the ingredients, which we will call

FURNITURE AND MATERIALS.

The materials of sallets, which, together with the grosser olera, consist of roots, stalks, leaves, buds, flowers, &c. fruits (belonging to ano-

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* Gen. ch. i. v. 29. † Plutarch Sympos.

‡ Salmas. in Solin. contra Hieron. Mercurialis.

§ Galen. 2 R. Aliment. cap. 1. et Simp. Medic. Averroes, lib. v. colloc.

|| Plin. lib. xix. c. 4. ¶ Convictus facilis, sine arte mensa. Mart. ep. 74.

** Ἄπυρον τροφήν, which Suidas calls λάχανα, olera quæ cruda sumuntur ex aceto. Harduin. in loco.

ther class) would require a much ampler volume than would suit our Kalendar (to which this pretends to be an Appendix only), should we extend the following catalogue further than to a brief enumeration only of such herbaceous plants, oluscula, and smaller esculents, as are chiefly used in cold sallets, of whose culture we have treated there; and as we gather them from the mother and genial bed, with a touch only of their qualities, for reasons hereafter given.

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1. Alexanders, *hipposelinum; S. Smyrnium vulgare* (much of the nature of persly) is moderately hot, and of a cleansing faculty, deobstructing, nourishing, and comforting the stomach. The gentle fresh sprouts, buds, and tops are to be chosen, and the stalks eaten in the spring; and when blanch'd, in winter likewise, with oyl, pepper, salt, &c. by themselves, or in composition. They make also an excellent vernal pottage.

2. Artichaux, *cinara (carduus sativus)*, hot and dry. The heads being slit in quarters first, eaten raw, with oyl, a little vinegar, salt, and pepper, gratefully recommend a glass of wine; Dr. Muffet says, at the end of meals.

They are likewise, whilst tender and small, fried in fresh butter with persley: but then become a most delicate and excellent restorative, when full grown: they are boil'd the common way. The bottoms are also bak'd in pies, with marrow, dates, and other rich ingredients. In Italy they sometimes broil them, and as the scaly leaves open, baste them with fresh and sweet oyl, but with care extraordinary, for if a drop fall upon the coals, all is marr'd; that hazard escap'd, they eat them with the juice of orange and sugar.

The stalk is blanch'd in autumn, and the pith eaten raw or boil'd. The way of preserving them fresh all winter, is by separating the bottoms from the leaves, and after parboiling, allowing to every bottom a small earthen glaz'd pot, burying it all over in fresh melted butter, as they do wild fowl, &c.; or if more than one, in a larger pot, in the same bed and covering, layer upon layer.

They are also preserv'd by stringing them on pack-thread, a clean paper being put between every bottom, to hinder them from touching one another, and so hung up in a dry place. They are likewise pickl'd.

'Tis not very long since this noble thistle came first into Italy, improv'd to this magnitude by culture; and so rare in England, that they were commonly sold for crowns a piece: but what Carthage yearly spent in them (as Pliny computes the sum) amounted to *sestertia sena millia*, 30,000*l.* sterling.

Note, That the Spanish cardon, a wild and smaller artichoak, with sharp-pointed leaves, and lesser head; the stalks being blanch'd and tender, are serv'd up *a la poiverade* (that is, with oyl, pepper, &c.), as the French term is.

3. Basil, *ocimum* (as baulm), imparts a grateful flavour, if not too strong, somewhat offensive to the eyes; and therefore the tender tops to be very sparingly us'd in our sallet.

4. Baulm, *melissa, baum*, hot and dry, cordial and exhilarating, sovereign for the brain, strengthening the memory, and powerfully chasing away melancholy. The tender leaves are us'd in composition with other herbs; and the sprigs fresh gather'd, put into wine, or other drinks, during the heat of summer, give it a marvellous quickness. This noble plant yields an incomparable wine, made as is that of cowslip-flowers.

Beet, *beta;* of which there is both red, black, and white. The costa, or rib of the white beet (by the French call'd the *chard*), being boil'd, melts, and eats like marrow. And the roots, especially of the red, cut into thin slices, boil'd, when cold, is of itself a grateful winter sallet; or being mingl'd with other oluscula, oyl, vinegar, salt, &c. 'Tis of quality cold and moist, and naturally somewhat laxative: but however by the epigrammatist stil'd foolish and insipid, as *innocentior quam olus* (for so the learned Harduin* reads the place), 'tis by Diphilus of old, and others since, preferr'd before cabbage, as of better nourishment. Martial (not unlearn'd in the art of sallet) commends it with wine and pepper: he names it indeed *fabrorum prandia* †, for its being so vulgar. But eaten with oyl and vinegar, as usually it is, no despicable sallet. There is a beet growing near the sea, which is the most delicate of all. The roots of the red beet, pared into thin slices and circles, are by the French and Italians contriv'd into curious figures to adorn their sallets.

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* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. 8. † Epig. lib. xiii. 13.

6. Blite, *blitum*, English Mercury, or (as our country house-wives call it) all-good. The gentle *turiones* and tops may be eaten as sparagus, or sodden in pottage. There is both a white and red, much us'd in Spain and Italy; but besides its humidity and detersive nature, 'tis insipid enough.

7. Borrage, *borrago (gaudia semper ago)*, hot, and kindly moist, purifying the blood, is an exhilarating cordial, of a pleasant flavour: The tender leaves, and flowers especially, may be eaten in composition; but above all, the sprigs in wine, like those of baum, are of known vertue to revive the hypochondriac, and chear the hard student. See Bugloss.

8. Brooklime, *anagallis aquatica;* moderately hot and moist, prevalent in the scorbute and stone.

9. Bugloss, *buglossum;* in nature much like borrage, yet something more astringent. The flowers of both, with the intire plant, greatly restorative, being conserved: and for the rest, so much commended by Averroes, that for its effects, cherishing the spirits, justly call'd *euphrosynum.* Nay, some will have it the *nepenthes* of Homer. But, indeed, what we now call bugloss was not that of the ancients, but rather borrage, for the like virtue named *corrago.*

Burnet. See Pimpinella.

10. Buds, *gemmæ, turiones;* the first rudiments and tops of most sallet-plants, preferrable to all other less tender parts; such as ashen-keys, broom-buds, hot and dry, retaining the vertue of capers, esteem'd to be very opening, and prevalent against the spleen and scurvy; and being pickl'd, are sprinkl'd among the sallets, or eaten by themselves.

11. Cabbage, *brassica* (and its several kinds), Pompey's beloved dish, so highly celebrated by old Cato*, Pythagoras, and Chrysippus the physician (as the only panacea), is not so generally magnify'd by the rest of doctors, as affording but a crass and melancholy juice; yet loosening if but moderately boil'd; if over-much, astringent, according to C. Celsus; and therefore seldom eaten raw, excepting by the Dutch. The *cymæ*, or sprouts rather, of the cole are very delicate, so boil'd as to

* De Re Rustica, cap. clvii.

retain their verdure and green colour. In raising this plant great care is to be had of the seed. The best comes from Denmark and Russia, especially the cauly-flower (anciently unknown), or from Aleppo. Of the French, the *pancalière à la large coste*, the white, large, and ponderous are to be chosen; and so the cauly-flower. After boiling, some steep them in milk, and seethe them again in beef-broth: of old they added a little nitre. The broccoli from Naples, perhaps the *halmerida* of Pliny (or Athenæus rather), *capitata marina & florida*, our sea-keele (the ancient *crambe*), and growing on our coast, are very delicate; as are the savoys, commended for being not so rank, but agreeable to most palates, and of better nourishment. In general, cabbages are thought to allay fumes, and prevent intoxication. But some will have them noxious to the sight; others impute it to the cauly-flower rather: but whilst the learned are not agreed about it, Theophrastus affirms the contrary, and Pliny commends the juice raw, with a little honey, for the moist and weeping eye, not the dry or dull. But, after all, cabbage ('tis confess'd) is greatly accus'd for lying undigested in the stomach, and provoking eructations; which makes me wonder at the veneration we read the ancients had for them, calling them divine, and swearing *per brassicam*. 'Tis scarce an hundred years since we first had cabbages out of Holland, Sir Anth. Ashley*, of Wiburg St. Giles in Dorsetshire, being (as I am told) the first who planted them in England.

12. Cardon. See artichaux.

13. Carrots, *dauci*, or *pastinaca sativa*; temperately warm and dry, spicy; the best are yellow, very nourishing. Let them be rais'd in ground naturally rich, but not too heavy.

14. Chervile, *chærophyllum, myrrhis*; the sweet aromatick Spanish chervile, moderately hot and dry. The tender *cimæ*, and tops, with other herbs, are never to be wanting in our sallets (as long as they may be had), being exceedingly wholsome and chearing the spirits: the roots

* Ancestor of the Earls of Shaftesbury. He sat in several Parliaments, and was distinguished by the favour of Queen Elizabeth, who appointed him Secretary to her Council of War. He was knighted for his valour at the taking of Cadiz 1597, and sent home to give the Queen a relation of it. He died January 13, 1628.

are also boil'd and eaten cold; much commended for aged persons. This (as likewise spinach) is us'd in tarts, and serves alone for divers sauces.

Cibbols. } Vide onions, *schœnoprasum.*
Cives. }

15. Clary, *horminum*, when tender not to be rejected, and in omlets, made up with cream, fried in sweet butter, and are eaten with sugar, juice of orange, or limon.

16. Cleavers, *aparine;* the tender winders, with young nettle-tops, are us'd in Lenten pottages.

17. Corn-sallet, *valerianella;* loos'ning and refreshing. The tops and leaves are a sallet of themselves, seasonably eaten with other salleting, the whole winter long, and early spring. The French call them *salad de preter*, for their being generally eaten in Lent.

18. Cowslips, *paralysis.* See flowers.

19. Cresses, *nasturtium*, garden cresses; to be monthly sown: but above all the Indian, moderately hot and aromatick, quicken the torpid spirits, and purge the brain, and are of singular effect against the scorbute. Both the tender leaves, calices, capuchin capers, and flowers, are laudably mixed with the colder plants. The buds, being candy'd, are likewise us'd in strewings all winter. There is the *nastur. hybernicum* commended also, and the vulgar water-cress, proper in the spring, all of the same nature, tho' of different degrees, and best for raw and cold stomachs, but nourish little.

20. Cucumber, *cucumis;* tho' very cold and moist, the most approved sallet alone, or in composition, of all the vinaigrets, to sharpen the appetite, and cool the liver*, &c. if rightly prepar'd; that is, by rectifying the vulgar mistake of altogether extracting the juice, in which it should rather be soak'd. Nor ought it to be over oyl'd, too much abating of its grateful acidity, and palling the taste, from a contrariety of particles. Let them therefore be pared, and cut into thin slices, with a clove or two of onion to correct the crudity, macerated in the juice, often turn'd, and moderately drain'd. Others prepare them, by shaking the slices between two dishes, and dress them with very little oyl, well beaten, and

* Ἐφθὸς, δοσικυὸς, ἀπαλὸς, ἄλυοστος, οὐρητικός. Athen.

mingled with the juice of limon, orange, or vinegar, salt, and pepper. Some again, and indeed the most approv'd, eat them as soon as they are cut, retaining their liquor, which being exhausted (by the former method) have nothing remaining in them to help the concoction. Of old they boil'd * the cucumber, and paring off the rind, eat them with oyl, vinegar, and honey, sugar not being so well known. Lastly, the pulp in broth is greatly refreshing, and may be mingl'd in most sallets, without the least damage, contrary to the common opinion; it not being long since cucumber, however dress'd, was thought fit to be thrown away, being accounted little better than poyson. Tavernier tells us, that in the Levant, if a child cry for something to eat, they give it a raw cucumber instead of bread. The young ones may be boil'd in white wine. The smaller sort (known by the name of gerckems), muriated with the seeds of dill, and the mango pickle, are for the winter.

21. Daisy, *bupthalmum*, ox-eye, or *bellis-major*. The young roots are frequently eaten by the Spaniards and Italians all the spring till June.

22. Dandelion, *dens leonis*, *condrilla;* macerated in several waters, to extract the bitterness, tho' somewhat opening, is very wholesome, and little inferior to succory, endive, &c. The French country-people eat the roots; and 'twas with this homely sallet the good-wife Hecate entertain'd Theseus. See Sowthistle.

23. Dock, *oxylapathum*, or sharp-pointed dock; emollient, and tho' otherwise not for our sallet, the roots brewed in ale or beer, are excellent for the scorbute.

Earth-nuts, *bulbo castanum* (found in divers places of Surry, near Kingston, and other parts), the rind par'd off, are eaten crude by rustics, with a little pepper; but are best boil'd like other roots, or in pottage rather, and are sweet and nourishing.

24. Elder, *sambucus;* the flowers infus'd in vinegar, grateful both to the stomach and taste; attenuate thick and viscid humours; and tho' the leaves are somewhat rank of smell, and so not commendable in sallet, they are otherwise (as indeed is the intire shrub) of the most sovereign vertue; and the spring buds and tender leaves, excellently wholsome in pottage at that season of the year. See Flowers.

* Cucumis elixus delicatior, innocentior. Athenæus.

25. Endive, *endivium, intybum sativum;* the largest, whitest, and tenderest leaves best boil'd, and less crude. It is naturally cold, profitable for hot stomachs; incisive, and opening obstructions of the liver. The curled is more delicate, being eaten alone, or in composition, with the usual *intinctus.* It is also excellent, being boil'd; the middle part of the blanch'd-stalk separated, eats firm, and the ampler leaves by many preferr'd before lettuce. See Succory.

Eschalot. See Onions.

26. Fennel, *fœniculum;* the sweetest of Bolognia; aromatick, hot, and dry; expels wind, sharpens the sight, and recreates the brain; especially the tender umbella and seed-pods. The stalks are to be peel'd when young, and then dress'd like sellery. The tender tufts and leaves emerging, being minc'd, are eaten alone with vinegar, or oyl, and pepper, and, to correct the colder materials, enter properly into composition. The Italians eat the blanch'd stalk (which they call *cartucci)* all winter long. There is a very small green-worm which sometimes lodges in the stem of this plant, which is to be taken out, as the red one in that of sellery.

27. Flowers, *flores;* chiefly of the aromatick esculents and plants are preferable, as generally endow'd with the vertues of their simples, in a more intense degree, and may therefore be eaten alone in their proper vehicles, or composition with other salleting, sprinkl'd among them; but give a more palatable relish, being infused in vinegar; especially those of the clove-gillyflower, elder, orange, cowslip, rose-mary, archangel, sage, *nasturtium indicum,* &c. Some of them are pickl'd, and divers of them make also very pleasant and wholsome theas, as do likewise the wild time, bugloss, mint, &c.

28. Garlick, *allium;* dry towards excess; and tho' both by Spaniards and Italians, and the more southern people, familiarly eaten, with almost every thing, and esteem'd of such singular vertue to help concoction, and thought a charm against all infection and poyson (by which it has obtain'd the name of the country-man's theriacle), we yet think it more proper for our northern rustics, especially living in uliginous and moist places, or such as use the sea; whilst we absolutely forbid it entrance into our sallets by reason of its intolerable rankness, and which

made it so detested of old, that the eating of it was (as we read) part of the punishment for such as had committed the horridest crimes. To be sure, 'tis not for ladies palats, nor those who court them, farther than to permit a light touch on the dish, with a clove thereof, much better supply'd by the gentler roccombo.

Note, That in Spain they sometimes eat it boil'd, which taming its fierceness, turns it into nourishment, or rather medicine.

Ginny-pepper, *capsicum.* See Pepper.

29. Goats-beard, *tragopogon.* The root is excellent even in sallet, and very nutritive, exceeding profitable for the breast, and may be stew'd and dress'd as scornozera.

30. Hops, *lupulus;* hot and moist, rather medicinal than fit for sallet, the buds and young tendrels excepted, which may be eaten raw, but more conveniently being boil'd, and cold like asparagus. They are diuretic; depurate the blood, and open obstructions.

31. Hyssop, *hyssopus; thymus capitatus creticus,* majoran, marygold, &c. as all hot spicy aromatics (commonly growing in kitchin-gardens) are of faculty to comfort and strengthen; prevalent against melancholy and phlegm. Plants, like these, going under the name of pot-herbs, are much more proper for broths and decoctions than the tender sallet: yet the tops and flowers, reduc'd to powder, are by some reserv'd for strewings upon the colder ingredients, communicating no ungrateful fragrancy.

32. Jack-by-the-hedge, *alliaria,* or sauce-alone; has many medicinal properties, and is eaten as other sallets, especially by country people, growing wild under their banks and hedges.

33. Leeks, and cibbols, *porum;* hot, and of vertue prolifick; since Latona, the mother of Apollo, long'd after them. The Welch, who eat them much, are observ'd to be very fruitful. They are also friendly to the lungs and stomach, being sod in milk; a few therefore of the slender and green summities, a little shred, do not amiss in composition. See Onions.

34. Lettuce, *lactuca*; tho' by metaphor call'd *mortuorum cibi* * (to

* Eubulus.

say nothing of Adonis * and his sad mistriss), by reason of its soporiferous quality, ever was, and still continues the principal foundation of the universal tribe of sallets, which is to cool and refresh, besides its other properties; and therefore in such high esteem with the ancients, that divers of the Valerian family dignify'd and enobled their name with that of *lactucinii.*

It is indeed of nature more cold and moist than any of the rest; yet less astringent, and so harmless that it may safely be eaten raw in fevers; for it allays heat, bridles choler, extinguishes thirst, excites appetite, kindly nourishes, and, above all, represses vapours, conciliates sleep, mitigates pain; besides the effect it has upon the morals, temperance, and chastity. Galen (whose beloved sallet it was), from its pinguid, subdulcid, and agreeable nature, says it breeds the most laudable blood. No marvel then that they were by the ancients called *sana*, by way of eminency, and so highly valu'd by the great Augustus †, that attributing his recovery of a dangerous sickness to them, 'tis reported he erected a statue and built an altar to this noble plant. And that the most abstemious and excellent Emperor Tacitus ‡ (spending almost nothing at his frugal table in other dainties) was yet so great a friend to lettuce, that he was us'd to say of his prodigality, *somnum se mercari illâ sumptus effusione.* How it was celebrated by Galen we have heard; how he us'd it he tells himself, namely, beginning with lettuce in his younger days, and concluding with it when he grew old, and that to his great advantage. In a word, we meet with nothing among all our crude materials and sallet store so proper to mingle with any of the rest, nor so wholsome to be eaten alone, or in composition, moderately, and with the usual oxelæum of vinegar, pepper, and oyl, which last does not so perfectly agree with the alphange, to which the juice of orange, or limon and sugar, is more desirable. Aristoxenus is reported to have irrigated his lettuce-beds with an oinomelite, or mixture of wine and honey:

* In lactuca occultatum à Venere Adonin cecinit Callimachus, quod allegoricè interpretatus Athenæus illuc referendum putat, quod in Venerem hebetiores fint lactucis vescentes assidue.

† Apud Sueton.

‡ Vopiscus Tacit. For the rest, both of the kinds and vertues of lettuce, see Plin. H. Nat. l. xix. c. 8. and xx. c. 7. Fernel, &c.

and certainly 'tis not for nothing that our garden-lovers and brothers of the sallet have been so exceedingly industrious to cultivate this noble plant, and multiply its species; for, to name a few in present use, we have the alphange of Montpelier (crisp and delicate), the Arabic, Ambervelleres, Belgrade, cabbage, Capuchin, coss-lettuce, curl'd, the Genoa (lasting all the winter), the imperial, lambs or agnine, and lobbs or lop-lettuces, the French minion (a dwarf kind), the oak-leaf, passion, Roman, shell, and Silesian (hard and crimp), esteemed of the best and rarest, with divers more. And here let it be noted, that besides three or four sorts of this plant, and some few of the rest, there was within our remembrance rarely any other salletting serv'd up to the best tables; with unblanch'd endive, succory, purselan (and indeed little other variety), sugar and vinegar being the constant vehicles, without oyl; but now sugar is almost wholly banish'd from all, except the more effeminate palates, as too much palling, and taking from the grateful acid now in use, tho' otherwise not totally to be reproved. Lettuce, boil'd and condited, is sometimes spoken of.

35. Limon, *limonia, citrea mala;* exceedingly refreshing, cordial, &c.; the pulp being blended with the juice, secluding the over-sweet or bitter. See Orange.

36. Mallow, *malva;* the curl'd, emollient and friendly to the ventricle, and so rather medicinal: yet may the tops, well boil'd, be admitted, and the rest (tho' out of use at present) was taken by the poets for all sallets in general. Pythagoras held *malvæ folium sanctissimum;* and we find Epimenides in Plato* at his mallows and asphodel; and indeed it was of old the first dish at table. The Romans had it also *in deliciis, Malvæ salubres corpori* †, approved by Galen ‡ and Disoscorides §; namely, the garden-mallow, by others the wild; but I think both proper rather for the pot than sallet. Nonius supposes the tall rosea, arborescent holi-hocks, that bears the broad flower, for the best, and very laxative ||; but, by reason of their clamminess and lentor, banished from our

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* De Legib. † Hor. epod. 11. ‡ De Simp. Medic. l. vii. § Lib. ii. cap 3.

|| Exoneraturas ventrem mihi villica malvas
Attulit, et varias, quas habet hortus, opes.—Mart. lib. x. 48.

sallet, tho' by some commended and eaten with oyl and vinegar, and some with butter.

Mercury, *bonus Henricus*, English mercury, or *lapathum unctuosum*. See Blitum.

37. Melon, *melo;* to have been reckon'd rather among fruits; and tho' an usual ingredient in our sallet, yet for its transcendent delicacy and flavor, cooling and exhilarating nature (if sweet, dry, weighty, and well-fed), not only superior to all the gourd-kind, but paragon with the noblest productions of the garden. Jos. Scaliger and Casaubon think our melon unknown to the ancients (which others contradict), as yet under the name of cucumbers: but he who reads how artificially they were cultivated, rais'd under glasses, and expos'd to the hot sun (for Tiberius), cannot well doubt of their being the same with ours.

There is also a winter-melon, large, and with black seeds, exceedingly cooling, brought us from abroad, and the hotter climates, where they drink water after eating melons; but in the colder (after all dispute) wine is judg'd the better. That it has indeed by some been accus'd as apt to corrupt in the stomach (as do all things else eaten in excess) is not deny'd: but a perfect good melon is certainly as harmless a fruit as any whatsoever, and may safely be mingled with sallet, in pulp or slices, or more properly eaten by it self, with a little salt and pepper; for a melon which requires sugar to commend it wants of perfection.

Note, That this fruit was very rarely cultivated in England so as to bring it to maturity till Sir George Gardner came out of Spain, I my self remembering when an ordinary melon would have been sold for five or six shillings. The small unripe fruit, when the others are past, may be pickl'd with mango, and are very delicate.

38. Mint, *mentha;* the *angustifolia spicata*, spear-mint; dry and warm, very fragrant, a little press'd, is friendly to the weak stomach, and powerful against all nervous crudities. The gentler tops of the

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And our sweet Poet:

——— Nulla est humaniòr herba,
Nulla magis suavi commoditate bona est,
Omnia tam placidè regerat, blandèque relaxat,
Emollitque vias, nec sinit esse rudes.—Cowley, Plan. l. 4.

orange-mint enter well into our composition, or are grateful alone (as are also the other sorts), with the juice of orange and a little sugar.

39. Mushrooms, *fungi;* by the orator* call'd *terræ,* by Porphyry *deorum filii,* without seed (as produc'd by the midwifry of autumnal thunder-storms, portending the mischief they cause); by the French *champignons,* with all the species of the *boletus,* &c. for being, as some hold, neither root, herb, flower, nor fruit, nor to be eaten crude, should be therefore banish'd entry into our sallet, were I to order the composition, however so highly contended for by many, as the very principal and top of all the rest; whilst I think them tolerable only (at least in this climate), if, being fresh and skilfully chosen, they are accommodated with the nicest care and circumspection; generally reported to have something malignant and noxious in them: nor without cause, from the many sad examples, frequent mischiefs, and funest accidents they have produc'd, not only to particular persons, but to whole families. Exalted indeed they were to the second course of the Cæsarian tables, with the noble title βρῶμα θεῶν, a dainty fit for the gods alone; to whom they sent the Emperor Claudius †, as they have many since, to the other world. But he that reads how Seneca ‡ deplores his lost friend, that brave commander Annæus Serenus, and several other gallant persons with him, who all of them perish'd at the same repast, would be apt to ask with the naturalist § (speaking of this suspicious dainty), *Quæ voluptas tanta ancipitis cibi?* And who indeed would hazard it, so true is that of the Poet,—He that eats mushrooms many times *nil amplius edit,* eats no more perhaps all his life after. What other deterring epithets are given for our caution, βάρη πνιγόεντα μυκήτων, heavy and choaking (Athenæus reporting of the Poet Euripides finding a woman and her three children strangl'd by eating of them), one would think sufficient warning.

Among these comes in the *fungus reticularis,* to be found about London, as at Fulham and other places; whilst at no small charge we send for them into France: as we also do for trufles, pig-nuts, and other

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* Cic. ad Attic.
† Sueton. in Vit. Claudian.
‡ Sen. Ep. lxiii.
§ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxii. c. 23.

subterraneous tubera, which in Italy they fry in oyl, and eat with pepper. They are commonly discovered by a Nasute swine, purposely brought up; being of a chesnut colour, and heady smell, and not seldom found in England, particularly in a park of my Lord Cullen's, at Rushton in Northamptonshire *, and doubtless in other places too, were they sought after. How these rank and provocative excrescences are to be treated † (of themselves insipid enough, and only famous for their kindly taking any pickle or conditure), that they may do the less mischief, we might here set down. But since there be so many ways of dressing them, that I can encourage none to use them, for reasons given (besides that they do not at all concern our safer and innocent sallet furniture), I forbear it; and refer those who long after this beloved ragout, and other *voluptuaria venena* (as Seneca calls them), to what our learned Dr. Martin Lister says ‡ of the many venomous insects harbouring and corrupting in a new found-out species of mushroms had lately *in deliciis*. Those, in the mean time, which are esteemed best, and less pernicious (of which see the Appendix), are such as rise in rich, airy, and dry pasture-grounds §, growing on the staff or pedicule of about an inch thick and high; moderately swelling (target-like), round and firm, being underneath of a pale, saffronish hue, curiously radiated in parallel lines and edges, which becoming either yellow, orange, or black, are to be rejected. But besides what the harvest-months produce, they are likewise rais'd artificially ‖; as at Naples, in their wine-cellars, upon an heap of rank earth, heaped upon a certain supposed stone, but in truth (as the curious and noble Peiresk ¶ tells us he found to be) nothing but an heap of old fungus's, reduc'd and compacted to a stony hardness, upon which they lay earth, and sprinkle it with warm water in which mushroms have been steeped: and in France, by making

* See Philos. Trans. vol. xvii. num. 202. art. 4, by Tancred Robinson, M. D.

† Apitius, lib. vii. cap. 13. ‡ Philos. Transact. vol. vii. num. 89. p. 5116.

§ ——— Pratensibus optima fungis
Natura est: aliis male creditur.—Hor. Sat. lib. ii. sat. 4.

‖ Lord Bacon's Nat. Hist. cent. vii. 547, 548, &c.

¶ Gassendus, in Life of Peiresk, book iv. octavo, 1657, translated from the Latin by Wm. Rand, and dedicated "to the ingenious and learned gentleman, the worshipful *John Evelyn*, esquire." Raderus Mart. lib. iii. epig. 60. *in ponticum*, says, *within four days*.

an hot bed of asses dung, and when the heat is in temper, watering it (as above) well impregnated with the parings and offals of refuse fungus's; and such a bed will last two or three years; and sometimes our common melon-beds afford them, besides other experiments.

40. Mustard, *sinapi;* exceeding hot and mordicant, not only in the seed but leaf also; especially in seedling young plants, like those of radishes (newly peeping out of the bed), is of incomparable effect to quicken and revive the spirits; strengthening the memory, expelling heaviness, preventing the vertiginous palsie, and is a laudable cephalick. Besides, it is an approv'd antiscorbutick; aids concoction, cuts and dissipates phlegmatick humours. In short 'tis the most noble embamma; and so necessary an ingredient to all cold and raw salleting, that it is very rarely, if at all, to be left out. In Italy, in making mustard, they mingle limon and orange peel with the seeds. How the best is made, see hereafter.

Nasturtium Indicum. See Cresses.

41. Nettles, *urtica;* hot, dry, diuretic, solvent; purifies the blood. The buds, and very tender cimæ, a little bruised, are by some eaten raw, by others boil'd, especially in spring-pottage, with other herbs.

42. Onion, *cepa, porrum;* the best are such as are brought us out of Spain, whence they of St. Omers had them, and some that have weigh'd eight pounds. Choose therefore the large, round, and thin skinn'd. Being eaten crude and alone, with oyl, vinegar, and pepper, we own them in sallet not so hot as garlick, nor at all so rank: boil'd, they give a kindly relish, raise appetite, corroborate the stomach, cut phlegm, and profit the asthmatical; but eaten in excess, are said to offend the head and eyes, unless edulcorated with a gentle maceration. In the mean time, as to their being noxious to the sight, is imputable only to the vapour rising from the raw onion, when peeled, which some commend for its purging and quickning that sense. How they are us'd in pottage, boil'd in milk, stew'd, &c. concerns the kitchin. In our cold sallet we supply them with the *porrum sectile* tops of leeks, and eschalots *(ascalonia)*, of gust more exalted, yet not to the degree of garlick; or (by what of later use is much preferr'd) with a seed or two of raccombo, of a yet milder and delicate nature, which, by rubbing the dish only,

imparts its vertue agreeably enough. In Italy they frequently make a sallet of scallions, cives, and chibbols only, season'd with oyl and pepper; and an honest, laborious country-man, with good bread, salt, and a little parsley, will make a contented meal with a roasted onion. How this noble bulb was deified in Egypt * we are told, and that whilst they were building the pyramids there was spent in this root † ninety tun of gold among the workmen. So luscious and tempting it seems they were, that as whole nations have subsisted on them alone, so the Israelites were ready to return to slavery and brick-making for the love of them. Indeed, Hecamedes we find presents them to Patroclus, in Homer, as a regalo; but certainly we are either mistaken in the species (which some will have to be melons), or use poetick licence when we so highly magnify them.

43. Orach, *atriplex;* is cooling, and allays the *pituit* humor. Being set over the fire, neither this, nor lettuce, needs any other water than their own moisture to boil them in, without expression. The tender leaves are mingl'd with other cold salletting, but 'tis better in pottage. See Blitum.

44. Orange, *arantiæ (malum aureum);* moderately dry, cooling, and incisive; sharpens appetite, exceedingly refreshes, and resists putrefaction: we speak of the sub-acid, the sweet and bitter orange being of no use in our sallet. The limon is somewhat more acute, cooling and extinguishing thirst, of all the *οξύβαφα* the best *succedaneum* to vinegar. The very spoils and rinds of orange and limon, being shred and sprinkl'd among the other herbs, correct the acrimony. But they are the tender seedlings from the hot-bed which impart an aromàtic exceedingly grateful to the stomach. Vide Limon.

45. Parsnep, *pastinaca*, carrot; first boil'd, being cold, is of it self a winter-sallet, eaten with oyl, vinegar, &c. and having something of spicy, is by some thought more nourishing than the turnep.

46. Pease, *pisum;* the pod of the sugar-pease, when first beginning

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* O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina.—Juv. Sat. 15.

† Herodotus.

to appear, with the husk and tendrels, affording a pretty acid, enter into the composition, as do those of hops and the vine.

47. Pepper, *piper;* hot and dry in a high degree; of approv'd vertue against all flatulency proceeding from cold and phlegmatic constitutions, and generally all crudities whatsoever; and therefore for being of universal use to correct and temper the cooler herbs, and such as abound in moisture, it is a never to be omitted ingredient of our sallets, provided it be not too minutely beaten (as oft we find it) to an almost impalpable dust, which is very pernicious, and frequently adheres and sticks in the folds of the stomach, where, instead of promoting concoction, it often causes a *cardialgium*, and fires the blood. It should therefore be grosly contus'd only.

Indian capsicum, superlatively hot and burning, is yet by the Africans eaten with salt and vinegar by it self, as an usual condiment; but would be of dangerous consequence with us, being so much more of an acrimonious and terribly biting quality, which by art and mixture is notwithstanding render'd not only safe, but very agreeable in our sallet.

Take the pods, and dry them well in a pan; and when they are become sufficiently hard, cut them into small pieces, and stamp them in a mortar to dust; to each ounce of which add a pound of wheat-flour, fermented with a little levain: kneed and make them into cakes or loaves cut long-wise, in shape of Naples-biscuit. These re-bake a second time, till they are stone-hard: pound them again as before, and serce it through a fine sieve, for a very proper seasoning, instead of vulgar pepper. The mordicancy thus allay'd, be sure to make the mortar very clean, after having beaten Indian capsicum, before you stamp any thing in it else. The green husks, or first peeping buds of the walnut-tree, dry'd to powder, serve for pepper in some places, and so do myrtle-berries.

48. Persley, *petroselinum*, or *apium hortense;* being hot and dry, opens obstructions, is very diuretic, yet nourishing, edulcorated in shifted warm water (the roots especially), but of less vertue than alexanders; nor so convenient in our crude sallet, as when decocted on a medicinal account Some few tops of the tender leaves may yet be admitted; tho' it was of old, we read, never brought to table at all, as sacred to oblivium and the defunct. In the mean time, there being no-

thing more proper for stuffing (farces), and other sauces, we consign it to the olitories. Note, That persley is not so hurtful to the eyes as is reported. See Sellery.

49. Pimpernel, *pimpinella;* eaten by the French and Italians, is our common burnet; of so chearing and exhilarating a quality, and so generally commended, as (giving it admittance into all sallets) 'tis pass'd into a proverb:

L'insalata non è buon, ne bella,
Ove non è la pimpinella.

But a fresh sprig in wine recommends it to us as its most genuine element.

50. Purslain, *portulaca;* especially the golden whilst tender, next the seed-leaves, with the young stalks, being eminently moist and cooling, quickens appetite, asswages thirst, and is very profitable for hot and bilious tempers, as well as sanguine, and generally entertain'd in all our sallets, mingled with the hotter herbs. 'Tis likewise familiarly eaten alone with oyl and vinegar, but with moderation, as having been sometimes found to corrupt in the stomach, which, being pickl'd, 'tis not so apt to do. Some eat it cold, after it has been boil'd, which Dr. Muffett would have in wine, for nourishment.

The shrub halimus is a sort of sea-purslain. The newly peeping leaves (tho' rarely us'd) afford a no unpleasant *acidulæ,* even during winter, if it prove not too severe.

Purslain is accus'd for being hurtful to the teeth, if too much eaten.

51. Radish, *raphanus;* albeit rather medicinal, than so commendably accompanying our sallets (wherein they often slice the larger roots), are much inferior to the young seedling leaves and roots, raised on the monthly hot-bed*, almost the whole year round, affording a very grateful mordacity, and sufficiently attempers the cooler ingredients. The bigger roots (so much desir'd) should be such as being transparent, eat short and quick, without stringiness, and not too biting. These are eaten alone with salt only, as carrying their pepper in them; and were indeed by Dioscorides and Pliny celebrated above all roots whatsoever,

* Παρὰ τὸ ῥᾳδίως φαίνεσθαι, quia tertio à satu die appareat.

insomuch as in the Delphic temple there was *raphanus ex auro dicatus*, a radish of solid gold; and 'tis said of Moschius, that he wrote a whole volume in their praise. Notwithstanding all which, I am sure, the great Hippocrates* utterly condemns them, as *vitiosæ, innatantes ac ægre concoctiles.* And the Naturalist calls it *cibus illiberalis*, fitter for rustics than gentlemens tables. And indeed (besides that they decay the teeth), experience tells us, that as the prince of physicians writes, it is hard of digestion, inimicous to the stomach, causing nauseous eructations, and sometimes vomiting, tho' otherwise diuretic, and thought to repel the vapours of wine, when the wits were at their genial club. Dioscorides and Galen† differ about their eating: one prescribes it before meals; the latter, after. Some macerate the young roots in warm milk, to render them more nourishing.

There is a *raphanus rusticanus*, the Spanish black horse-radish, of a hotter quality, and not so friendly to the head, but a notable antiscorbutic, which may be all the winter, and on that account an excellent ingredient in the composition of mustard; as are also the thin shavings, mingled with our cold herbs. And now, before I have done with this root, for an excellent and universal condiment: Take horse-radish, whilst newly drawn out of the earth, otherwise laid to steep in water a competent time; then grate it on a grater which has no bottom, that so it may pass thro', like a mucilage, into a dish of earthen ware: this temper'd with vinegar, in which a little sugar has been dissolv'd, you have a sauce supplying mustard to the sallet, and serving likewise for any dish beside.

52. Rampion, *rapunculus*, or the esculent campanula; the tender roots eaten in the spring, like those of radishes, but much more nourishing.

53. Rocket, *eruca*, Spanish; hot and dry, to be qualified with lettuce, purcelain, and the rest, &c. See Tarragon.

Roccombo. See Onions.

54. Rosemary, *rosmarinus;* soverainly cephalic, and for the memory, sight, and nerves, incomparable. And tho' not us'd in the leaf with our

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* De Diæta, lib. ii. cap. 25.

† De Aliment. Facult. lib. ii.

sallet furniture, yet the flowers, a little bitter, are always welcome in vinegar; but, above all, a fresh sprig or two in a glass of wine. See Flowers.

55. Sage, *salvia;* hot and dry. The tops of the red, well pick'd and wash'd (being often defiled with venomous slime, and almost imperceptible insects), with the flowers, retain all the noble properties of the other hot plants, more especially for the head, memory, eyes, and all paralytical affections. In short, 'tis a plant endu'd with so many and wonderful properties, as that the assiduous use of it is said to render men immortal. We cannot therefore but allow the tender summities of the young leaves, but principally the flowers in our cold sallet, yet so as not to domineer.

Salsifax, *scorzonera.* See Viper-grass.

56. Sampier, *crithmum;* that growing on the sea-cliffs (as about Dover, &c.), not only pickl'd, but crude and cold, when young and tender (and such as we may cultivate and have in our kitchin-gardens almost the year round), is, in my opinion, for its aromatic and other excellent vertues and effects against the spleen, cleansing the passages, sharpning appetite, &c. so far preferable to most of our hotter herbs and sallet ingredients, that I have often wonder'd it has not been long since propagated in the potagere, as it is in France, from whence I have frequently receiv'd the seeds, which have prosper'd better and more kindly with me than what comes from our own coasts: it does not indeed pickle so well, as being of a more tender stalk and leaf; but, in all other respects for composing sallets, it has nothing like it.

57. Scalions, *ascalonia, cepæ;* the French call them *appetites,* which it notably quickens and stirs up, corrects crudities, and promotes concoction. The Italians steep them in water, mince, and eat them cold, with oyl, vinegar, salt, &c.

58. Scurvy-grass, *cochlearia,* of the garden, but especially that of the sea, is sharp, biting, and hot; of nature like nasturtium, prevalent in the scorbute. A few of the tender leaves may be admitted in our composition. See Nasturtium Indicum.

59. Sellery, *apium Italicum* (and of the petroseline family), was formerly a stranger with us (nor very long since in Italy), is an hot and

more generous sort of Macedonian persley, or smallage. The tender leaves of the blanched stalk do well in our sallet, as likewise the slices of the whiten'd stems, which being crimp and short, first peel'd and slit long wise, are eaten with oyl, vinegar, salt, and pepper; and for its high and grateful taste is ever plac'd in the middle of the grand sallet at our great mens tables and prætors feasts, as the grace of the whole board. Caution is to be given of a small red worm, often lurking in these stalks, as does the green in fennil.

Shallots. See Onion.

60. Skirrets, *sisarum;* hot and moist, corroborating and good for the stomach, exceedingly nourishing, wholsome, and delicate; of all the root kind, not subject to be windy, and so valued by the Emperor Tiberius, that he accepted them for tribute.

This excellent root is seldom eaten raw; but being boil'd, stew'd, roasted under the embers, bak'd in pies, whole, sliced, or in pulp, is very acceptable to all palates. 'Tis reported they were heretofore something bitter. See what culture and education effects!

61. Sorrel, *acetosa;* of which there are divers kinds: the French acetocella, with the round leaf, growing plentifully in the North of England; Roman oxalis; the broad German, &c.; but the best is of Greenland, by nature cold, abstersive, acid, sharpning appetite, asswages heat, cools the liver, strengthens the heart, is an antiscorbutic, resisting putrefaction, and imparting so grateful a quickness to the rest, as supplies the want of orange, limon, and other omphacia, and therefore never to be excluded. Vide Wood-sorrel.

62. Sow-thistle, *sonchus;* of the intybus kind. Galen was us'd to eat it as lettuce; exceedingly welcome to the late Morocco ambassador and his retinue.

63. Sparagus, *asparagus (ab asperitate);* temperately hot and moist, cordial, diuretic, easie of digestion, and next to flesh, nothing more nourishing, as Sim. Sethius, an excellent physician, holds. They are sometimes, but very seldom, eaten raw, with oyl and vinegar; but with more delicacy (the bitterness first exhausted), being so speedily boil'd as not to lose the verdure and agreeable tenderness, which is done by letting the water boil before you put them in. I do not esteem the

Dutch great and larger sort (especially rais'd by the rankness of the beds) so sweet and agreeable as those of a moderate size.

64. Spinach, *spinachia;* of old not us'd in sallets, and the oftner kept out the better: I speak of the crude. But being boil'd to a pulp, and without other water than its own moisture, is a most excellent condiment with butter, vinegar, or limon, for almost all sorts of boiled flesh, and may accompany a sick man's diet. 'Tis laxative and emollient, and therefore profitable for the aged, and (tho' by original a Spaniard) may be had at almost any season, and in all places.

Stone-crop, *sedum minus.* See Trick-madame.

65. Succory, *cichorium, intybus;* erratic and wild, with a narrow dark leaf, different from the *sative,* tho' probably by culture only; and for being very bitter, a little edulcorated with sugar and vinegar, is by some eaten in the summer, and more grateful to the stomach than the palate. See Endive.

66. Tansy, *tanacetum;* hot and cleansing; but in regard of its domineering relish, sparingly mixt with our cold sallet, and much fitter (tho' in very small quantity) for the pan, being qualified with the juices of other fresh herbs, spinach, green corn, violet, primrose-leaves, &c. at entrance of the spring, and then fried brownish, is eaten hot, with the juice of orange and sugar, as one of the most agreeable of all the boil'd herbaceous dishes.

67. Tarragon, *draco herba;* of Spanish extraction, hot and spicy: the tops and young shoots, like those of *rochet,* never to be secluded our composition, especially where there is much lettuce. 'Tis highly cordial and friendly to the head, heart, liver, correcting the weakness of the ventricle, &c.

68. Thistle, *carduus Mariæ;* our Lady's milky or dappl'd thistle, disarm'd of its prickles, is worth esteem. The young stalk, about May, being peel'd and soak'd in water, to extract the bitterness, boil'd or raw, is a very wholsome sallet, eaten with oyl, salt, and pepper: some eat them sodden in proper broath, or bak'd in pies, like the artichoak: but the tender stalk boil'd or fry'd some preferr; both nourishing and restorative.

69. Trick-madame, *sedum minus,* stone-crop; is cooling and moist,

grateful to the stomach. The *cimata* and tops, when young and tender, dress'd as purselane, is a frequent ingredient in our cold sallet.

70. Turnep, *rapum;* moderately hot and moist: *napus;* the long navet is certainly the most delicate of them, and best nourishing. Pliny speaks of no fewer than six sorts, and of several colours, some of which were suspected to be artificially tinged. But with us, the yellow is preferr'd; by others the red Bohemian. But of whatever kind, being sown upon the hot-bed, and no bigger than seedling radish, they do excellently in composition; as do also the stalks of the common turnep, when first beginning to bud.

And here should not be forgotten, that wholsome, as well as agreeable sort of bread we are taught * to make, and of which we have eaten at the greatest persons tables, hardly to be distinguish'd from the best of wheat.

Let the turneps first be peel'd, and boil'd in water till soft and tender; then strongly pressing out the juice, mix them together, and when dry (beaten or pounded very fine), with their weight of wheat-meal, season it as you do other bread, and knead it up; then letting the dough remain a little to ferment, fashion the paste into loaves, and bake it like common bread.

Some roast turneps in a paper under the embers, and eat them with sugar and butter.

71. Vine, *vitis;* the capreols, tendrels, and claspers (like those of the hop, &c.), whilst very young, have an agreeable acid, which may be eaten alone, or with other sallet.

72. Viper-grass, *tragopogon, scorzonera, salsifex,* &c.; tho' medicinal, and excellent against the palpitation of the heart, faintings, obstruction of the bowels, &c. are besides a very sweet and pleasant sallet; being laid to soak out the bitterness, then peel'd, may be eaten raw, or condited; but best of all stew'd with marrow, spice, wine, &c. as artichoak, skirrets, &c. sliced or whole. They likewise may bake, fry, or boil them; a more excellent root there is hardly growing.

73. Wood-sorrel, *trifolium acetosum,* or *lujula,* of the nature of other sorrels.

* Philos. Trans. vol. xvii. num. 205, p. 970.

To all which might we add sundry more, formerly had in *deliciis*, since grown obsolete or quite neglected with us; as amongst the noblest bulbs that of the tulip, a root of which has been valued not to eat, but for the flower (and yet eaten by mistake), at more than an hundred pounds. The young fresh bulbs are sweet and high of taste.

The *asphodil*, or daffodil; a sallet so rare in Hesiod's days, that Lobel thinks it the parsnep, tho' not at all like it; however, it was (with the mallow) taken anciently for any edule-root.

The *ornitholagum* roasted, as they do chestnuts, is eaten by the Italians, the wild yellow especially, with oyl, vinegar, and pepper. And so the small tuberous roots of *gramen amygdalosum*, which they also roast, and make an emulsion of, to use in broaths, as a great restorative. The *oxylapathum*, us'd of old, in the time of Galen was eaten frequently. As also *dracontium*, with the mordicant *arum Theophrasti*, which Dodonæus teaches how to dress. Nay, divers of the satyrions, which some condited with sugar, others boil'd in milk for a great nourisher, now discarded. But what think we of the *cicuta*, which there are who reckon among sallet herbs? But whatever it is in any other country, 'tis certainly mortiferous in ours. To these add the *viola matronalis*, *radix lunaria*, &c. nay, the green popy, by most accounted among the deadly poysons. How cautious then ought our sallet-gatherers to be in reading ancient authors, lest they happen to be impos'd on, where they treat of plants that are familiarly eaten in other countries, and among other nations and people of more robust and strong constitutions; besides the hazard of being mistaken in the names of divers simples, not as yet fully agreed upon among the learned in botany.

There are besides several remaining, which, tho' abdicated here with us, find entertainment still in foreign countries; as the large heliotrope and sun-flower (ere it comes to expand and shew its golden face), which, being dress'd as the artichoak, is eaten for a dainty. This I add as a new discovery. I once made macaroons with the ripe blanch'd seeds, but the turpentine did so domineer over all, that it did not answer expectation. The *radix personata* mounting with their young heads, *lysimachia siliquosa glabra minor*, when fresh and tender, begins to come into the sallet-tribe. The pale whiter popy is eaten by the Ge-

nouese: by the Spaniards, the tops of wormwood, with oyl alone, and without so much as bread; profitable indeed to the stomach, but offensive to the head: as is also coriander and rue, which Galen was accustom'd to eat raw, and by it self, with oyl and salt, as exceedingly grateful, as well as wholsome, and of great vertue against infection. Pliny, I remember, reports it to be of such effect for the preservation of sight, that the painters of his time us'd to devour a great quantity of it. And it is still by the Italians frequently mingled among their sallets. The *lapatha personata* (common burdock) comes now and then to the best tables about April, and, when young, before the burrs and clots appear, being strip'd, and the bitterness soaked out, treated as the chardoon, is eaten in poiverade; some also boil them. More might here be reckon'd up, but these may suffice; since as we find some are left off, and gone out, so others be introduc'd, and come in their room, and that in much greater plenty and variety than was ever known by our ancestors. The cucumber it self, now so universally eaten, being accounted little better than poyson, even within our memory, as already noted.

To conclude, and after all that has been said of plants and salletting, formerly in great esteem (but since obsolete and quite rejected), what if the exalted juice of the ancient *silphium* should come in, and challenge the precedency? It is a plant* formerly so highly priz'd and rare, for the richness of its taste and other vertues, that as it was dedicated to Apollo, and hung up in his temple at Delphi, so we read of one single root brought to the Emperor Nero for an extraordinary present, and the drug so esteem'd, that the Romans had long before amass'd a quantity of it, and kept it in the treasury, till Julius Cæsar robb'd it, and took this away, as a thing of mighty value: in a word, it was of that account that as a sacred plant those of the Cyrenaic Africa honour'd the very figure of it, by stamping it on the reverse of their coin†; and when they would commend a thing for its worth to the skies, *βάττου σίλφιον* grew into a proverb, Battus having been the founder of the city Cyrene, near which it only

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. 3. et xx. c. 22. See Jo. Tzetzes Chiliadas. lib. vi. cap. 48. et lib. xvii. cap. 119.

† Spanheim, de Usu et Præst. Numis. Dissert. 4to. It was sometimes also the reverse of Jupiter Hammon.

grew. 'Tis indeed contested among the learned botano-sophists, whether this plant was not the same with *laserpitium*, and the laser it yields the odoriferous *benzoin**? But doubtless, had we the true and genuine *silphium* (for it appears to have been often sophisticated, and a spurious sort brought into Italy), it would soon recover its pristine reputation, and that it was not so celebrated for nothing extraordinary; since, besides its medicinal vertue, it was a wonderful corroborater of the stomach, a restorer of lost appetite and masculine vigour, and that they made use of it almost in every thing they eat.

But should we now really tell the world that this precious juice is by many thought to be no other than the fœtid assa †, our nicer sallet-eaters (who yet bestow as odious an epithet on the vulgar garlick) would cry out upon it as intolerable, and perhaps hardly believe it: but as Aristophanes has brought it in, and sufficiently describ'd it, so the Scholiast upon the place puts it out of controversy; and that they made use both of the leaves, stalks, and extract especially, as we now do garlick, and other haut-gouts, as altogether nauseous. In the mean time, Garcius, Bontius, and others, assure us, that the Indians at this day universally sauce their viands with it; and the Bramins, who eat no flesh at all, inrich their sallets by constantly rubbing the dishes with it. Nor are some of our own skilful cooks ignorant how to condite and use it, with the applause of those who, ignorant of the secret, have admir'd the richness of the gust it has imparted, when it has been substituted instead of all our *cipollati* and other seasonings of that nature.

And thus have we done with the various species of all such esculents as may properly enter the composition of our acetaria and cold sallet. And if I have briefly touch'd upon their nature, degrees, and primary qualities, which intend or remit, as to the scale of heat, cold, dryness, moisture, &c. (which is to be understood according to the different tex-

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* ——— Οὐδ' ἄν εἰ δοίης γέ μοι
Τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ Βάττου σίλφιον.—Aristoph. in Pluto. act. iv. sc. 3.

† Of which some would have it a coarser sort *inamœni odoris*, as the same Comedian names it in his Equites, pp. 239 and 240, edit. Basil. See likewise this discuss'd, together with its properties, most copiously, in Jo. Budæus a Stapul. Comment in Theophrast. lib. vi. cap. 1. and Bauhin. Hist. Plant. lib. xxvii. cap. 53.

ture of their component particles), it has not been without what I thought necessary for the instruction of the gatherer and sallet-dresser, how he ought to choose, sort, and mingle his materials and ingredients together.

What care and circumspection should attend the choice and collection of sallet herbs has been partly shew'd. I can therefore by no means approve of that extravagant fancy of some, who tell us, that a fool is as fit to be the gatherer of a sallet as a wiser man; because, say they, one can hardly choose amiss, provided the plants be green, young, and tender, where-ever they meet with them. But sad experience shews how many fatal mistakes have been committed by those who took the deadly *cicutæ*, hemlocks, aconits, &c. for garden persley and parsneps; the *myrrhis sylvestris*, or cow-weed, for *chœrophilium* (chervil); *thapsia* for fennel; the wild *chondrilla* for succory; dogs-mercury instead of spinach; *papaver corniculatum luteum*, and horn'd poppy, for eringo; *œnanthe aquatica* for the palustral apium, and a world more, whose dire effects have been many times sudden death, and the cause of mortal accidents to those who have eaten of them unwittingly. But supposing some of those wild and unknown plants should not prove so deleterious and unwholsome *; yet may others of them annoy the head, brain, and *genus nervosum*, weaken the eyes, offend the stomach, affect the liver, torment the bowels, and discover their malignity in dangerous and dreadful symptoms: and therefore, such plants as are rather medicinal than nourishing and refreshing are studiously to be rejected. So highly necessary it is, that what we sometimes find in old books concerning edules of other countries and climates (frequently call'd by the names of such as are wholsome in ours, and among us), mislead not the unskilful gatherer; to prevent which we read of divers Popes and Emperors that had sometimes learned physicians for their master-cooks. I cannot therefore but exceedingly approve of that charitable advice of Mr. Ray †, who thinks it the interest of mankind, that all persons should be caution'd of adventuring upon unknown herbs and plants to their prejudice.

* Vide Cardanum, de usu Cibi.

† Philos. Trans. vol. xx. numb. 238.

Of such I say, with our excellent Poet * (a little chang'd),

Happy from such conceal'd, if still do lie,
Of roots and herbs the unwholsome luxury.

The illustrious and learned Columna has, by observing what insects † did usually feed on, make conjectures of the nature of the plants. But I should not so readily adventure upon it on that account, as to its wholsomness: for tho' indeed one may safely eat of a peach or abricot, after a snail has been taster, I question whether it might be so of all other fruits and herbs attack'd by other insects; nor would one conclude the *hyoscyamus* harmless, because the *cimex* feeds upon it, as the learned Dr. Lister has discover'd. Notice should therefore be taken what eggs of insects are found adhering to the leaves of sallet-herbs, and frequently cleave so firmly to them as not easily to be wash'd off, and so not being taken notice of, passing for accidental and harmless spots only, may yet produce very ill effects.

Grillus, who according to the doctrine of transmigration (as Plutarch tells us) had in his turn been a beast; discourses how much better he fed and liv'd than when he was turn'd to man again, as knowing then what plants were best and most proper for him: whilst men, sarcophagists (flesh eaters), in all this time were yet to seek. And 'tis indeed very evident that cattle and other *πάνφαγα* and herbaceous animals which feed on plants are directed by their smell, and accordingly make election of their food; but men (besides the smell and taste) have, or should have reason, experience, and the aids of natural philosophy to be their guides in this matter. We have heard of plants that (like the Basilisk) kill and infect by looking on them only ‡; and some by the touch. The truth is, there 's need of all the senses to determine analogically concerning the vertues and properties even of the leaves alone of many

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* Cowley.

Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ
Κρύπτουσι γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ Βίον ἀνθρώποισι.—Hesiod. Opera et Dies. v. 11.

† Concerning this of insects, see Mr. Ray's Hist. Plant. lib. i. cap. 24.

‡ The poyson'd weeds. "I have seen a man who was so poyson'd with it, that the skin peel'd off his face, and yet he never touch'd it, onely looked on it as he pass'd by." Mr. Stafford, Philos. Transact. vol. III. num. xl. p. 794.

edule plants. The most eminent principles of near the whole tribe of sallet vegetables inclining rather to acid and sowre than to any other quality, especially salt, sweet or luscious. There is therefore skill and judgment required how to suit and mingle our sallet ingredients so as may best agree with the constitution of the (vulgarly reputed) humors of those who either stand in need of, or affect these refreshments, and by so adjusting them, that as nothing should be suffer'd to domineer, so should none of them lose their genuine gust, savour, or vertue. To this end,

The cooler, and moderately refreshing, should be chosen to extinguish thirst, attemper the blood, repress vapours, &c.

The hot, dry, aromatic, cordial and friendly to the brain, may be qualify'd by the cold and moist: the bitter and stomachical, with the subacid and gentler herbs: the mordicant and pungent, and such as repress or discuss flatulency, revive the spirits, and aid concoction, with such as abate and take off the keenness, mollify and reconcile the more harsh and churlish: the mild and insipid, animated with piquant and brisk: the astringent and binders, with such as are laxative and deobstruct; the over-sluggish, raw, and unactive, with those that are eupeptic and promote concoction. There are pectorals for the breast and bowels. Those of middle nature, according as they appear to be more or less specific, and as their characters (tho' briefly) are describ'd in our foregoing catalogue; for notwithstanding it seem in general that raw sallets and herbs have experimentally been found to be the most soveraign diet in that endemial (and indeed with us epidemical and almost universal) contagion the scorbute, to which we of this nation, and most other islanders, are obnoxious; yet, since the nasturtia are singly, and alone as it were, the most effectual and powerful agents in conquering and expugning that cruel enemy, it were enough to give the sallet-dresser direction how to choose, mingle, and proportion his ingredients, as well as to shew what remedies there are contain'd in our magazine of sallet-plants upon all occasions, rightly marshal'd and skilfully apply'd. So as (with our sweet Cowley *),

* Cowley's Garden, stanza 8, somewhat altered by Evelyn.

If thro' the strong and beauteous fence
Of temperance and of innocence,
And wholsome labours, and a quiet mind,
Diseases passage find;
They must not think here to assail
A land unarm'd, or without guard,
They must fight for it, and dispute it hard,
Before they can prevail;
Scarce any plant is used here
Which 'gainst some aile a weapon does not bear.

We have said how necessary it is, that in the composure of a sallet every plant should come in to bear its part, without being-overpower'd by some herb of a stronger taste, so as to endanger the native sapor and vertue of the rest, but fall into their places, like the notes in music, in which there should be nothing harsh or grăting: and tho' admitting some discords (to distinguish and illustrate the rest) striking in the more sprightly, and sometimes gentler notes, reconcile all dissonancies, and melt them into an agreeable composition. Thus the comical master-cook, introduc'd by Damoxenus, when asked *πῶς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς συμφονία*, (what harmony there was in meats?) the very same (says he) that a *diatessaron, diapente,* and *diapason* have one to another in a consert of music; and that there was as great care requir'd not to mingle *sapores minime consentientes* *, jarring and repugnant tastes, looking upon him as a lamentable ignorant who should be no better vers'd in Democritus. The whole scene is very diverting, as Athenæus presents it; and to the same sense Macrobius, Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 1. In short, the main skill of the artist lies in this:

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* Sapores minime consentientes *καὶ συμπλεκομένας οὐχὶ συμφώνους ἀφάς*: hæc despicere ingeniosi est artificis: neither did the artist mingle his provisions without extraordinary study and consideration: *Ἀλλὰ μίξας πάντα κατὰ συμφωνίαν*. Horum singulis seorsum assumptis, tu expedito: sic ego tanquam oraculo jubeo.——Itaque literarum ignarum coquum, tu cùm videris, & qui Democriti scripta omnia non perlegerit, vel potius, impromptu non habeat, eum deride ut futilem: ac illum mercede conducito, qui Epicuri canonem usu plane didicerit, &c. as it follows in the Gastronomia of Archestratus, Athen. lib. xxiii. Such another braggadocio cook Horace describes,

Nec sibi cœnarum quivis temerè arroget artem,
Non prius exactâ tenui ratione saporum.—Sat. lib. ii. sat. 4.

What choice to choose, for delicacy best;
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes not well join'd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste, upheld by kindliest change.

As our Paradisian Bard* introduces Eve, dressing of a sallet for her angelical guest.

Thus, by the discreet choice and mixture of the oxoleon (oyl, vinegar, salt, &c.) the composition is perfect, so as neither the prodigal, niggard, nor insipid, should (according to the Italian rule) prescribe, in my opinion; since one may be too profuse, the other over-saving †, and the third (like himself) give it no relish at all: it may be too sharp, if it exceed a grateful acid; too insulse and flat, if the profusion be extream. From all which it appears, that a wise man is the proper composer of an excellent sallet; and how many transcendencies belong to an accomplish'd sallet-dresser, so as to emerge an exact critic indeed. He should be skill'd in the degrees, terms, and various species of tastes, according to the scheme set us down in the tables of the learned Dr. Grew ‡, to which I refer the curious.

'Tis moreover to be consider'd, that edule plants are not in all their tastes and vertues alike: for as Providence has made us to consist of different parts and members, both internal and external, so require they different juices to nourish and supply them: wherefore, the force and activity of some plants lie in the root; and even the leaves of some bitter roots are sweet, and *è contra*: of others in the stem, leaves, buds, flowers, &c. Some exert their vigour without decoction; others, being a little press'd or contus'd; others again, raw, and best in consort; some alone, and *per se*, without any σκευασία, preparation, or mixture at all. Care, therefore, must be taken by the collector, that what he gathers answer to these qualities, and that as near as he can, they consist (I speak of the cruder salleting) of the *oluscula*, and *ex foliis pubescen-*

* Milton's Paradise Lost, book v. l. 333.

† ——— Qui
Tingat olus siccum muriâ vafer in calice emptâ,
Ipse sacrum irrorans piper.—Pers. sat. vi.

‡ Dr. Grew, Lecture vi. chap. 2, 3, read before the Royal Society.

tibus, or (as Martial calls them) *prototomi rudes* *, and very tenderest parts, germs, young buds, and even first rudiments of their several plants; such as we sometimes find in the craws of the wood-culver, stock-dove, partridge, pheasants, and other upland fowl, where we have a natural sallet, pick'd, and almost dress'd to our hands.

I. Preparatory to the dressing therefore, let your herby ingredients be exquisitely cull'd, and cleans'd of all worm-eaten, slimy, canker'd, dry, spotted, or any ways vitiated leaves. And then, that they be rather discreetly sprinkl'd, than over-much soaked with spring-water, especially lettuce, which Dr. Muffet † thinks impairs their vertue; but this, I suppose he means of the cabbage-kind, whose heads are sufficiently protected by the outer leaves which cover it. After washing, let them remain a while in the cullender, to drain the superfluous moisture: and lastly, swing them altogether gently in a clean course napkin, and so they will be in perfect condition to receive the intinctus following.

II. That the oyl, an ingredient so indispensibly and highly necessary as to have obtain'd the name of *cibarium* (and with us of sallet-oyl) be very clean, not high-colour'd, nor yellow, but with an eye rather of a pallid olive green, without smell, or the least touch of rancid, or indeed of any other sensible taste or scent at all; but smooth, light, and pleasant upon the tongue, such as the genuine omphacine, and native Lucca olives afford, fit to allay the tartness of vinegar and other acids, yet gently to warm and humectate where it passes. Some who have an aversion to oyl substitute fresh butter in its stead; but 'tis so exceedingly clogging to the stomach as by no means to be allow'd.

III. That the vinegar, and other liquid acids, perfectly clear, neither sowre, vapid, or spent, be of the best wine vinegar, whether distill'd, or otherwise aromatiz'd, and impregnated with the infusion of clove-gillyflowers, elder, roses, rosemary, nasturtium, &c. inrich'd with the vertues of the plant.

A verjuice not unfit for sallet is made by a grape of that name, or the green immature clusters of most other grapes, press'd, and put into a small vessel to ferment.

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* Epigram. lib. x. 48. ver. 17.

† Muffet, de Diæta, c. 23.

IV. That the salt (*aliorum condimentorum condimentum*, as Plutarch calls it), detersive, penetrating, quickning (and so great a resister of putrefaction, and universal use, as to have sometimes merited divine epithets), be of the brightest bay-salt, moderately dried and contus'd, as being the least corrosive: but of this, as of sugar also, which some mingle with the salt (as warming without heating), if perfectly refin'd, there would be no great difficulty, provided none, save ladies, were of the mess; whilst the perfection of sallets, and that which gives them the name, consists in the grateful saline acid point, temper'd as is directed, and which we find to be most esteem'd by judicious palates. Some, in the mean time, have been so nice and luxuriously curious as for the heightning, and (as they affect to speak) giving the utmost *poignant* and *relevée*, in lieu of our vulgar salt, to recommend and cry up the essential salts and spirits of the most sanative vegetables, or such of the alcalizate and fixt, extracted from the calcination of baulm, rosemary, wormwood, scurvy-grass, &c. affirming, that without the gross plant we might have healing, cooling, generous, and refreshing cordials, and all the *materia medica*, out of the salt-cellar only. But, to say no more of this impertinence as to salt of vegetables, many indeed there be who reckon them not much unlike in operation, however different in taste, crystals, and figure; it being a question whether they at all retain the virtues and faculties of their simples, unless they could be made without calcination. Franciscus Redi gives us his opinion of this, in a process how they are to be prepar'd; and so does our learned Doctor* (whom we lately nam'd), whether lixivial, essential, marine, or other factitious salts of plants, with their qualities, and how they differ. But since 'tis thought all fixed salts, made the common way, are little better than our common salt, let it suffice, that our sallet-salt be of the best ordinary bay-salt, clean, bright, dry, and without clamminess.

Of sugar (by some call'd Indian salt), as it is rarely us'd in sallet, it should be of the best refined, white, hard, close, yet light and sweet as the Madeiras; nourishing, preserving, cleansing, delighting the taste, and preferable to honey for most uses.—Note, That both this, salt, and

* Dr. Grew, Anat. Plant. lib. 1. sect. iv. cap. 1, &c. See also Phil. Transact. num. 107. vol. ix.

vinegar, are to be proportion'd to the constitution, as well as what is said of the plants themselves; the one for cold, the other for hot stomachs.

V. That the mustard (another noble ingredient) be of the best Tewksbury, or else compos'd of the soundest and weightiest Yorkshire seed, exquisitely sifted, winnow'd, and freed from the husks, a little, not over-much) dry'd by the fire, temper'd to the consistence of a pap with vinegar, in which shavings of the horse-radish have been steep'd; then, cutting an onion, and putting it into a small earthen gally-pot, or some thick glass of that shape, pour the mustard over it, and close it very well with a cork. There be who preserve the flower and dust of the bruised seed in a well-stopped glass, to temper, and have it fresh when they please. But what is yet by some esteem'd beyond all these is compos'd of the dried seeds of the Indian nasturtium, reduc'd to powder, finely bolted, and mixt with a little levain, and so from time to time made fresh, as indeed all other mustard should be.

Note, That the seeds are pounded in a mortar, or bruis'd with a polish'd cannon-bullet, in a large wooden bowl-dish, or, which is most preferr'd, ground in a quern contriv'd for this purpose only.

VI. That the pepper (white or black) be not bruis'd to too small a dust, which, as we caution'd, is very prejudicial. And here let me mention the root of the minor pimpinella, or small burnet saxifrage, which, being dried, is by some extoll'd beyond all other peppers, and more wholsom.

Of other strewings and aromatizers which may likewise be admitted to inrich our sallet we have already spoken, where we mention orange and limon peel; to which may also be added, Jamaica-pepper, juniper-berries, &c. as of singular vertue.

Nor here should I omit (the mentioning at least of) saffron, which the German housewives have a way of forming into balls, by mingling it with a little honey, which, throughly dried, they reduce to powder, and sprinkle it over their sallets for a noble cordial. Those of Spain and Italy, we know, generally make use of this flower, mingling its golden tincture with almost every thing they eat; but its being so apt to prevail above every thing with which 'tis blended, we little incourage its admittance into our sallet.

VII. That there be the yolks of fresh and new-laid eggs, boil'd moderately hard, to be mingl'd and mash'd with the mustard, oyl, and vinegar; and part to cut into quarters, and eat with the herbs.

VIII. That the knife with which the sallet herbs are cut, according to the super-curious (especially oranges, limons, &c.), be of silver, and by no means of steel, which all acids are apt to corrode, and retain a metalic relish of.

IX. Ninthly and lastly, that the *saladiere* (sallet-dishes), be of porcelane, or of the Holland delft-ware; neither too deep nor shallow, according to the quantity of the sallet ingredients; pewter, or even silver, not at all so well agreeing with oyl and vinegar, which leave their several tinctures. And note, that there ought to be one of the dishes in which to beat and mingle the liquid vehicles; and a second to receive the crude herbs in, upon which they are to be pour'd; and then with a fork and spoon kept continually stirr'd, till all the furniture be equally moisten'd. Some, who are husbands of their oyl, pour at first the oyl alone, as more apt to communicate and diffuse its slipperiness, than when it is mingled and beaten with the acids, which they pour on last of all; and 'tis incredible how small a quantity of oyl (in this quality like the gilding of wyer) is sufficient to imbue a very plentiful assembly of sallet-herbs.

The sallet-gatherer likewise should be provided with a light and neatly made withy Dutch basket, divided into several partitions.

Thus instructed and knowing in the apparatus, the species, proportions, and manner of dressing, according to the several seasons, you have in the following table.

It being one of the inquiries of the noble Mr. Boyle *, what herbs were proper and fit to make sallets with, and how best to order them? we have here (by the assistance of Mr. London, his Majesty's principal gardner) reduc'd them to a competent number, not exceeding thirty-five, but which may be vary'd and inlarg'd, by taking-in, or leaving out, any other sallet-plant mention'd in the foregoing list, under these three or four heads.

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* Philosoph. Transact. vol. III. num. xl. p. 799.

But all these sorts are not to be had at the very same time, and therefore we have divided them into the Quarterly Seasons, each containing and lasting three months.

Note, That by parts is to be understood a *pugil;* which is no more than one does usually take up between the thumb and the two next fingers. By *fascicule* a reasonable full grip, or handful.

Species.	Ordering and Culture.
Blanch'd.	
1. Endive,	Tied-up to blanch.
2. Cichory,	Earth'd-up.
3. Sellery,	
4. Sweet-fennel,	
5. Rampions,	
6. Roman	Tied-up to blanch.
7. Cosse	Tied close up.
8. Silesian	Pome and blanch of themselves.
9. Cabbage	
Green Unblanch'd.	
10. Lob-lettuce,	Leaves, all of a middling size.
11. Corn-Sallet,	
12. Purslane,	
13. Cresses, broad,	Seed-leaves, and the next to them.
14. Spinach, curl'd,	
15. Sorrel, French,	The fine young leaves only, with the first shoots.
16. Sorrel, Greenland,	
17. Radish,	Only the tender young leaves.
18. Cresses,	The seed-leaves, and those only next them.
19. Turnep,	The seed-leaves only.
20. Mustard,	
21. Scurvy-grass,	
22. Chervil,	The young leaves immediately after the seedlings.
23. Burnet,	
24. Rocket, Spanish,	
25. Persly,	
26. Tarragon,	The tender shoots and tops.
27. Mints,	
28. Sampier,	The young tender leaves and shoots.
29. Balm,	
30. Sage, Red,	
31. Shalots,	The tender young leaves.
32. Cives and Onion,	
33. Nasturtium, Indian,	The flowers and bud-flowers.
34. Rampion, Belgrade,	The seed-leaves and young tops.
35. Trip-madame,	

Month.	Ordering and Culture.	Species.	Proportion.
Jan. and Feb. and March.	Blanch'd, as before.	Rampions,	10
		Endive,	2
		Succory,	5
		Fennel, sweet,	10
		Sellery,	4
			Roots in number.
		Lamb-lettuce,	A pugil of each.
		Lob-lettuce,	
		Radish,	Three parts ea.
		Cresses,	
		Turneps,	Of each one part.
		Mustard Seedlings,	
		Scurvy-grass,	
		Spinach,	Two parts.
	Green and unblanch'd.	Sorrel, Greenland,	One part of ea.
		Sorrel, French,	
		Chervill, sweet,	
		Burnet,	
		Rocket,	
		Tarragon,	Twenty large leaves.
		Balm,	One small part of each.
		Mint,	
		Sampier,	
		Shalots,	Very few.
		Cives,	
		Cabbage, Winter,	Two pugils or small handfuls.
April, May, and	Blanch'd	Lop,	Of each a pugil.
		Silesian winter Lettuce.	
		Roman winter	
	Green herbs unblanch'd.	Radishes,	Three parts.
		Cresses,	Two parts.
		Purselan,	1 fasciat, or pretty full gripe.
	Note, That the young	Sorrel, French,	Two parts.
		Sampier,	One part.

Month.	Ordering and Culture.	Species.	Proportion.
June.	seedling leaves of Orange & Limon may all these months be mingled with the Sallet.	Onions, young,	Six parts.
		Sage-tops, red,	Two parts.
		Persley,	Of each one part.
		Cresses, Indian,	
		Lettuce, Belgrade,	
		Trip-madame,	
		Chervil, sweet	
		Burnet,	Two parts.
July, and Aug. and Sept.	Blanch'd, and may be eaten by themselves with some Nasturtium-flowers.	Silesian Lettuce,	One whole Lettuce.
		Roman Lettuce,	Two parts.
		Cress,	
		Cabbage,	Four parts.
		Cresses,	Two parts.
		Nasturtium,	
		Purslane,	One part.
		Lop-lettuce,	
	Green herbs by themselves, or mingl'd with the blanch'd.	Belgrade, or Crumpen-lettuce,	Two parts.
		Tarragon,	One part.
		Sorrel, French,	Two parts of each.
		Burnet,	
		Trip-madame,	One part.
Oct. Nov. and Decem.	Blanch'd	Endive,	Two if large, four if small, stalk and part of the root and tenderest leaves.
		Sellery,	
		Lop-lettuce,	An handful of each.
		Lambs-lettuce,	
		Radish,	Three parts.
		Cresses,	Two parts.
	Green	Turneps,	One part of ea.
		Mustard Seedlings,	
		Cresses, broad,	Two parts of each.
		Spinach,	

FURTHER DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE PROPER SEASONS FOR THE GATHERING, COMPOSING, AND DRESSING OF A SALLET.

And first, as to the season, both plants and roots are then properly to be gather'd, and in prime when most they abound with juice and in vigour. Some in the spring, or a little anticipating it before they blossom, or are in full flower. Some in the autumnal months; which later season many preferr, the sap of the herb, tho' not in such exuberance, yet as being then better concocted, and so render'd fit for salleting, 'till the spring begins afresh to put forth new and tender shoots and leaves.

This, indeed, as to the root, newly taken out of the ground is true; and therefore should such have their germination stopt the sooner. The approaching and prevailing cold, both maturing and impregnating them; as does heat the contrary, which now would but exhaust them. But for those other esculents and herbs imploy'd in our composition of sallets, the early spring, and ensuing months (till they begin to mount, and prepare to seed) is certainly the most natural, and kindly season to collect and accommodate them for the table. Let none then consult Culpeper, or the *figure-flingers*, to inform them when the governing planet is in its exaltation; but look upon the plants themselves, and judge of their vertues by their own complexions.

Moreover, in gathering, respect is to be had to their proportions, as provided for in the Table under that head, be the quality whatsoever. For tho' there is, indeed, nothing more wholsome than lettuce and mustard for the head and eyes; yet either of them eaten in excess, were highly prejudicial to them both. Too much of the first extreamly debilitating and weakning the ventricle, and hastning the further decay of sickly teeth: and of the second, the optic nerves, and sight itself; the like may be said of all the rest. I conceive, therefore, a prudent person, well acquainted with the nature and properties of sallet-herbs, &c. to be both the fittest gatherer and composer too; which yet will

require no great cunning, after once he is acquainted with our table and catalogue.

We purposely, and *in transitu* only, take notice here of the pickl'd, muriated, or otherwise prepared herbs; excepting some such plants, and proportions of them, as are of hard digestion, and not fit to be eaten altogether crude (of which in the Appendix), and among which I reckon ash-keys, broom-buds and pods, haricos, gurkems, olives, capers, the buds and seeds of nasturtia, young wall-nuts, pine-apples, eringo, cherries; cornelians, berberries, &c. together with several stalks, roots, and fruits; ordinary pot-herbs, anis, cistus hortorum, horminum, pulegium, Satureia, thyme; the intire family of pulse and legumena; or other sauces, pies, tarts, omlets, tansie, farces, &c. condites and preserves with sugar, by the hand of ladies; tho' they are all of them the genuine production of the garden, and mention'd in our kalendar, together with their culture; whilst we confine our selves to such plants and esculenta as we find at hand; delight our selves to gather, and are easily prepar'd for an extemporary collation, or to usher in and accompany other (more solid tho' haply not more agreeable) dishes, is the custom.

But there now starts up a question, whether it were better, or more proper, to begin with sallets, or end and conclude with them? Some think the harder meats should first be eaten for better concoction; others, those of easiest digestion, to make way and prevent obstruction; and this makes for our sallets, *horarii*, and *fugaces fructus* (as they call 'em), to be eaten first of all, as agreeable to the general opinion of the great Hippocrates, and Galen, and of Celsus before him. And therefore the French do well to begin with their herbaceous pottage, and for the cruder, a reason is given:

> Prima tibi dabitur ventri lactuca movendo
> Utilis, & Poris fila resecta suis *.

And tho' this custom came in about Domitian's time †, ὁ μεν ἀρχαῖοι, they anciently did quite the contrary,

> Gratáque nobilium lactuca ciborum ‡.

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* Mart. Epig. lib. xi. 39.

† Athen. l. 2. Of which change of diet, see Plut. iv. Sympos. 9. Plinii, Epist. 1. ad Eretrium.

‡ Virg. Moreto.

But of later times, they were constant at the *ante-cœnia*, eating plentifully of sallet, especially of lettuce, and more refrigerating herbs. Nor without cause. For drinking liberally, they were found to expell and allay the fumes and vapors of the genial compotation, the spirituous liquor gently conciliating sleep. Besides, that being of a crude nature, more dispos'd and apt to fluctuate, corrupt, and disturb a surcharg'd stomach, they thought convenient to begin with sallets, and innovate the ancient usage.

——Nam lactuca innatat acri
Post vinum stomacho———*

For if on drinking wine you lettuce eat,
It floats upon the stomach——

The Spaniards, notwithstanding, eat but sparingly of herbs at dinner, especially lettuce, beginning with fruit, even before the olio and hot-meats come to the table; drinking their wine pure, and eating the best bread in the world; so as it seems the question still remains undecided with them,

Claudere quæ cœnas lactuca solebat avorum,
Dic mihi, cur nostras inchoat illa dapes? †

The sallet, which of old came in at last,
Why now with it begin we our repast?

And now since we mention'd fruit, there rises another scruple: Whether apples, pears, abricots, cherries, plums, and other tree, and ort-yard-fruit, are to be reckon'd among salleting; and when likewise most seasonably to be eaten? But as none of these do properly belong to our catalogue of herbs and plants, to which this discourse is confin'd (besides what we may occasionally speak of hereafter), there is a very useful treatise ‡ on that subject already publish'd. We hasten then in the next place to the dressing and composing of our sallet. For by this

* Hor. Sat. lib. ii. Sat. 4. † Mart. Epigr. lib. xiii. Ep. 14.

‡ Concerning the use of fruit (besides many others) whether best to be eaten before or after meals? published by a physician of Rochelle, and render'd out of French into English. Printed by T. Basset, in Fleet-street.

time, our scholar may long to see the rules reduc'd to practice, and refresh himself with what he finds growing among his own lactuceta, and other beds of the kitchin-garden.

DRESSING.

I am not ambitious of being thought an excellent cook, or of those who set up and value themselves for their skill in sauces; such as was Mithacus a culinary philosopher, and other *eruditæ gulæ*, who read lectures of hautgouts, like the Archestratus in Athenæus. Tho' after what we find the heroes did of old, and see them chining out the slaughter'd ox, dressing the meat, and do the offices of both cook and butcher, (for so Homer * represents Achilles himself, and the rest of those illustrious Greeks) I say, after this, let none reproach our sallet-dresser, or disdain so clean, innocent, sweet, and natural a quality; compar'd with the shambles, filth, and nidor, blood and cruelty; whilst all the world were eaters and composers of sallets in its best and brightest age.

The ingredients therefore gather'd and proportion'd, as above; let the endive have all its outside leaves stripp'd off, slicing in the white. In like manner the sellery is also to have the hollow green stem or stalk trimm'd and divided; slicing in the blanched part, and cutting the root into four equal parts.

Lettuce, cresses, radish, &c. (as was directed) must be exquisitely pick'd, cleans'd, wash'd, and put into the strainer; swing'd, and shaken gently, and, if you please, separately, or all together; because some like not so well the blanch'd and bitter herbs, if eaten with the rest. Others mingle endive succory, and rampions, without distinction, and generally eat sellery by it self, as also sweet fennel.

From April till September (and during all the hot months) may Guinny-pepper and horse-radish be left out; and therefore we only mention them in the dressing, which should be in this manner:

Your herbs being handsomly parcell'd, and spread on a clean napkin before you, are to be mingl'd together in one of the earthen glaz'd dishes. Then, for the Oxoleon; take of clear, and perfectly good oyl-olive, three

* Achilles, Patroclus, Automedon. Iliad ix. et alibi.

parts; of sharpest vinegar (sweetest of all condiments *), limon, or juice of orange, one part; and therein let steep some slices of horse-radish, with a little salt. Some in a separate vinegar, gently bruise a pod of Guinny-pepper, straining both the vinegars apart, to make use of either, or one alone, or of both, as they best like; then add as much Tewkesbury, or other dry mustard grated, as will lie upon an half-crown piece. Beat and mingle all these very well together; but pour not on the oyl and vinegar 'till immediately before the sallet is ready to be eaten; and then with the yolk of two new-laid eggs (boyl'd and prepar'd, as before is taught) squash and bruise them all into mash with a spoon; and lastly, pour it all upon the herbs, stirring and mingling them 'till they are well and throughly imbib'd; not forgetting the sprinkling of aromaticks, and such flowers as we have already mentioned, if you think fit, and garnishing the dish with the thin slices of horse-radish, red beet, berberries, &c.

Note, That the liquids may be made more or less acid, as is most agreeable to your taste.

These rules and prescriptions duly observ'd, you have a sallet (for a table of six or eight persons) dress'd and accommodated, *secundum artem.* For, as the † proverb has it,

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστιν ἀρτῦσαι καλῶς.

Non est cujusvis rectè condire.

And now, after all we have advanc'd in favour of the herbaceous diet, there still emerges a third inquiry; namely, Whether the use of crude herbs and plants are so wholesom as is pretended?

What opinion the prince of physicians had of them, we shall see hereafter; as also what the sacred Records of elder times seem to infer, before there were any flesh-shambles in the world; together with the reports of such as are often conversant among many nations and people, who to this day, living on herbs and roots, arrive to incredible age, in

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* For so some pronounce it. V. Athenæum, Deip. Lib. ii. cap. 26. ἥδος quasi ἡδύσμα, perhaps for that it incites appetite, and causes hunger, which is the best sauce.

† Gratinus in Glauco.

constant health and vigour: which, whether attributable to the air and climate, custom, constitution, &c. should be inquir'd into; especially, when we compare the antediluvians mention'd, Gen. i. 29.—the whole fifth and ninth chapters, ver. 3. confining them to fruit and wholesom sallets. I deny not that both the air and earth might then be less humid and clammy, and consequently plants and herbs better fermented, concocted, and less rheumatick, than since, and presently after; to say nothing of the infinite numbers of putrid carcasses of dead animals, perishing in the Flood (of which I find few, if any, have taken notice), which needs must have corrupted the air. Those who live in marshes and uliginous places (like the Hundreds of Essex) being more obnoxious to fevers, agues, pleurisies, and generally unhealthful. The earth also then a very bog, compar'd with what it likely was before that destructive cataclysm, when men breath'd the pure Paradisian air, sucking in a more æthereal, nourishing, and baulmy pabulum, so foully vitiated now, thro' the intemperance, luxury, and softer education and effeminacy of the ages since.

Custom and constitution come next to be examin'd, together with the qualities and vertue of the food; and I confess, the two first, especially that of constitution, seems to me the more likely cause of health, and consequently of long-life; which induc'd me to consider of what quality the usual sallet furniture did more eminently consist, that so it might become more safely applicable to the temper, humour, and disposition of our bodies; according to which, the various mixtures might be regulated and proportion'd. There's no doubt, but those whose constitutions are cold and moist, are naturally affected with things which are hot and dry; as on the contrary, hot and dry complexions, with such as cool and refrigerate; which perhaps made the junior Gordian (and others like him) prefer the *frigidæ mensæ* (as of old they call'd sallets) which, according to Cornelius Celsus, is the fittest diet for obese and corpulent persons, as not so nutritive, and apt to pamper. And consequently, that for the cold, lean, and emaciated, such herby ingredients should be made choice of as warm and cherish the natural heat, depure the blood, breed a laudable juice, and revive the spirits; and therefore

my Lord Bacon * shews what are best raw, what boil'd, and what parts of plants fittest to nourish. Galen, indeed, seems to exclude them all, unless well accompanied with their due correctives, of which we have taken care. Notwithstanding yet, that even the most crude and herby, actually cold and weak, may potentially be hot and strengthning, as we find in the most vigorous animals, whose food is only grass. 'Tis true, indeed, nature has providentially mingl'd and dress'd a sallet for them in every field, besides what they distinguish by smell; nor question I, but man at first knew what plants and fruits were good, before the fall, by his natural sagacity, and not experience; which since by art and trial, and long observation of their properties and effects, they hardly recover. But in all events, supposing with Cardan †, that plants nourish little, they hurt as little. Nay, experience tells us that they not only hurt not at all, but exceedingly benefit those who use them; indu'd as they are with such admirable properties as they every day discover. For some plants not only nourish laudably, but induce a manifest and wholesome change; as onions, garlick, rochet, &c. which are both nutritive and warm; lettuce, purselan, the intybs, &c. and indeed most of the olera, refresh and cool. And as their respective juices being converted into the substances of our bodies, they become aliment; so in regard of their change and alteration, we may allow them medicinal; especially the greater numbers, among which we all this while have skill but of very few (not only in the vegetable kingdom, but in the whole *Materia Medica*) which may be justly call'd infallible specifics, and upon whose performance we may as safely depend, as we may on such as we familiarly use for a crude herb-sallet, discreetly chosen, mingl'd and dress'd accordingly. Not but that many of them may be improv'd and render'd better in broths and decoctions, than in oyl, vinegar, and other liquids and ingredients: but as this holds not in all, nay, perhaps in few comparatively (provided, as I said, the choice, mixture, constitu-

* Nat. Hist. cent. vii. 630. See Arist. Prob. sect. xx. quæst. 36. Why some fruits and plants are best raw, others boil'd, roasted, &c. as becoming sweeter; but the crude more sapid and grateful.

† Card. Contradicent. Med. l. iv. Cant. 18. Diphilus not at all. Athenæus.

tion and season rightly understood) we stand up in defence and vindication of our sallet against all attacks and opposers whoever.

We have mentioned season, and with the great Hippocrates pronounce them more proper for the summer than the winter, and when those parts of plants us'd in sallet are yet tender, delicate, and impregnated with the vertue of the spring, to cool, refresh, and allay the heat and drought of the hot and bilious, young and over-sanguine, cold, pituit, and melancholy; in a word, for persons of all ages, humours, and constitutions whatsoever.

To this of the annual seasons we add that of culture also, as of very great importance. And this is often discover'd in the taste, and consequently in the goodness of such plants and salleting as are rais'd and brought us fresh out of the country, compar'd with those which the avarice of the gardiner, or luxury rather of the age, tempts them to force and resuscitate of the most desirable and delicious plants.

It is certain, says a learned person *, that about populous cities, where grounds are over-forc'd for fruit and early salleting, nothing is more unwholsome. Men in the country look so much more healthy and fresh; and commonly are longer liv'd than those who dwell in the middle and skirts of vast and crowded cities, inviron'd with rotten dung, loathsome and common lay-stalls; whose noisome steams, wafted by the wind, poison and infect the ambient air and vital spirits, with those pernicious exhalations and materials, of which they make the hot beds for the raising those præcoces indeed, and forward plants and roots for the wanton palate; but which being corrupt in the original, cannot but produce malignant and ill effects to those who feed upon them. And the same was well observ'd by the editor of our famous Roger Bacon's treatise concerning the Cure of Old Age, and Preservation of Youth. There being nothing so proper for sallet herbs and other edule plants, as the genial and natural mould, impregnated and enrich'd with well-digested compost (when requisite) without any mixture of garbage, odious carrion, and other filthy ordure, not half consum'd and ventilated, and indeed reduc'd to the next disposition of earth it self, as it should be; and

* Sir Thomas Brown's Miscellaneous Tracts, folio.

that in sweet, rising *, aery and moderately perflatile grounds; where not only plants but men do last, and live much longer. Nor doubt I, but that every body would prefer corn and other grain rais'd from marle, chalk, lime, and other sweet soil and amendments, before that which is produc'd from the dunghill only. Besides, experience shews, that the rankness of dung is frequently the cause of blasts and smuttiness; as if the Lord of the Universe, by an act of visible providence would check us, to take heed of all unnatural sordidness and mixtures. We sensibly find this difference in cattle and their pasture; but most powerfully in fowl, from such as are nourish'd with corn, sweet and dry food. And as of vegetable meats, so of drinks, 'tis observ'd, that the same vine, according to the soil, produces a wine twice as heady as in the same and a less forc'd ground; and the like I believe of all other fruit, not to determine any thing of the peach, said to be poison in Persia, because 'tis a vulgar error.

Now, because among other things, nothing more betrays its unclean and spurious birth than what is so impatiently longed after, as early asparagus, &c. Dr. Lister (according to his communicative and obliging nature) has taught us how to raise such as our gardiners cover with nasty litter during the winter, by rather laying of clean and sweet wheat-straw upon the beds, super-seminating and over-strowing them thick with the powder of bruised oyster-shells, &c. to produce that most tender and delicious sallet. In the mean while, if nothing will satisfie save what is rais'd *ex tempore*, and by miracles of art so long before the time; let them study (like the Adepti) as did a very ingenious gentleman whom I knew; that having some friends of his accidentally come to dine with him, and wanting an early sallet, before they sate down to table, sowed lettuce and some other seeds in a certain composition of mould he had prepared; which, within the space of two hours, being risen near two inches high, presented them with a delicate and tender sallet; and this, without making use of any nauseous or fulsome mixture; but of ingredients not altogether so cheap perhaps. Honoratus Faber (no mean philosopher) shews us another method, by sowing the

* Caule suburbano, qui siccis crevit in agris,
Dulcior.—Hor. Sat. lib. 2. ecl. 4.

seeds steep'd in vinegar, casting on it a good quantity of bean-shell ashes, irrigating them with spirit of wine, and keeping the beds well cover'd under dry matts. Such another process for the raising early peas and beans, &c. we have the like accounts of. But were they practicable and certain, I confess I should not be fonder of them than of such as the honest industrious country-man's field, and good-wife's garden, seasonably produce, where they are legitimately born in just time, and without forcing nature.

But to return again to health and long life, and the wholesomness of the herby diet. John Beverovicius *, a learn'd physician (out of Peter Moxa, a Spaniard), treating of the extream age which those of America usually arrive to, asserts in behalf of crude and natural herbs. Diphilus of old, as Athenæus tells us †, was on the other side, against all the tribe of olera in general; and Cardan of late, as already noted, no great friend to them; affirming flesh-eaters to be much wiser and more sagacious. But this his learned antagonist ‡ utterly denies. Whole nations, flesh-devourers (such as the farthest northern) becoming heavy, dull, unactive, and much more stupid than the southern; and such as feed much on plants, are more acute, subtil, and of deeper penetration; witness the Chaldæans, Assyrians, Ægyptians, &c. And further argues from the short lives of most carnivorous animals, compared with grass feeders, and the ruminating kind, as the hart, camel, and the longævous elephant, and other feeders on roots and vegetables.

I know not what is pretended of our bodies being composed of dissimilar parts, and so requiring variety of food. Nor do I reject the opinion, keeping to the same species: of which there is infinitely more variety in the herby family than in all nature besides: but the danger is in the generical difference of flesh, fish, fruit, &c. with other made dishes and exotic sauces, which a wanton and expensive luxury has introduc'd, debauching the stomach, and sharpening it to devour things of such difficult concoction, with those of more easie digestion, and of contrary substances, more than it can well dispose of; otherwise food of the same

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* Thesaur. Sanit. c. 2. † As Delcampius interprets the place. ‡ Scaliger ad Card. Exercit. 213.

kind would do us little hurt. So true is that of Celsus, *Eduntur facilius, ad concoctionem autem materiæ, genus et modus pertineat.* They are (says he) easily eaten and taken in: but regard should be had to their digestion, nature, quantity, and quality of the matter. As to that of dissimilar parts, requiring this contended for variety; if we may judge by other animals (as I know not why we may not) there is (after all the late contests about comparative anatomy) so little difference in the structure, as to the use of those parts and vessels destin'd to serve the offices of concoction, nutrition, and other separations for supply of life, that it does not appear why there should need any difference at all of food; of which the most simple has ever been esteem'd the best and most wholsome, according to that of the naturalist *, *hominis cibus utilissimus simplex.* And that so it is in other animals, we find by their being so seldom afflicted with mens distempers, deriv'd from the causes above-mentioned. And if the many diseases of horses seem to contradict it †, I am apt to think it much imputable to the rack and manger, the dry and wither'd stable commons, which they must eat or starve, however qualified; being restrained from their natural and spontaneous choice, which nature and instinct directs them to. To these add the closeness of the air, standing in an almost continu'd posture; besides the fulsome drenches, unseasonable waterings, and other practices of ignorant horse-quacks and surly grooms. The tyranny and cruel usage of their masters in tiring journeys, hard labouring, and unmerciful treatment, heats, colds, &c. which wear out and destroy so many of those useful and generous creatures before the time. Such as have been better us'd, and some whom their more gentle and good-natur'd patrons have in recompence of their long and faithful service, dismissed, and sent to pasture for the rest of their lives (as the Grand-Seignior does his Mecca-camel) have been known to live forty, fifty, nay (says Aristotle ‡) no fewer than sixty-five years. When once Old Par came to

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* Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iii. c. 12.

† Hanc brevitatem vitæ (speaking of horses) fortasse homini debet. Verul. Hist. Vit. & Mort. See this throughly controverted, Macrob. Saturn. l. vii. c. v.

‡ Arist. Hist. Animal. l. v. c. 14.

change his simple homely diet, to that of the Court and Arundel house, he quickly sunk and dropt away: for, as we have shew'd, the stomach easily concocts plain and familiar food; but finds it an hard and difficult task to vanquish and overcome meats of different substances *. Whence we so often see temperate and abstemious persons of a collegiate diet, very healthy; husbandmen and laborious people more robust and longer liv'd than others of an uncertain extravagant diet.

——Nam variæ res
Ut noceant homini, credas, memor illius escæ,
Quæ simplex olim tibi sederit—— †

For different meats do hurt; remember how
When to one dish confin'd, thou healthier wast than now:

was Osellus's memorandum in the poet.

Not that variety (which God has certainly ordain'd to delight and assist our appetite) is unnecessary, nor any thing more grateful, refreshing, and proper, for those especially who lead sedentary and studious lives; men of deep thought, and such as are otherwise disturb'd with secular cares and businesses, which hinder the function of the stomach and other organs: whilst those who have their minds free, use much exercise, and are more active, create themselves a natural appetite, which needs little or no variety to quicken and content it.

And here might we attest the patriarchal world, nay, and many persons since, who, living very temperately, came not much short of the post-diluvians themselves, counting from Abraham to this day; and some exceeding them, who liv'd in pure air, a constant, though course and simple diet; wholsome and uncompounded drink; that never tasted brandy nor exotic spirits; but us'd moderate exercise, and observ'd good hours. For such a one a curious missionary tells us of in Persia, who had attain'd the age of four hundred years (a full century beyond the famous Johannes de Temporibus), and was living anno 1636, and so may be still for ought we know. But to our sallet.

Certain it is, Almighty God ordaining herbs ‡ and fruit for the food

* Ἀνόμοια γαστάζει. † Hor. Sat. lib. ii. sat. 2. Macr. Sat. lib. vii.
‡ Gen. ch. ix. ver. 3 and 4.

of men, speaks not a word concerning flesh for two thousand years. And when after, by the Mosaic constitution, there were distinctions and prohibitions about the legal uncleanness of animals; plants, of what kind soever, were left free and indifferent for every one to choose what best he lik'd. And what, if it was held undecent and unbecoming the excellency of man's nature, before sin entred, and grew enormously wicked, that any creature should be put to death and pain for him who had such infinite store of the most delicious and nourishing fruit to delight, and the tree of life to sustain him? Doubtless there was no need of it. Infants sought the mother's nipple as soon as born; and when grown, and able to feed themselves, run naturally to fruit, and still will choose to eat it rather than flesh, and certainly might so persist to do, did not custom prevail, even against the very dictates of nature. Nor question I, but that what the heathen poets * recount of the happiness of the Golden Age, sprung from some tradition they had received of the Paradisian fare, their innocent and healthful lives in that delightful garden. Let it suffice, that Adam, and his yet innocent spouse, fed on vegetables and other hortulan productions before the fatal lapse; which, by the way, many learned men will hardly allow to have fallen out so soon as those imagine who scarcely grant them a single day; nay, not half a one, for their continuance in the state of original perfection; whilst the sending him into the garden; instructions how he should keep and cultivate it; edict and prohibition concerning the sacramental trees; the imposition of names †, so apposite to the nature of such an infinity of living creatures (requiring deep inspection) the formation of Eve, a meet companion to relieve his solitude; the solemnity of their marriage; the dialogues and success of the crafty tempter, whom we cannot reasonably think made but one assault; and that they should so quickly forget the injunction of their Maker and Benefactor; break their faith and fast, and all other their obligations in so few moments. I say, all these particulars consider'd, can it be supposed they were so soon transacted as those do fancy, who take their measure from the summary

* Ovid, Metam. 1. fab. iii. and xv.

† Gen. ch. xi. ver. 19.

Moses gives us, who did not write to gratifie mens curiosity, but to transmit what was necessary and sufficient for us to know.

This then premis'd (as I see no reason why it should not), and that during all this space they liv'd on fruits and sallets; 'tis little probable, that after their transgression, and that they had forfeited their dominion over the creature (and were sentenc'd and exil'd to a life of sweat and labour on a cursed and ungrateful soil), the offended God should regale them with pampering flesh, or so much as suffer them to slay the more innocent animal. Or, that if at any time they had permission, it was for any thing save skins to cloath them, or in way of adoration, or holocaust for expiation, of which nothing of the flesh was to be eaten. Nor did the brutes themselves subsist by prey (tho' pleas'd perhaps with hunting, without destroying their fellow creatures), as may be presum'd from their long seclusion of the most carnivorous among them in the ark.

Thus then, for two thousand years the universal food was herbs and plants; which abundantly recompens'd the want of flesh and other luxurious meats, which shortened their lives so many hundred years; the μακροβιότητα * of the patriarchs, which was an emblem of eternity as it were (after the new concession) beginning to dwindle to a little span, a nothing in comparison.

On the other side, examine we the present usages of several other heathen nations, particularly (besides the Ægyptian priests of old) the Indian Bramins, relicts of the ancient Gymnosophists, to this day observing the institutions of their founder. Flesh, we know was banish'd the Platonic tables, as well as from those of Pythagoras, (see Porphyry †, and their disciples) tho' on different accounts. Among others of the philosophers, from Xenocrates, Polemon, &c. we hear of many. The like we find in Clement Alexand. ‡ Eusebius § names more. Zeno, Archinomus, Phraartes, Chiron, and others, whom Laertius reckons up In short, so very many, especially of the Christian profession, that some, even of the ancient Fathers || themselves, have almost thought that the

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* Gen. ix. † Porphyr. de Abstin. Proclum, Jambleum, &c. ‡ Strom. vi.
§ Præp. Ev. passim. || Tertul. de Jejun. cap. iv. Hieron. advers. Jovin.

permission of eating flesh to Noah and his sons, was granted them no otherwise than repudiation of wives was to the Jews, namely, for the hardness of their hearts, and to satisfie a murmuring generation that a little after loathed manna it self, and bread from Heaven. So difficult a thing it is to subdue an unruly appetite; which, notwithstanding, Seneca * thinks not so hard a task; where speaking of the philosopher Sextius, and Socion's (abhorring cruelty and intemperance), he celebrates the advantages of the herby and sallet diet, as physical and natural advancers of health and other blessings; whilst abstinence from flesh deprives men of nothing but what lions, vultures, beasts and birds of prey, blood and gorge themselves withal. The whole epistle deserves the reading, for the excellent advice he gives on this and other subjects; and how from many troublesome and slavish impertinencies, grown into habit and custom (old as he was) he had emancipated and freed himself. Be this apply'd to our present excessive drinkers of foreign and exotic liquors. And now

I am sufficiently sensible how far, and to how little purpose I am gone on this topic. The ply is long since taken, and our raw sallet, deckt in its best trim, is never like to invite men who once have tasted flesh to quit and abdicate a custom which has now so long obtain'd. Nor truly do I think conscience at all concern'd in the matter, upon any account of distinction of pure and impure; tho' seriously consider'd (as Sextius held) *rationi magis congrua*, as it regards the cruel butcheries of so many harmless creatures; some of which we put to merciless and needless torment, to accommodate them for exquisite and uncommon epicurism. There lies else no positive prohibition; discrimination of meats being condemn'd† as the doctrine of devils. Nor do meats commend us to God. One eats *quid vult* (of every thing); another olera, and of sallets only. But this is not my business, further than to shew how possible it is by so many instances and examples to live on wholsome vegetables, both long and happily: for so,

The Golden Age with this provision blest,
Such a grand Sallet made, and was a feast.

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* Sen. Epist. 108. † 1 Cor. ch. viii. ver. 8. 1 Tim. ch. iv. Rom. ii. 3.

The demi-gods, with bodies large and sound,
Commended then the product of the ground.
Fraud then, nor force were known, nor filthy lust,
Which over-heating and intemp'rance nurst:
Be their vile names in execration held,
Who with foul gluttony first the world defil'd:
Parent of vice, and all diseases since,
With ghastly death sprung up alone from thence.
Ah! from such reeking, bloody tables fly,
Which death for our destruction does supply.
In health, if sallet herbs you can't endure;
Sick, you'll desire them; or for food, or cure *.

As to the other part of the controversie, which concerns us, ἁιματοφάγοι, and Occidental Blood-eaters; some grave and learn'd men of late seem to scruple the present usage, whilst they see the prohibition appearing, and to carry such a face of antiquity, Scripture, councils, canons, fathers, imperial constitutions, and universal practice, unless it be among us of these tracts of Europe, whither, with other barbarities, that of eating the blood and animal life of creatures first was brought; and by our mixtures with the Goths, Vandals, and other spawn of Pagan Scythians, grown a custom, and since which I am persuaded more blood has been shed between Christians than there ever was before the water of the Flood covered this corner of the world. Not that I impute it only to our eating blood, but sometimes wonder how it hapned

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* Has epulas habuit teneri gens aurea mundi,
Et cœnæ ingentis tunc caput ipsa fui.
Semideúmque meo creverunt corpora succo,
Materiam tanti sanguinis ille dedit.
Tunc neque fraus nota est, neque vis, neque fœda libido;
Hæc nimii proles sæva caloris erat.
Sit sacrum illorum, sit detestabile nomen,
Qui primi servæ regna dedere gulæ.
Hinc vitiis patefacta via est, morbisque secutis
Se lethi facies exeruêre novæ.
Ah! fuge crudeles Animantum sanguine mensas,
Quásque tibi opsonat mors inimica dapes.
Posces tandem æger, si sanus negligis, herbas.
Esse cibus nequeunt? at medicamen erunt.—Couleii Plant. lib. i. Lactuca.

that so strict, so solemn, and famous a sanction, not upon a ceremonial account, but (as some affirm) a moral and perpetual from Noah, to whom the concession of eating flesh was granted, and that of blood forbidden (nor to this day once revok'd), and whilst there also seems to lie fairer proofs than for most other controversies agitated among Christians, should be so generally forgotten, and give place to so many other impertinent disputes and cavils about other superstitious fopperies, which frequently ended in blood, and cutting of throats.

As to the reason of this prohibition, its savouring of cruelty excepted, (and that by Galen, and other experienc'd physicians, the eating blood is condemn'd as unwholsome, causing indigestion and obstructions) if a positive command of Almighty God were not enough, it seems sufficiently intimated; because blood was the vehicle of the life and animal soul of the creature. For what other mysterious cause, as haply its being always dedicated to expiatory sacrifices, &c. it is not for us to enquire. 'Tis said that Justin Martyr, being asked why the Christians of his time were permitted the eating flesh and not the blood? readily answer'd, that God might distinguish them from beasts, which eat them both together*. 'Tis likewise urg'd, that by the Apostolical Synod (when the rest of the Jewish ceremonies and types were abolish'd) this prohibition was mention'd as a thing necessary †, and rank'd with idolatry, which was not to be local or temporary, but universally injoyn'd to converted strangers and proselytes, as well as Jews. Nor could the scandal of neglecting to observe it concern them alone, after so many ages as it was and still is in continual use; and those who transgress'd so severely punish'd, as by an imperial law to be scourg'd to blood and bone. Indeed, so terrible was the interdiction, that, idolatry excepted (which was also moral and perpetual), nothing in Scripture seems to be more express. In the mean time, to relieve all other scruples, it does not, they say, extend to that ἀκρίβεια of those few diluted drops of extravasated blood which might happen to tinge the juice and gravy of the flesh (which were indeed to strain at a gnat) but to those who devour the venal and arterial blood separately, and in quantity, as a choice ingredient of their luxurious preparations and Apician tables.

* Quæst. et Resp. ad Orthod. Thomas Bartholinus, de usu sanguinis. † Acts xv. 20, 29.

But this and all the rest will, I fear, seem but *oleribus verba facere*, and (as the proverb goes) be labour-in-vain to think of preaching down hogs-puddings, and usurp the chair of Rabby-busy. And therefore what is advanc'd in countenance of the antediluvian diet, we leave to be ventilated by the learned, and such as Curcellæus, who has borrow'd of all the ancient fathers, from Tertullian, Hierom, S. Chrysostom, &c. to the later Doctors and Divines, Lyra, Tostatus, Dionysius Carthusianus, Pererius, amongst the Pontificians; of Peter Martyr, Zanchy, Aretius, Jac. Capellus, Hiddiger, Cocceius, Bochartus, &c. amongst the Protestants; and *instar omnium*, by Salmasius, Grotius, Vossius, Blundel. In a word, by the learn'd of both persuasions, favourable enough to these opinions, Cajetan and Calvin only excepted, who hold, that as to abstinence from flesh, there was no positive command or imposition concerning it; but that the use of herbs and fruit was recommended rather for temperance sake, and the prolongation of life. Upon which score I am inclin'd to believe that the ancient Θεραπεύτα, and other devout and contemplative sects, distinguish'd themselves; whose course of life we have at large describ'd in Philo* (who liv'd and taught much in gardens), with others of the abstemious Christians; among whom, Clemens brings in St. Mark the Evangelist himself, James our Lord's brother, St. John, &c. and with several of the devout sex, the famous Diaconesse Olympias, mention'd by Palladius (not to name the rest), who, abstaining from flesh, betook themselves to herbs and sallets upon the account of temperance, and the vertues accompanying it; and concerning which the incomparable Grotius declares ingenuously his opinion to be far from censuring, not only those who forbear the eating flesh and blood, *experimenti causâ*, and for discipline sake; but such as forbear *ex opinione*, and (because it has been the ancient custom) provided they blam'd none who freely us'd their liberty; and I think he's in the right.

But leaving this controversie *(nè nimium extra oleas)* it has often been objected, that fruit and plants, and all other things, nay, since the beginning, and as the world grows older, have universally become *effœte*,

* Philo de Vit. Contemp. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9.

impair'd and divested of those nutritious and transcendent vertues they were at first endow'd withal. But as this is begging the question, and to which we have already spoken; so all are not agreed that there is any, the least decay in nature, where equal industry and skill's apply'd. 'Tis true, indeed, that the *ordo foliatorum Feuillantines* (a late order of Ascetic nuns) amongst other mortifications, made trial upon the leaves of plants alone, to which they would needs confine themselves, but were not able to go through that thin and meagre diet. But then it would be enquir'd, whether they had not first, and from their very childhood, been fed and brought up with flesh and better sustenance till they enter'd the cloyster; and what the vegetables, and the preparation of them, were allow'd by their institution? Wherefore this is nothing to our modern use of sallets, or its disparagement. In the mean time, that we still think it not only possible, but likely, and with no great art or charge (taking roots and fruit into the basket) substantially to maintain mens lives in health and vigour. For to this, and less than this, we have the suffrage of the great Hippocrates* himself, who thinks, *ab initio etiam hominum* (as well as other animals) *tali victu usum esse*, and needed no other food. Nor is it an inconsiderable speculation, that since all flesh is grass (not in a figurative, but natural and real sense), man himself, who lives on flesh, and I think upon no earthly animal whatsoever, but such as feed on grass, is nourish'd with them still; and so becoming an incarnate herb, and innocent canibal, may truly be said to devour himself.

We have said nothing of the Lotophagi, and such as (like St. John the Baptist, and other religious ascetics) were feeders on the summities and tops of plants. But as divers of those, and others we have mention'd, were much in times of streights, persecutions, and other circumstances, which did not in the least make it a pretence, exempting them from labour, and other humane offices, by ensnaring obligations and vows (never to be useful to the publick in whatever exigency), so I cannot but take notice of what a learned critic, speaking of mens neglecting plain and essential duties, under colour of exercising themselves in

* Hippoc. de Vet. Medicinâ, cap. 6, 7.

a more sublime course of piety, and being righteous above what is commanded (as those who seclude themselves in monasteries), that they manifestly discover excessive pride, hatred of their neighbour, impatience of injuries; to which add, melancholy plots and machinations; and that he must be either stupid or infected with the same vice himself, who admires this ἐθελοπεριαστοθρήσκεια, or thinks they were for that cause the more pleasing to God. This being so, what may we then think of such armies of hermits, monks, and friars, who, pretending to justifie a mistaken zeal and meritorious abstinence; not only by a peculiar diet and distinction of meats (which God without distinction has made the moderate use of common and indifferent * among Christians), but by other sordid usages and unnecessary hardships, wilfully prejudice their health and constitution? and through a singular manner of living, dark and Saturnine, whilst they would seem to abdicate and forsake the world (in imitation, as they pretend, of the ancient Eremites), take care to settle, and build their warm and stately nests in the most populous cities, and places of resort; ambitious doubtless of the peoples veneration and opinion of an extraordinary sanctity, and therefore flying the desarts, where there is indeed no use of them, and flocking to the towns and cities where there is less, indeed none at all, and therefore no marvel that the Emperour Valentinian banished them the cities, and Constantine Copronymus, finding them seditious, oblig'd them to marry, to leave their cells, and live as did others. For of these, some there are who seldom speak, and therefore edifie none; sleep little, and lie hard, are clad nastily, and eat meanly (and oftentimes that which is unwholsom), and therefore benefit none. Not because they might not, both for their own, and the good of others, and the publick, but because they will not; custom, and a prodigious † sloth accompanying it; which renders it so far from penance, and the mortification pretended, that they know not how to live, or spend their time otherwise. This, as I have often consider'd, so was I glad to find it justly perstring'd, and taken notice of by a learned person ‡, amongst others of his useful remarks abroad.

* 1 Tim. ch. iv. ver. 3.

† This, with their prodigious ignorance, see Mabillon des Etudes Monast. Part ii. c. 17.

‡ Dr. Lister's Journey to Paris. See L'Apocalyps de Meliton, ou Revelation des Mysteres Cenobitiques.

"These," says he, "willingly renouncing the innocent comforts of life, plainly shew it to proceed more from a chagrin and morose humour than from any true and serious principle of sound religion, which teaches men to be useful in their generation, sociable and communicative, unaffected, and by no means singular and fantastic in garb and habit, as are these, forsooth, fathers (as they affect to be call'd), spending their days in idle and fruitless forms and tedious repetitions; and thereby thinking to merit the reward of those ancient and truly pious solitaries, who, God knows, were driven from their countries and repose by the incursions of barbarous nations (whilst these have no such cause), and compell'd to austerities, not of their own chusing and making, but the publick calamity; and to labour with their hands for their own and others necessary support, as well as with their prayers and holy lives, examples to all the world. And some of these, indeed, (besides the Solitaries of the Thebaid, who wrought for abundance of poor Christians, sick, and in captivity,) I might bring in, as such who deserv'd to have their names preserv'd; not for their rigorous fare and uncouth disguises, but for teaching that the grace of temperance and other vertues, consisted in a cheerful, innocent, and profitable conversation."

And now to recapitulate what other prerogatives the Hortulan Provision has been celebrated for, besides its antiquity, health and longevity of the antediluvians; that temperance, frugality, leisure, ease, and innumerable other vertues and advantages, which accompany it, are no less attributable to it. Let us hear our excellent botanist, Mr. Ray *.

"The use of plants," says he, "is all our life long of that universal importance and concern, that we can neither live nor subsist in any plenty with decency or conveniency, or be said to live indeed at all without them. Whatsoever food is necessary to sustain us, whatsoever con-

* Plantarum usus latissimè patet, et in omni vitæ parte occurrit. Sine illis lautè, sine illis commodè non vivitur, at nec vivitur omninò. Quæcunque ad victum necessaria sunt, quæcunque ad delicias faciunt, è locupletissimo suo penu abunde subministrant. Quantò ex iis mensa innocentior, mundior, salubrior, quàm ex animalium cæde et Laniena? Homo certè naturâ animal carnivorum non est, nullis ad prædam et rapinam armis instructum, non dentibus exertis et serratis, non unguibus aduncis. Manus ad fructus colligendos, dentes ad mandendos comparati. Nec legimus ei ante diluvium carnes ad esum concessas, &c.—Raii Hist. Plant. Lib. i. cap. 24.

tributes to delight and refresh us, are supply'd and brought forth out of that plentiful and abundant store: and ah, how much more innocent, sweet, and healthful, is a table cover'd with these, than with all the reeking flesh of butcher'd and slaughter'd animals! Certainly, man by nature was never made to be a carnivorous creature; nor is he arm'd at all for prey and rapin, with gag'd and pointed teeth and crooked claws, sharpned to rend and tear; but with gentle hands to gather fruit and vegetables, and with teeth to chew and eat them. Nor do we so much as read the use of flesh for food, was at all permitted him, till after the universal Deluge, &c.

To this might we add that transporting consideration, becoming both our veneration and admiration of the infinitely wise and glorious Author of Nature, who has given to plants such astonishing properties; such fiery heat in some to warm and cherish, such coolness in others to temper and refresh, such pinguid juice to nourish and feed the body, such quickening acids to compel the appetite, and grateful vehicles to court the obedience of the palate, such vigour to renew and support our natural strength, such ravishing flavour and perfumes to recreate and delight us. In short, such spirituous and active force to animate and revive every faculty and part, to all the kinds of human, and I had almost said, heavenly capacity too. What shall we add more? our gardens present us with them all; and whilst the shambles are cover'd with gore and stench, our sallets scape the insults of the summer fly, purifies and warms the blood against winter rage. Nor wants there variety in more abundance than any of the former ages could shew.

Survey we their bills of fare, and numbers of courses serv'd up by Athenæus, drest with all the garnish of Nicander and other Grecian wits. What has the Roman Grand Sallet worth the naming? *Parat convivium*, the guests are nam'd indeed, and we are told,

> —— Varias, quas habet hortus opes.
> How richly the garden's stor'd! *
>
> In quibus est luctuca sedens, et tonsile porrum,
> Nec deest ructatrix Mentha, nec herba salax, &c.
> A goodly sallet!

* Mart. lib. x. epig. 48.

Lettuce, leeks, mint, rocket, colewort-tops, with oyl and eggs, and such an hotch-pot following (as the cook in Plautus would deservedly laugh at). But how infinitely out-done in this age of ours, by the variety of so many rare edules unknown to the ancients, that there's no room for the comparison. And, for magnificence, let the sallet drest by the lady for an entertainment made by Jacobus Catsius (describ'd by the poet Barlæus *) shew; not at all yet out-doing what we every day almost find at our Lord Mayor's table, and other great persons, lovers of the gardens; that sort of elegant cookery being capable of such wonderful variety, tho' not altogether wanting of old, if that be true which is related to us of Nicomedes †, a certain king of Bithynia, whose cook made him a pilchard (a fish he exceedingly long'd for) of a well dissembl'd turnip, carv'd in its shape, and drest with oyl, salt, and pepper, that so deceiv'd, and yet pleas'd the prince, that he commended it for the best fish he had ever eaten. Nor does all this exceed what every industrious gardiner may innocently enjoy, as well as the greatest potentate on earth.

Vitellius his table, to which every day
All countries did a constant tribute pay,
  Could nothing more delicious afford
Than nature's liberality.
Help'd with a little art and industry,
  Allows the meanest gard'ners board.
The wanton taste no fish, or fowl can chuse,
For which the grape or melon she would lose.
Tho' all th' inhabitants of sea and air
Be listed in the glutton's bill of fare;
  Yet still the fruits of earth we see
Plac'd the third story high in all her luxury.

So the sweet poet ‡, whom I can never part with for his love to this delicious toil, and the honour he has done me.

Verily, the infinite plenty and abundance, with which the benign and bountiful Author of Nature has stor'd the whole terrestrial world more

* Barl. Eleg. lib. iii. † Athen. Deip. l. 1. ‡ Cowley, Garden. stanz. 6.

with plants and vegetables than with any other provision whatsoever; and the variety not only equal, but by far exceeding the pleasure and delight of taste (above all the art of the kitchen, than ever Apicius * knew) seems loudly to call, and kindly invite, all her living inhabitants (none excepted) who are of gentle nature and most useful, to the same hospitable and common board, which first she furnish'd with plants and fruit, as to their natural and genuine pasture; nay, and of the most wild, and savage too, *ab origine.* As in Paradise, where, as the evangelical prophet Isaiah adumbrating the future glory of the Catholick Church, (of which that happy garden was the antitype), the wolf and the lamb, the angry and furious lion, should eat grass and herbs together with the ox. But after all, *latet anguis in herba,* there's a snake in the grass; luxury, and excess in our most innocent fruitions. There was a time indeed when the garden furnish'd entertainments for the most renown'd heroes, virtuous and excellent persons; till the blood-thirsty and ambitious, over-running the nations, and by murders and rapine rifl'd the world, to transplant its luxury to its new mistress, Rome. Those whom heretofore † two acres of land would have satisfied and plentifully maintain'd, had afterwards their very kitchens almost as large as their first territories. Nor was that enough. Entire ‡ forests and parks, warrens and fish-ponds, and ample lakes to furnish their tables, so as men could not live by one another without oppression. Nay, and to shew how the best and most innocent things may be perverted, they chang'd those frugal and *inemptas dapes* of their ancestors, to that height and profusion, that we read of edicts § and sumptuary laws enacted to restrain even the pride and excess of sallets. But so it was not when the pease-field spread a table for the conquerors of the world, and

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* Hence in Macrobius, Sat. lib. vii. c. 5. we find Eupolis the comedian, in his Æges, bringing in goats boasting the variety of their food, Βοσκόμεθ' ὕλης ἀπὸ παντοδαπῆς, ἰλάτης, &c. After which follows a banquet of innumerable sorts.

† Bina tunc jugera populo Romano satis erant, nullique majorem modum attribuit: quo servos paulo ante principis Neronis, contemptis hujus spatii viridariis, piscinas juvat habere majores; gratúmque, si non aliquem et culinas.—Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 2.

‡ Interea gustus elementa per omnia quærunt. Juv Sat. xi. l. 14.

§ Cicero, Epist. lib. vii. ep. 26. Complaining of a costly sallet, that had almost cost him his life.

their grounds were cultivated *vomere laureato et triumphali aratore.* The greatest princes took the spade and the plough-staff in the same hand they held the sceptre; and the noblest families * thought it no dishonour to derive their names from plants and sallet-herbs. They arriv'd, I say, to that pitch of ingrossing all that was but green, and could be vary'd by the cook *(heu quàm prodiga ventris!)* that, as Pliny tells us *(non sine pudore,* not without blushing), a poor man could hardly find a thistle to dress for his supper; or what his hungry ass † would not touch, for fear of pricking his lips.

Verily the luxury of the East ruin'd the greatest monarchies; first the Persian, then the Grecian, and afterwads Rome her self. By what steps, see elegantly describ'd in old Gratius the Faliscian, deploring his own age compar'd with the former:

> O quantum et quoties decoris frustrata paterni!
> At qualis nostris, quàm simplex mensa Camillis!
> Qui tibi cultus erat post tot, Serrane, triumphos?
> Ergo illi ex habitu, virtutisque indole priscæ,
> Imposuere orbi Romam caput;—— ‡
>
> Neighb'ring excesses being made thine own,
> How art thou fall'n from thine old renown!
> But our Camilli did but plainly fare,
> No port did oft triumphant Serran bear:
> Therefore such hardship, and their heart so great,
> Gave Rome to be the world's imperial seat.

But as these were the sensual and voluptuous, who abus'd their plenty, spent their fortunes and shortned their lives by their debauches; so never did they taste the delicaces and true satisfaction of a sober repast, and the infinite conveniences of what a well-stor'd garden affords; so

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* Valeriana, that of Lectucini, Achilleia, Lysimachia. Fabius, Cicero, Lentulus, Piso, &c. à Fabis, Cicere, Lente, Pisis bene serendis dicti. Plin.

† Mirum esset non licere pecori Carduis vesci, non licet plebei, &c. And in another place, Quoniam portenta quoque terrarum in ganeam vertimus, etiam ea quæ refugiunt quadrupedes consciæ. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xix. c. 19—43.

‡ Gratii Falisc. Cynegeticon, à Wase. See concerning this excess, Macr. Sat. lib. ii. c. 9. et sequ.

elegantly describ'd by the naturalist *, as costing neither fuel nor fire to boil, pains or time to gather and prepare, *res expedita et parata semper.* All was so near at hand, readily drest, and of so easie digestion, as neither to offend the brain, or dull the senses; and in the greatest dearth of corn, a little bread suffic'd. In all events,

> Panis ematur, olus, vini sextarius; adde
> Quîs humana sibi doleat natura negatis †.
>
> Bread, wine, and wholsome sallets you may buy,
> What nature adds besides, is luxury.

They could then make an honest meal, and dine upon a sallet, without so much as a grain of exotic spice; and the potagere was in such reputation, that she who neglected her kitchen-garden (for that was still the good woman's province) was never reputed a tolerable huswife. *Si vespertinus subitò te oppresserit hospes*, she was never surpriz'd, had all (as we said) at hand, and could in a trice set forth an handsome sallet. And if this was happiness, *convictus facilis sine arte mensa* (as the poet reckons), it was here in perfection. In a word, so universal was the sallet, that the un-bloody ‡ shambles (as Pliny calls them) yielded the Roman § state a more considerable custom (when there was little more than honest cabbage and worts) than almost any thing besides brought to market.

They spent not then so much precious time as afterwards they did, gorging themselves with flesh and fish, so as hardly able to rise, without reeking and reeling from table:

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* Horti maximè placebant, quia non egerent igni, parcerèntque ligno, expedita res et parata semper: unde et Acetaria appellantur, facilia concoqui, nec oneratura sensum cibo, et quæ minimè accenderent desiderium panis. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. c. 19. And of this exceeding frugality of the Romans, till after the Mithridatic war, see Athenæus, Deip. lib. vi. cap. 21.

† Horat. Serm. Lib. i. Sat. 1. 74.

‡ Nequam esse in domo matrem familias (etenim hæc cura feminæ dicebatur) ubi indiligens esset hortus. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. 19.

§ Alterum succidium. Cic. in Catone.

Tiberias had a tribute of skirits paid him.

——— Vides, ut pallidus omnis
Cœna desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat unà,
Atque adfligit humo divinæ particulam auræ *.

See but how pale they look, how wretchedly,
With yesterday's surcharge disturbed they be!
Nor body only suff'ring, but the mind,
That nobler part, dull'd and depress'd we find.

Drowsie and unapt for business, and other nobler parts of life.

Time was before men in those golden days: their spirits were brisk and lively.

—— Ubi dicto citius curata sopori
Membra dedit, vegetus præscripta ad munera surgit.

With shorter, but much sweeter sleep content,
Vigorous and fresh, about their business went.

And men had their wits about them; their appetites were natural, their sleep *molli sub arbore*, sound, sweet, and kindly. That excellent Emperour (M. Claudius) Tacitus being us'd to say of lettuce, that he did *somnum se mercari*, when he eat of them, and call'd it a sumptuous feast, with a sallet and a single pullet, which was usually all the flesh-meat that sober prince eat of; whilst Maximinus (a profess'd enemy to sallet) is reported to have scarce been satisfied with sixty pounds of flesh, and drink proportionable.

There was then also far less expensive grandure, but far more true state; when Consuls, great statesmen (and such as atchiev'd the most renown'd actions), supp'd in their gardens; not under costly, gilded, and inlaid roofs, but the spreading platan; and drank of the chrystal brook, and by temperance and healthy frugality, maintain'd the glory of sallets, *ah, quanto innocentiore victu!* with what content and satisfaction! Nor, as we said, wanted there variety; for so in the most

* Hor. Sat. lib. ii. 2. 76. Vix præ vino sustinet palpebras, eunti in consilium, &c. See the oration of C. Titius de Leg. Fan. Macr. Sat. lib. ii. c. 12.

blissful place and innocent state of nature, see how the first empress of the world regales her celestial guest:

> With sav'ry fruits, of Taste to please
> True appetite,——and brings
> Whatever earth, all-bearing mother, yields
> —— Fruit of all kinds, in coat
> Rough, or smooth rind,—or bearded husk, or shell.
> Heaps with unsparing hand: for drink the grape
> She crushes, inoffensive must, and meathes
> From many a berry, and from sweet kernels prest,
> She tempers dulcet creams *.——

Then for the board,

> ——— Rais'd of grassy turf
> Their table was, and mossy seats had round;
> And on her ample square from side to side,
> All autumn pil'd †;——ah innocence
> Deserving Paradise!

Thus the Hortulan provision of the Golden Age ‡ fitted all places, times, and persons; and when man is restor'd to that state again, it will be as it was in the beginning.

But now after all (and for close of all), let none yet imagine, that whilst we justifie our present subject through all the topics of panegyric, we would in favour of the sallet, drest with all its pomp and advantage, turn mankind to grass again; which were ungratefully to neglect the bounty of Heaven, as well as his health and comfort. But by these noble instances and examples, to reproach the luxury of the present age; and by shewing the infinite blessing and effects of temperance, and the vertues accompanying it; with how little nature, and a civil § appetite

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* Milton's Paradise Lost, Book v. ver. 304, &c. † Id. line 391, &c.

‡ At vetus illa ætas, cui fecimus Aurea nomen,
Fœtibus arboreis, et, quas humus educat, herbis
Fortunata fuit.——Ovid. Met. xv. l. 96.

§ Bene moratus venter.

may be happy, contented with moderate things, and within a little compass, reserving the rest to the nobler parts of life. And thus of old,

Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus, &c.

He that was possess'd of a little spot of ground, and well-cultivated garden, with other moderate circumstances, had *hæredium.* All that a modest man could well desire. Then,

Happy the man, whom, from ambition freed,
A little field and little garden feed.
The field gives frugal nature what's requir'd;
The garden, what's luxuriously desir'd;
The specious evils of an anxious life,
He leaves to fools to be their endless strife *.

O fortunatos nimium bona si sua norint
Horticulos!

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* Fœlix, quem miserâ procul ambitione remotum,
Parvus ager placidè, parvus et hortus, alit.
Præbet ager quicquid frugi natura requirit,
Hortus habet, quicquid luxuriosa petit,
Cætera sollicitæ speciosa incommoda vitæ,
Permittit stultis quærere, habere malis.——Couleii, Pl. lib. iv.

APPENDIX.

THO' it was far from our first intention to charge this small volume and discourse concerning crude sallets, with any of the following receipts; yet having since received them from an experienc'd housewife; and that they may possibly be useful to correct, preserve, and improve our Acetaria, we have allow'd them place as an appendant variety upon occasion; nor account we it the least dishonour to our former treatise, that we kindly entertain'd them; since (besides divers learned physicians, and such as have *ex professo* written de Re Cibaria) we have the examples of many other noble and illustrious persons *, both among the ancient and modern.

1. ARTICHOAK.—Clear it of the leaves, and cut the bottoms in pretty thin slices or quarters; then fry them in fresh butter with some parsley, till it is crisp, and the slices tender; and so dish them with other fresh melted butter.

How a Poiverade is made, and the bottoms preserved all the winter, see Acetaria, p. 735.

ASHEN-KEYS—ASPARAGUS—BEETS—BROOM—BUDS—CAPERS. *See* PICKLE.

CARROT. *See* PUDDING.

CHAMPIGNON. *See* MUSHROM.

2. CHESSNUT.—Roasted under the embers, or dry fryed, till they shell and quit their husks, may be slit, the juice of orange squeezed on a lump of hard sugar dissolv'd; to which add some claret wine.

COLLYFLOWER—CUCUMBER—ELDER-FLOWERS—FLOWERS—GILLY-FLOWERS. *See* PICKLE.

HERBS. *See* PUDDING and TART.

LIMON. *See* PICKLE.

* Pliny, Athenæus, Macrobius, Bacon, Boyle, Digby, &c.

3. MUSHROM.—Chuse the small, firm, and white, buttons, growing upon sweet pasture grounds, neither under nor about any trees; strip off the upper skin, and pare away all the black spungy bottom part; then slice them in quarters, and cast them in water a while to cleanse; then boil them in fresh water, and a little sweet butter (some boil them a quarter of an hour first); and then taking them out, dry them in a cloth, pressing out the water, and whilst hot, add the butter; and then boiling a full hour (to exhaust the malignity) shift them in another clean water, with butter as before, till they become sufficiently tender. Being taken out, pour upon them as much strong mutton (or other) broth as will cover them, with six spoonsful of white wine, twelve cloves, as many pepper-corns, four small young onions, half an handful of persley bound up with two or three spriggs of thyme, an anchovy, oysters raw or pickled, a little salt, sweet butter; and so let them stew. See Acetar. p. 735.

Another.—Prepar'd and cleans'd as above, and cast into fountain-water, to preserve them from growing black; boil them in fresh water and salt, and whilst on the fire, cast in the mushrooms, letting them boil till they become tender; then stew them leisurely between two dishes (the water being drained from them) in a third part of white wine, and butter, and a small bundle of sweet herbs at discretion. To these add broth as before, with cloves, mace, nutmeg, anchovies (one is sufficient), oysters, &c. a small onion, with the green stem chopt small; and lastly, some mutton-gravy, rubbing the dish gently with a clove of garlick, or some rocombo seeds in its stead. Some beat the yolk of a fresh egg with vinegar, and butter, and a little pepper.

In France, some (more compendiously being peel'd and prepared) cast them into a pipkin, where, with the sweet herbs, spice, and an onion, they stew them in their own juice, without any other water or liquor at all, and then taking out the herbs and onion, thicken it with a little butter, and so eat them.

In *Poiverade.*—The large mushrooms well cleansed, being cut into quarters, and strewed with pepper and salt, are broil'd on the grid-iron, and eaten with fresh butter.

In *Powder.*—Being fresh gathered, cleans'd, and cut in pieces, stew them in water and salt; and being taken forth, dry them with a cloth, then putting them into an earth-glazed pot, set them into the oven after the bread is drawn; repeat this till they are perfectly dry; and reserve them in papers to crumble into what sauce you please. For the rest, see PICKLE.

4. MUSTARD.—Procure the best and weightiest seed, cast it into water two or three times, till no more of the husk arise; then taking out the sound (which will sink to the bottom) rub it very dry in warm coarse cloths, shewing it also a little to the fire in a dish or pan; then stamp it as small as to pass through a fine tiffany sieve; slice some horse-radish, and lay it to soak in strong vinegar, with a small lump of hard sugar (which some leave out) to temper the flower with, being drained from the radish, and so pot it all in a glaz'd mug, with an onion, and keep it well stop'd with a cork upon a bladder, which is the more cleanly; but this receit is improv'd, if instead of vinegar, water only, or the broth of powder'd beef be made use of. And to some of this mustard adding verjuice, sugar, claret-wine, and juice of limon, you have an excellent sauce to any sort of flesh or fish.

Note, that a pint of good seed is enough to make at one time, and to keep fresh a competent while. What part of it does not pass the sarse, may be beaten again; and you may reserve the flower in a well closed glass, and make fresh mustard when you please. See Acetaria, p. 748.

NASTURTIUM. *Vide* PICKLE.

ORANGE. *See* LIMON, in PICKLES.

5. PARSNIP.—Take the large roots, boil them, and strip the skin; then slit them long-ways into pretty thin slices, flower and fry them in fresh butter till they look brown. The sauce is other sweet butter melted. Some strow sugar and cinamon upon them. Thus you may accommodate other roots.

There is made a mash or pomate of this root, being boiled very tender with a little fresh cream; and being heated again, put to it some butter, a little sugar, and juice of limon, dish it upon sippets; sometimes a few corinths are added.

PENNY-ROYAL. *See* PUDDING.

PICKLES.

6. PICKLED ARTICHOAKS. *See* Acetaria, p. 735.

7. ASHEN-KEYS.—Gather them young, and boil them in three or four waters to extract the bitterness; and when they feel tender, prepare a syrup of sharp white-wine vinegar, sugar, and a little water. Then boil them on a very quick fire, and they will become of a green colour, fit to be potted so soon as cold.

8. Asparagus.—Break off the hard ends, and put them in white-wine vinegar and salt, well covered with it; and so let them remain for six weeks. Then taking them out, boil the liquour or pickle, and scum it carefully. If need be, renew the vinegar and salt; and when 'tis cold, pot them up again. Thus may one keep them the whole year.

9. Beans.—Take such as are young and fresh, and approaching their full growth. Put them into a strong brine of white-wine vinegar and salt able to bear an egg. Cover them very close, and so will they be preserved twelve months; but a month before you use them, take out what quantity you think sufficient for your spending a quarter of a year (for so long the second pickle will keep them sound) and boil them in a skillet of fresh water till they begin to look green, as they soon will do. Then placing them one by one (to drain upon a clean coarse napkin) range them row by row in a jarr, and cover them with vinegar, and what spice you please; some weight being laid upon them to keep them under the pickle. Thus you may preserve French-beans, haricos, &c. the whole year about.

10. Broom-buds and pods.—Make a strong pickle as above, stir it very well, till the salt be quite dissolved, clearing off the dregs and scum. The next day pour it from the bottom; and having rubbed the buds dry, pot them up in a pickle glass, which should be frequently shaken, till they sink under it, and keep it well stopt and covered.

Thus may you pickle any other buds; or as follows:

11. Of Elder.—Take the largest buds, and boil them in a skillet with salt and water, sufficient only to scald them; and so (being taken off the fire) let them remain covered till green; and then pot them with vinegar and salt, which has had one boil up to cleanse it.

12. Collyflowers.—Boil them till they fall in pieces. With some of the stalk, and worst of the flower, boil it in a part of the liquor till pretty strong. Being taken off, strain it; and when settled, clear it from the bottom. Then with dill, gross pepper, a pretty quantity of salt, when cold, add as much vinegar as will make it sharp, and pour all upon the collyflower; and so as to keep them from touching one another; which is prevented by putting paper close to them.

Cornelians are pickled like Olives.

13. Cowslips.—Pickt very clean; to each pound of flowers allow about one pound of loaf sugar, and one pint of white-wine vinegar, which boil to a syrup, and cover it scalding hot. Thus you may pickle clove-gilly-flowers, elder, and other flowers, which being eaten alone, make a very agreeable salletine.

14. Cucumbers.—Take the gerkems, or smaller cucumbers; put them into rape-vinegar, and boyl and cover them so close, as none of the vapour may issue forth; and also let them stand till the next day or longer. Then boil them in fresh white-wine vinegar, with large mace, nutmeg, ginger, white pepper and a little salt (according to discretion), straining the former liquor from the cucumbers; and so place them in a jarr, or wide mouthed glass, laying a little dill and fennel between each rank; and covering all with the fresh scalding-hot pickle: keep all close, and repeat it daily till you find them sufficiently green.

In the same sort cucumbers of the largest size, being peel'd and cut into thin slices, are very delicate. *Note.* That the cucumbers and the gerkems are not to be boiled in either of the vinegars, but poured scalding hot upon them.

Another.—Wiping them clean, put them in a very strong brine of water and salt, to soak two or three hours or longer, if you see cause. Then range them in the jarr or barrellet with herbs and spice as usual; and cover them with hot liquor, made of two parts beer-vinegar, and one of white-wine vinegar. Let all be very well closed. A fortnight after scald the pickle again, and repeat it, as above. Thus they will keep longer, and from being so soon sharp, eat crimp and well tasted, tho' not altogether so green. You may add a walnut-leaf, hysop, costmary, &c.; and as some do, strow on them a little powder of roch-allom, which makes them firm and eatable within a month or six weeks after.

Mango of Cucumbers. Take the biggest cucumbers (and most of the mango size) that look green. Open them on the top or side, and scooping out the seeds, supply their place with a small clove of garlick, or some roccombo seeds. Then put them into an earthen glazed jarr, or wide mouth'd glass, with as much white-wine vinegar as will cover them. Boil them in the vinegar with pepper, cloves, mace, &c. and when off the fire, as much salt as will make a gentle brine; and so pour all boyling hot on the cucumbers, covering them close till the next day. Then put them with a little dill and pickle into a large skillet, and giving them a boyl or two, return them into the vessel again; and when all is cold, add a good spoon-

ful of the best mustard, keeping it from the air, and so you have an excellent mango. When you have occasion to take any out, make use of a spoon, and not your fingers.

ELDER. *See* BUDS.

FLOWERS. *See* COWSLIPS, and for other flowers.

15. LIMON.—Take slices of the thick rind limon, boil and shift them in several waters, till they are pretty tender. Then drain and wipe them dry with a clean cloth; and make a pickle with a little white-wine vinegar, one part to two of fair water, and a little sugar, carefully scum'd. When all is cold, pour it on the peel'd rind, and cover it all close in a convenient glass jarr. Some make a syrup of vinegar, white-wine, and sugar, not too thick, and pour it on hot.

16. MELON.—The abortive and after-fruit of Melons being pickled as cucumber, make an excellent sallet.

17. MUSHROM.—Take a quart of the best white-wine vinegar, as much of white-wine, cloves, mace, nutmeg a pretty quantity, beaten together; let the spice boil therein to the consumption of half; then taken off, and being cold, pour the liquour on the mushroms, but leave out the boiled spice, and cast in of the same sort of spice whole, the nutmeg only slit in quarters, with some limon-peel, white pepper, and, if you please, a whole raw onion, which take out again when it begins to perish.

Another.—The mushroms peel'd, &c. throw them into water, and then into a sauce-pan, with some long pepper, cloves, mace, a quarter'd nutmeg, with an onion, shallot, or roccombo-seed, and a little salt. Let them all boil a quarter of an hour on a very quick fire. Then take out, and cold, with a pretty quantity of the former spice, boil them in some white-wine, which (being cold) cast upon the mushroms, and fill up the pot with the best white-wine, a bay-leaf or two, and an handful of salt: afterwards cover them with the liquour; and if for long keeping, pour sallet oil over all, tho' they will be preserved a year without it.

They are sometimes boil'd in salt and water, with some milk, and laying them in the colender to drain, till cold, and wiped dry, cast them into the pickle with the white-wine, vinegar and salt, grated nutmeg, ginger bruised, cloves, mace, white pepper and limon-peel; pour the liquor on them cold without boiling.

18. NASTURTIUM INDICUM.—Gather the buds before they open to flower; lay them in the shade three or four hours, and putting them into an earthen glazed vessel, pour good vinegar on them, and cover it with a board. Thus let it stand for eight or ten days. Being taken out, and gently press'd, cast them into fresh vinegar, and let them so remain as long as before. Repeat this a third time, and barrel them up with vinegar and a little salt.

ORANGE. See LIMON.

20. POTATO.—The small green fruit (when about the size of the wild cherry) being pickled, is an agreeable sallet. But the root being roasted under the embers, or otherwise, open'd with a knife, the pulp is butter'd in the skin, of which it will take up a good quantity, and is seasoned with a little salt and pepper. Some eat them with sugar together in the skin, which has a pleasant crimpness. They are also stew'd and bak'd in pyes, &c.

21. PURSELAN.—Lay the stalks in an earthen pan. Cover them with beer, vinegar, and water, keeping them down with a competent weight to imbibe, three days. Being taken out, put them into a pot with as much white-wine vinegar as will cover them again; and close the lid with paste to keep in the steam; then set them on the fire for three or four hours, often shaking and stirring them. Open the cover, and turn and remove those stalks which lie at the bottom to the top, and boil them as before, till they are all of a colour. When all is cold, pot them with fresh white-wine vinegar, and so you may preserve them the whole year round.

22. RADISH.—The seed-pods of this root being pickl'd are a pretty sallet.

23. SAMPIER.—Let it be gathered about Michaelmas (or the spring) and put two or three hours into a brine of water and salt; then into a clean tin'd brass pot, with three parts of strong white-wine vinegar, and one part of water and salt, or as much as will cover the sampier, keeping the vapour from issuing out, by pasting down the pot-lid, and so hang it over the fire for half an hour only. Being taken off, let it remain cover'd till it be cold; and then put it up into small barrels or jars, with the liquor, and some fresh vinegar, water, and salt; and thus it will keep very green. If you be near the sea, that water will supply the place of brine. This is the Dover receipt.

24. WALNUTS.—Gather the nuts young, before they begin to harden, but

not before the kernel is pretty white. Steep them in as much water as will more than cover them. Set them on the fire, and when the water boils, and grows black, pour it off, and supply it with fresh, boiling it as before, and continuing to shift it till it becomes clear, and the nuts pretty tender. Let them be put into clean spring water for two days, changing it as before with fresh, two or three times within this space. Lay them to drain, and dry on a clean coarse cloth, and put them up in a glass jar, with a few walnut leaves, dill, cloves, pepper, whole mace, and salt; strowing them under every layer of nuts, till the vessel be three quarters full; and, lastly, replenishing it with the best vinegar, keep it well covered; and so they will be fit to spend within three months.

To make a Mango with them.—The green nuts prepared as before, cover the bottom of the jar with some dill, an handful of bay-salt, &c. and then a bed of nuts; and so stratum upon stratum, as above, adding to the spice some roccombo-seeds; and filling the rest of the jar with the best white-wine vinegar mingled with the best mustard; and so let them remain close covered during two or three months time. And thus have you a more agreeable mango than what is brought us from abroad; which you may use in any sauce, and is of it self a rich condiment.

Thus far Pickles.

25. Potage Maigre.—Take four quarts of spring-water, two or three onions stuck with some cloves, two or three slices of limon-peel, salt, whole white pepper, mace, a raze or two of ginger, tied up in a fine cloth (lawn or tiffany), and make all boil for half an hour; then having spinage, sorrel, white beet-chard, a little cabbage, a few small tops of cives, wash'd and pick'd clean, shred them well, and cast them into the liquor, with a pint of blue pease boil'd soft and strain'd, with a bunch of sweet herbs, the top and bottom of a French roll; and so suffer it to boil during three hours; and then dish it with another small French roll, and slices about the dish. Some cut bread in slices, and frying them brown (being dried) put them into the pottage just as it is going to be eaten.

The same herbs, clean wash'd, broken and pulled asunder only, being put in a close cover'd pipkin, without any other water or liquor, will stew in their own juice and moisture. Some add an whole onion, which after a while should be taken out, remembring to season it with salt and spice, and serve it up with bread and a piece of fresh butter.

26. Pudding of Carrot. — Pare off the crust and tougher part of a two-penny white loaf, grating the rest; as also half as much of the root. Then take half a pint of fresh cream or new milk, half a pound of fresh butter, six new laid eggs (taking out three of the whites), mash and mingle them well with the cream and butter. Put in the grated bread and carrot, with near half a pound of sugar, and a little salt, some grated nutmeg and beaten spice; and pour all into a convenient dish or pan, butter'd, to keep the ingredients from sticking and burning; set it in a quick oven for about an hour, and so have you a composition for any root-pudding.

27. Penny-royal.—The cream, eggs, spice, &c. as above, but not so much sugar and salt. Take a pretty quantity of penny-royal and marigold flower, &c. very well shred, and mingle with the cream, eggs, &c. four spoonfuls of sack; half a pint more of cream, and almost a pound of beef-suet chopt very small, the gratings of a two-penny loaf, and stirring all well together, put it into a bag flower'd, and tie it fast. It will be boil'd within an hour. Or may be bak'd in the pan like the carrot-pudding. The sauce is for both, a little rose-water, less vinegar, with butter, beaten together and poured on it, sweetened with the sugar caster.

Of this plant discreetly dried, is made a most wholsom and excellent tea.

28. Of Spinage.—Take a sufficient quantity of spinach, stamp and strain out the juice; put to it grated manchet, the yolk of as many eggs as in the former composition of the carrot-pudding; some marrow shred small, nutmeg, sugar, some corinths (if you please), a few carroways, rose, or orange-flower water (as you best like), to make it grateful. Mingle all with a little boiled cream, and set the dish or pan in the oven, with a garnish of puff-paste. It will require but very moderate baking. Thus have you receipts for herb-puddiugs.

29. Skirret-milk.—Is made by boiling the roots tender, and the pulp strained out, put into cream or new milk boiled, with three or four yolks of eggs, sugar, large mace, and other spice, &c. And thus is composed any other root-milk. See Acetaria, p. 754.

30. Tansie.—Take the gratings or slices of three Naples-biscuits, put them into half a pint of cream, with twelve fresh eggs, four of the whites

cast out, strain the rest, and break them with two spoonsfull of rose-water, a little salt and sugar, half a grated nutmeg. And when ready for the pan, put almost a pint of the juice of spinach, cleaver, beets, corn-sallet, green corn, violet, or primrose tender leaves (for of any of these you may take your choice), with a very small sprig of tansie, and let it be fried so as to look green in the dish, with a strew of sugar, and store of the juice of orange. Some affect to have it fryed a little brown and crisp.

31. Tart of Herbs.—An herb-tart is made thus: Boil fresh cream or milk, with a little grated bread or Naples-biscuit (which is better) to thicken it; a pretty quantity of chervile, spinach, beete (or what other herb you please) being first par-boil'd and chop'd. Then add macaron, or almonds beaten to a paste, a little sweet butter, the yolk of five eggs, three of the whites rejected. To these some add corinths plump'd in milk, or boil'd therein, sugar, spice at discretion, and stirring it all together over the fire, bake it in the tart-pan.

32. Thistle.—Take the long stalks of the middle leaf of the milky-thistle, about May, when they are young and tender: wash and scrape them, and boil them in water, with a little salt, till they are very soft, and so let them lie to drain. They are eaten with fresh butter melted, not too thin, and is a delicate and wholsome dish. Other stalks of the same kind may so be treated, as the bur, being tender and disarmed of its prickles, &c.

33. Trufles, and other Tubers, and Boleti, are roasted whole in the embers; then slic'd and stew'd in strong broth with spice, &c. as mushroms are. Vide Acetaria, p. 801 and 805.

34. Turnep.—Take their stalks (when they begin to run up to seed) as far as they will easily break downwards: peel and tie them in bundles. Then boiling them as they do sparagus, are to be eaten with melted butter. Lastly,

35. Minc'd, or Sallet-all-sorts.—Take almonds blanch'd in cold water, cut them round and thin, and so leave them in the water; then have pickl'd cucumbers, olives, cornelians, capers, berberries, red-beet, buds of nasturtium, broom, &c. purslan-stalk, sampier, ash-keys, walnuts, mushrooms, (and almost of all the pickl'd furniture,) with raisins of the sun ston'd, citron and

orange-peel, corinths (well cleansed and dried), &c. mince them severally (except the corinths), or all together; and strew them over with any candy'd flowers, and so dispose of them in the same dish both mixt, and by themselves. To these add roasted maroons, pistachios, pine-kernels, and of almonds four times as much as of the rest, with some rose-water. Here also come in the pickled flowers and vinegar in little china dishes. And thus have you an universal winter-sallet, or an all-sort in compendium, fitted for a city feast, and distinguished from the grand-sallet, which shou'd consist of the green, blanch'd, and unpickled, under a stately pennash of sellery, adorn'd with buds and flowers.

And thus have we presented you a taste of our English Garden Housewifry in the matter of Sallets. And though some of them may be vulgar (as are most of the best things), yet she was willing to impart them, to shew the plenty, riches, and variety of the sallet-garden. And to justifie what has been asserted of the possibility of living (not unhapily) on herbs and plants, according to original aud Divine institution, improved by time and long experience. And if we have admitted mushroms among the rest (contrary to our intention, and for reasons given, Aceteria, p. 746), since many will by no means abandon them, we have endeavoured to preserve them from those pernicious effects which are attributed to, and really in them. We cannot tell, indeed, whether they were so treated and accommodated for the most luxurious of the Cæsarean tables, when that monarchy was in its highest strain of epicurism, and ingross'd this haut-gout for their second course; whilst this we know, that 'tis but what nature affords all her vagabonds under every hedge.

And now, that our sallets may not want a glass of generous wine of the same growth with the rest of the garden to recommend it, let us have your opinion of the following:

Cowslip-wine. To every gallon of water put two pounds of sugar; boil it an hour, and set it to cool. Then spread a good brown toast on both sides with yeast. But before you make use of it, beat some syrop of citron with it, an ounce and half of syrup to each gallon of liquor. Then put in the toast whilst hot, to assist its fermentation, which will cease in two days; during which time cast in the cowslip-flowers (a little bruised, but not much stamp'd) to the quantity of half a bushel to ten gallons (or rather three pecks) four limons slic'd, with the rinds and all. Lastly, one pottle of white or

Rhenish wine; and then, after two days, tun it up in a sweet cask. Some leave out all the syrup.

And here, before we conclude, since there is nothing of more constant use than good vinegar; or that has so near an affinity to all our Acetaria, we think it not amiss to add the following (much approved) receipt:

Vinegar. To every gallon of spring water let there be allowed three pounds of Malaga-raisins. Put them in an earthen jar, and place them where they may have the hottest sun, from May till Michaelmas. Then pressing them well, tun the liquor up in a very strong iron-hoop'd vessel to prevent its bursting. It will appear very thick and muddy when newly press'd, but will refine in the vessel, and be as clear as wine. Thus let it remain untouched for three months before it be drawn off, and it will prove excellent vinegar.

Butter. Butter being likewise so frequent and necessary an ingredient to divers of the foregoing appendants; it should be carefully melted, that it turn not to an oyl; which is prevented by melting it leisurely, with a little fair water at the bottom of the dish or pan; and by continual shaking and stirring, kept from boiling or over-heating, which makes it rank.

Other rare and exquisite liquors and teas (products of our gardens only) we might superadd, which we leave to our lady housewives, whose province, indeed, all this while it is.

GENERAL INDEX.

Where the letter *n* is attached to a figure, the particulars will be found in a Note upon the page referred to.

A. A. by whom used as a cypher, 302.
Abacus, derivation and description of the, 382.
Abbas, King of Persia, his plan for recruiting his kingdom, 615. his examination of the Jewish faith, 616, 617. his covenant with the Jews, 618; discovery of ditto by Abbas II. and his proceedings thereon, 619.
Abdication of kings and princes censured, 517, 518.
Academies of art instituted, 317, 319.
Acadiæ, sculpture used by the, 275.
Acids for salads, directions for, 765.
Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets, 1699, notice of the work, xx. reprint of, 721; notice of the editions of, 722. defence of its subject, 725, 726, 727.
Acetaria, what plants are signified by the name, 733, 734.
Acroteria, derivation and description of, 416.
Act of Parliament against Moor-burning, 234.
Action, the existence of God, 510; blessedness of, 511; blessings produced by, 551.
Actions, ever to be consecrated, 115, 139.
Activity productive of happiness, 515, 516.
Adam, said to have invented sculpture, 263, 267; books said to have written by, ib. 264; society not the cause of his fall, 530.
Addison, Joseph, his observation concerning the buildings of Rome, 213 n.
Admiral, of France, his rank and office, 75. institution and derivation of the title, 662 and n.
Admiralty Court, of France, 74. office of the, by whom instituted, 647.
Adolphus, Gustavus, II. king of Sweden, his naval victories, 652.
Adoxous, explanation of the word, 230.
Adversity met with fortitude during the civil wars in England, 519.
Advocates General in the Parliamentary Courts of France, 72.
Æleas, King of Scythia, his saying concerning inactivity, 517.
Ælianus, Claudus, his praise of patriotic councillors, 514. his list of philosophers and scholars in public employment, 538, 539.
Aelst, Peter Van, engravings executed by, 302.
Æmilius, Paulus, causes his son to be taught engraving, 326.
Æmylius, his naval victory, 644.
Aeragus, beautiful carvings of, 272.
Æsculapius, sacrifices of hair made to, 138.
Africa, discovered by Cham, 639.
A. G. by whom used as a mark, 291.
Agathias, reference to concerning the Roman philosophers, 19.
Aglaphontes used but one colour in his paintings, 323.
Agogice, metal figures cast with wax, 258.
Aides of France, when instituted and what, 66.
Air, names and nature of, 215. character of the most pure, 216. ditto of hot, cold, and dry, ib. continual food of the body, 217. danger of corrupting it, 218. how it circulates through the body, 226. how damaged by smoke, 235, 236. effect of upon the passions, 238.
—— of London, smoky nature of, 210. 219. *Vide* London.
—— of Paris, dry and healthy nature of the, 94, 95.
Alaturnus, destruction of by the winter of 1683, 694. seeds of, directions for gathering, &c. 474.
Alban's, St. Henry Jermyn, Earl of, notice of his mansion, 342 n.
Alberti, Cherubino, his engravings, 287.
——— Leon Baptista, his term for the Volute 381. do. for Guttæ, 396. his learning and publications, 561.
Aldegrever, Henry, his mark and engravings, 291.
Alexander the Great, his ungraceful carriage, 30. flattery of by Nicesius and Anaxander, 33. his rejection of flattery, 37. his order concerning his effigy, 271.
Alexanders, their Latin names and nature as herbs, 735.
Alexandria, merchant fleet to, 572. extensive commerce of, 647.
Alfred, King of England, naval power of, 661.
Almoner, Great, of France, head of the French ecclesiastics, 61.

Alms bestowed by the Jews in expectation of a Messiah, 593.
Aloës, general directions for, 484, 485.
Alphonso, King of Castile, his impious saying concerning the world, 629.
Ambition, to be found in solitude, 511. cannot be extinguished, 512. virtue and vice of considered, 520.
America, butchers removed from the Spanish towns in, 237. sculptures found in various parts of, 275. several claims to the discovery of, 654, 655.
Ammanus, Jost, or Justus, his book of trades engraved on wood, 294. 302.
Amphiprostyle, its nature and number of columns, 390.
Ampoulle, Sainte, or Holy Phial, legend of, 54.
Amsterdam, learning of the merchants at, 540.
Anaglyphice, casting of embossed metal images, 258. more modern than sculpture, 269.
Anaxagoras, resigns his patrimony for freedom, 26.
Anaxander, his flattery of Alexander, 33.
Anaximines, his belief that air was the cause of all things, 215.
Ancæsa Vasa, notice of the, 260.
Anchors, first invention and improvement of, 637.
Anemonies, directions for planting, 481.
Angels, their struggles after liberty, 9,
Anger, seat of in the human body, 128. how to be governed in youth, 129, 130.
Anjou, Mons. the Duke of, his character, 55.
Annates, a source of the French revenue, 66.
Ante Pilasters, or Antes, what they are, 385, 390.
Antinous, relation of his apotheosis, 30.
Antisthenes, his reply on public employment, 549.
Antonio, Marco, copies the engravings of Albert Durer, 278. praised and employed by Raffaelle, 279. character of his engravings and notice of his other works, ib. 280. marks inserted on his plates, 280. recommended to Albert Durer, ib. designs of J. Romano and B. Bandinelli, engraved by, 281.
Antonius Pius, his maxim concerning natural affections, 21.
Apelles, his picture of Alexander, 37. 271.
Apicius Cælius, his methods of dressing mushrooms referred to, 747 n.
Apollo, sacrifices of hair made to, 138.
Apollonius, his objection to hunting, 9.
Apology for the Royal Party, 1659, notice of the work, x. reprint of, 169—192. the author's intent in writing it, 189.
Apophyges, what is meant by the, 376, 379.
Aposphragismata, Pliny's notice of the, 271.
Apothecaries Garden at Chelsea, heating of the greenhouse at, 485 n.
Appanages, a source of wealth to the crown of France, 65.
Appius Claudius, naval expedition under, 643.
Apples, names of those in prime and lasting in January, 445; do. in February, 448; do. in March, 451; do. in April, 456; do. in May, 460; do. in June, 465; do. in July, 468; do. in August, 472; do. in September, 476; do. in October, 480; do. in November, 484; do. in December, 487. catalogue of the best, 495.
Apprenticeship in France, a diminution of honour, 81.
Apricots, catalogue of the best, 496.
April, length of the days, &c. in, 454. work to be done in the orchard and kitchen-garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 456. work to be done in the parterre and flower garden, ib. flowers in prime and lasting in, 458.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, reference to concerning the fallen angels, 9. his mention of the writings of Adam, 264.
Arabia, why called the Happy, 208.
Arare campum cereum, cleaning of a waxen tablet, 262.
Archæologia, notice of Brompton Park Gardens in the, 714 n.
Archbishop of Paris, his jurisdiction, 94.
Archbishops of France, their number and nature, 78.
Archers of the Royal Guard of France, described, 63.
Arches, or Vaults, various kinds of described, 386, 387. triumphal ornaments and figures anciently used for, 421.
Architects, to be more perfect in geometry, perspective, and design, 344. 373. qualities required in, 356, 357. excellence and rank of, 359. should be gifted by schools and lectures, ib. knighted in Italy, 362.
Architects and Architecture, an Account of, notice of the work, xvi. reprint of, 349—424. its use to the workmen at St. Paul's, 352. origin of the book, 353. derivation and extent of the word Architect, 353—358. matter and form of buildings not treated of, and why, 360. styles of architecture intended to be spoken of, 365. terms used by: Taxis and Ordonance, 368; Diathesis, 369; Ichnography, Orthography, Scenography, 371; Eurythmia, Decor, 372; Foundation, Stereobata, Stylobata, 374; ornaments and members of the latter, 375; Scamilli impares, ib.; the Base and its parts, 376; the Plinth, Torus, Trochile, and Astragal, 377; Sulos, 378; Capital, 379, 380—382; Striges, 383; Pilasters, 384; Imposts and Pilæ, 385; Arches, 386; Mensula, 387; Intercolumniation, 388; Areostylos, Diastylos, Systylos, ib.; Species of Columns, 390, 391; Architrave, 391; Facias, Cymaticum, 392, 393; Tænia, 393; Frieze, 394; Triglyphs, Guttæ, 395; Metopæ, Cornice, 396; Ovolo, Dentelli, 397; Modilions, 398: Mutules, Projectures, Corona, 399; Regula, 401; Module, 404; Orders of,

described: Tuscan, 405; Doric, 406; Ionic, Corinthian, 408; Composite, 410; Caryatides, 411; Columns of various species, 412; Tympanum, 414; Acroteria, Cupola, 416; Dome, Windows, Niches, 417; Tribunals, Relievos, 419; Ornaments, 420; how appropriated to various buildings, 421; Emblema, 422; Mosaic and Tessellations, 423; conclusion, ib. 424.
Architecture, derived of the Greeks, 355. not cultivated in England, but greatly encouraged in Italy, 362. rude originals of, 363. etymon of the word, ib. extensive meaning of, 364. connection between military and civil, 365. Greek and Roman the most perfect kinds, ib. monastic style of, censured, ib. 366. by whom corrupted, 366. names of its chief revivers, 367. numerous requisites of, 368. its connection with painting and sculpture, 559.
Architectus Ingenio, what is intended by, 358.
——— Sumptuarius, do. 358.
——— Manuarius, 358.
Architrave, its derivation and meaning, 391. in the Doric Order, 407.
Areostylos, what it signifies in Architecture, 388.
Argentum asperum et pustulatum, rough and embossed silver, 259.
Aristippus the elder, his boast of free speaking, 21.
Aristophanes, passage from concerning the Silphium, 759 n.
Aristotle, various quotations from and references to, 21. 326. 329. 501. 511. 777 n. 781.
Aristoxenus, his moisture for Lettuce-beds, 743.
Arlington, Henry Earl of, Dedications addressed to, 565, 623. requests Evelyn to write a History of the Dutch War, 628 n.
Armada, Naval, of France, account of the, 76.
Armies of France, numbers of the standing, 76. auxiliaries serving in the, 80.
Army of England, its monopoly of power in the Civil Wars, 182. deception of the, by the Parliament, ib.
Army's plea for their present practice, 1659. extracts and animadversions on, 180, 181. particulars concerning the, 180 n.
Arrests, or Acts of the Parliament of France declared, 72.
Arrian, reference to concerning the Stoical doctrine of Vice, 15. his Manual of the Stoic Morality, and discourses of Epictetus, 24.
Arthur, King of Britain, his naval expeditions, 660.
Artichokes, Latin names and methods of dressing and preserving, 735. 800. introduction of, to England, and ancient price of, 736.
Artillerie, Grand Maitre de l', in France, 75.
Artillery, at Havre de Grace, Motto on the, 58, excellent stores of in France, 86.
Artists, encouragement of in all ages and places, 317. intellectual endowments requisite to, 318. names of such as used but two colours, 323.
Arts, decay of the, in Greece and Rome, 273. lamentation for the, by Petronius, 274. means of recovering in England, ib. 275. 310. 311. eulogy on the Patrons of the, 290. 317. academies of, as instituted by Princes, 317. 319. terms of various, preserved by the French, 354.
Arundel, Thomas Earl of, his saying concerning Drawing, 312. eulogium on, and notice of, 555. Evelyn's notice of his Library, 556 n. marbles belonging to, presented to Oxford and published, 557 n.
Ascham, Anthony, notice of, 178 n.
Ashen-keys, directions for preserving, 802.
Ashley, Sir Anthony, Cabbages brought into England by, 738. biographical notice of him, ib. n.
Ashmole, Elias, notice of him, 290 n.
Asia, discovered by Shem and Japhet, 639.
Asiatics, effects of the air on the, 216.
Asparagus, qualities of, and method of dressing, 754. Dr. Lister's method of forcing, 779. do. for potting, 803.
Assafœtida, historical notices of, 759 and note.
Astragal, its derivation and meaning in Architecture, 377, 378.
Astronomy, great importance of to Gardeners, 431.
Astyages, King of Media, anecdote of his cruelty, 33.
Athanasius, St. his mention of sacrificing hair, 138.
Athenæus, various references to and quotations from, 30. 33. 636. 637. 739, 740 n. 746. 763, and note. 772 n. 774, 775 n. 777 n, 780. 793 n. 796 n.
Athenians, consequences of their abandoning their Kings, 52. their naval engagements and fall, 642, 643.
Attic base, how it is formed, 376.
Attila, King of the Huns, his rejection of flattery, 37.
A. V. signification of the mark, 281.
Aubrey, John, his notice of Nonesuch and Durdans Palaces, 419 n. Letter of Evelyn to, from his History of Surrey, 687. additions to ditto, 691 n.
Audran, Charles, his print of St. Catherine, 304.
Avernus, Lake of, notice concerning the, 221 n.
August, length of the days, &c. in, 471. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 472. work to be done in the parterre and flower garden in, 473. flowers in prime and lasting in, 475.
Augustine, St. D. Aurelius, reference to concerning servitude, 11. his admiration of Epictetus, 24. his praise of his son, 107. his sorrow for him, 111. calls Adam the inventor of sculpture, 263.
Augustino Venetiano, his engravings and cypher, 280. employed by B. Baldinelli, ib.
Augustus Octavianus Cæsar, Emperor of Rome, appoints Dioscorides his Sculptor, 271. commands Podius to be taught drawing, 330. ac-

tive virtues of, celebrated, 513. his naval discoveries and conquests, 644. his fleets and squadrons enumerated, 645. his praise of lettuce, 743.
A. V. I. explanation of the mark, 280.
Aviaries, various directions concerning, 448. 454. 466.
Avicenna, his remark concerning the Ethiops, 217.

B.

Bacchus, his discoveries and instruction in navigation, 639.
Bacon, Sir Francis, Lord Verulam, various references to, and quotations from, xxi. 540. 747. 777, 781 n.
Bainein, signification of the word, 376.
Baldini, Baccio, his engraving and printing, 277.
Baldus, Bernardinus, his Lexicon to Vitruvius, 354. his term for a capital, 374. explanation of Sulos, 378. observation on the architrave, 391.
Balls, style of the English defended, 161. description and censure of one, 164.
Ballusters, general rules concerning, 422.
Balm, its nature as an herb, and method of using, 736.
Bandinelli, Baccio, A. Venetiano employed by, 281. his designs engraved by M. Antonio, ib.
Bankside, notice of buildings on the, 223.
Banquets of England, tedious formality of, 167.
Barbaro, Daniel, his description of foundations, 373. notice of him ib. note. his derivation of the Italian word Cortice, 377.
Barbarini, Rome despoiled of its architecture by the family of, 389.
Barberries, catalogue of the best sorts of, 496.
Barclay, John, his praise of Greenwich Palace, 232, and note.
Bark, anciently used for writing on, 267.
Barlacchi, Tomaso, his engravings after Michel Angelo, &c. 283, 284.
Barlæus, Gaspard, salad described by, 793.
Barlow, Francis, his engravings to Ogilby's Æsop, 310.
Barristers of England, their inferiority to those of France, 166.
Bas-de-Soie shot through, what they were, 710.
Bases, ornaments of, 375. their derivation, meaning, and parts, 376. various kinds of, ib. of the Tuscan Order, 406. of the Doric ditto, 407. of the Ionic ditto, 408. of the Corinthian ditto, 409. of the Composite ditto, 411.
Basil, its nature as a sallad, 736.
Bassano, Giacomo da Ponte, fault committed by, in his pictures, 560.
Bastone, the Italian name for the Trochile, 377.
Baur, John William, Battles etched by, 298.
Beale, John, his Latin verses to Evelyn on his book of architecture, 347.
Beans, directions for pickling, 803.
Beatrice, Nicole, engravings executed by, 303.
Beccafumi, Domenico, engravings by, 283.
Bees, various directions concerning, 445. 448. 451. 456. 460. 465. 468. 472. 476.
Beet, different kinds of, their nature and method of dressing, 736.
Beham, Hans Sebald, his mark and works, 291.
Belial, import of his name, 10.
Bella, Stephano della, his excellent collection of etchings, 288.
Berkeley, the Earl of, notice of his villa, at Durdans, 419, and note.
——— House, inlaid floor at, 423.
Bernard, Solomon, the Little, excellence of his small engravings, 303.
Bernini, Cavalier, his wreathed and embossed columns, 412, extensive abilities of, 561.
Beverovicius, John, vegetable diet defended by, 780.
Bibliander, Theodore, his idea of the origin of letters and sculpture, 267.
Bindley, James, Esq. his MS. note in Evelyn's tract on Liberty and Servitude, 3. his copy of the First Edition of the French Gardiner, 97 n. his MS. note in Evelyn's Translation of St. Chrysostom's Golden Book, 112 n.
Bischop, John de, an Advocate and Engraver, 301.
Bishops of France, their number, 78.
Blagrave, Joseph, his engraved diagrams, 327.
Blazons, Heraldic, expressed by lines, 323.
Bleau, William Jansen, his observation concerning Durer's prints, 290.
Blite, its names, kinds, and manner of dressing, 737.
Bloemart, Abraham and Cornelius, their engravings, 298.
Blood, eating of considered and censured, 786, 787.
Bochart, Samuel, various references to, 641 n. 659 n.
Body, liberty of the, 10. continually feeding on air, 217. how the air enters it, 226. architectural proportion derived from the, 403.
Boetius a Boot, Arnold, his sentiments on Newcastle coal, 227. notice of him, ib. n.
Bolino, Bolio, an Italian graving tool, 262.
Bolswert, Adam, his rustics after Bloemart, 295. portraits and other plates by, 296.
Boltel, a name for the Astragal, 378.
Bonasoni, Giulio, engravings by, 284.
Borgiani, Horatio, his engravings in Raffaelle's Bible, 288.
Borrage, its nature and mode of using, 737.
Borromeo, Cardinal St. Charles, his admiration of the Discourses of Epictetus, 24.
Bosse, Abraham du, his excellent copies after Callot, 307. peculiar style of his engravings, 308. small ornamental plates by, and his work on engraving, ib. 335. his remarks on the perspective of irregular surfaces, 322. his invention for executing single hatchings, 323. his censure of errors in costume, &c. 561.

Boulla, import of the word, 262.
Bourbon, House of, how descended, 53.
———, Louis de, Prince of Condé, his descent and character, 55, 56. Grand Maitre de France, 60. a Member of the Conseil d'en haut, 67.
———, Armand de, Prince of Conty, character of, 56.
Bourdeaux, Chambre Miparties established in, 72.
Bow, proposal for removing the London Brewers to, 233.
Bowling-greens of England, delightful, 167.
Box, how to remove its offensive smell, 458.
Boyle, Hon. Robert, Dedication of the Sculptura to, 243. eulogy on, and work of referred to, 552 and note. his queries concerning Sallads, 768.
Brass plates used for engraving, 277.
—— wire, mills for the drawing of first built in Surrey, 689.
Bread, engraving of, mentioned by Pliny, 272. made of Turnips, recipe for, 756.
Breast, supposed to be the seat of anger, 128.
Breughels, subjects engraved by the, 301.
Brewers of London, proposal for settling them at Bow, 233.
Bridges with extraordinary arches, 386.
Bridgewater, the Earl of, his house and gardens in Barbican, 222. notice of the family, ib. n.
Brill, Paul, his engraved landscapes, 295.
Britain, ancient unknown state of, 644.
Britons, early naval exploits of the, 659. their lordship of the sea exhibited, 670. 673.
Brocoli, historical mention of, 738.
Brompton Park Nursery-gardens, 714 and note. 715, 716, 717. recommended, 497.
Bronchorst, John Van, his excellent etchings, 295.
Brooke, Robert, Lord, death of, 178 n.
Brooklime, nature and qualities of the herb, 737.
Broom-pods and buds, directions for pickling, 803.
Brossehaemer, Hans, his Triumph of Maximilian, 294.
Brouncker, Lord Viscount, *Letter to on the Spanish Sembrador*, 1669-70, 621. notice of, 723 n.
Browne, Sir Richard, Dedication addressed to, 505. his shelter of the loyalists and clergy, in the civil wars recorded, 506 and note.
———, Sir Thomas, reference to his tracts, 778 n.
———, Major General, particulars concerning him, 177 n.
Brussels, the late news from, unmasked, 1660, notice of, xi. reprint of, 193—204. reprint of the tract itself, 195 n.—202 n. notice concerning them 194. character of the tract answered by Evelyn, xi. 195 n. vide Charles II.
Bruyn, Nicholas de, his engraved wood scenery, 295.
Bry, Theodore de, his illustrated voyages 295.
Bucher, Buch-mast, analogy of with books, 267.
Buckland, Mr. his recommendation of the culture of potatoes in England, 447 n.
Budæus, Gulielmus, his definition of architect, 355.
Buds of herbs, their qualities and use, 737.
Bugloss, its qualities, 737.
Buildings, requisites wanted for the construction of, 358. their matter and form, why not treated of, 360. rude originals of, 363. various kinds of, all called architecture, 364. of Rome, how erected and despoiled, 389.
Buonarroti, Michel Angelo, his distinction concerning sculpture, 261. retouches an engraving by Martin of Antwerp, 277. engravings after, ib. 283. 285. defence of his works, 560.
Burdock, its use as a sallad, 758.
Bureaux, signification of, 65.
Burials, ancient laws concerning, 236.
Burine, the French graver, 262.
Butchers should be removed from cities, 236, 237.
Butter, directions for preparing for sallad, 811.

C.

Cabbage, historical remarks on, nature and method of dressing, 737, 738.
Cadmus, his colonies and inventions, 639.
Cælatura, different kinds of work signified by, 259, 260.
Cælum, Cæles, Cæltes, names for a style, 261.
Cælum Tornos, embossed metal cups, 260.
Cæsar, C. Julius, various references to, and quotations from, 88. 415. 513. 659. 670.
Cæsari, Alessandro, fine medals executed by, 289.
Calaber, Peter, his mistake concerning printing, 267.
Calathus in a Corinthian capital, 381.
Calcar, or Kalcker, John Van, his anatomical designs, 284.
Cales, or Cadiz, expedition of the Earl of Essex to, 664.
Calices Diatreti, mentioned by Martial, 259.
Caligula, C. Emperor of Rome, his endeavour to tempt Demetrius, 25.
Calligraphers, names of eminent French, 305. do. of English, 310.
Callimachus, the inventor of the flowery volute, 381. 383.
Callot, Jacques, eulogium on, 307. principal engravings of, ib. 308.
Cambyses, King of Persia, anecdote of his cruelty, 33.
Camden, William, Clarenceux King of Arms, various references to, 419. 677. 679.
Camp, Maitres de, in France, 75.
Cape of Good Hope, passage to India by the, 649.
Capel, Arthur Rich, Lord, his defence of Colchester, and fate, 176 n.
Capitaine de la Porte in France, his guard, 61.
Capital of a column, 379. and its parts, 380—382. determines its Order, 405. of the Tuscan Order, 406. of the Doric do. 407. of the

Ionic do. 408. of the Corinthian, do. 409. of the Composite do. ib. 410.
Capitolinus, Julius, reference to concerning Antonius Pius, 21.
Capsicum, Indian, nature and method of preparing the, 750.
Cardanus, Jerome, his remarks on wild plants, 760 n. vegetable diet rejected by, 777.
Cards, skill of the English females in playing at defended, 159 n. their advantages at play, 160, 161.
Carew, Sir George, his relation of the state of France, ix.
Carmen, extreme rudeness of the, in England, 150.
Carpi, Ugo da, his engravings in Chiaro-scuro, 282.
Carracci, Annibale, print of, impossible to counterfeit, 324.
———, Augustino and Annibal, their engravings, 285, 286.
Carrots, Latin names of, and method of raising, 738. directions for making a pudding of, 808.
Carter, Francis, an eminent artist with the pen, 316.
Carthaginians, their ancient commerce and naval power, 643. frequent sea-fights with the Romans, ib.
Carthusians, Order of the, their social prayer, 529.
Caryatides, 357. historical account of and use, 411, 412.
Cassianus, notice of his martyrdom, 262.
Cathetus in the Ionic volute, 382.
Catholics, Roman, of France, their character, 82.
Cato, Marcus Portius, the Censor, reference to his commendations of cabbage, 737.
Catsius, Jacobus, his sallad, 793.
Cavaglieri, Giovanni Battista, his engravings, 283.
Cavaglio, Giacomo del, his works and abilities, 283.
Cavalry of France, regiments of, 76. excellence of, 85.
Cavatores, engravers anciently so called, 261.
Caverns, subterranean, mortality of, 225.
Caukerken, or Caukern, Cornelius Van, his engravings, 299.
Cauliflowers, to secure good heads of, 472. historical mention of, 738. directions for pickling, 803.
Ceilings first painted, 401.
Celery, 753. domestic use of, for a sallad, 754.
Celsus, Aurelianus Cornelius, impiety of, concerning Epictetus, 24. his rule concerning foods, 781.
Cerei Pugillares, hand-tables of wax, 262.
Cesij, Giovanni Jacopo, account of him, 569. commissioned to procure a slave for Jumbel Aga, 570.
Chabot, John and Sebastian, discoveries attributed to, 655.
Chalk, excellency of drawing upon coloured paper with, 316.
Cham, his exploits, 264. sculptured columns of, 265. parts of the earth discovered by, 639.
Chamberlain, High, of France, his duties and officers, 60.
Chambre, La Grand, of France, its officers and duties, 71.
Chancellor of France, office and ceremonies of the, 69. peculiarities of his dress, 70.
Chaperon, Nicholas, his engravings after Raffaelle, 304.
Character of England, 1659, 141—167. vide England.
Character of France, 1659, notice of, 143 n.
Characters, a satirical game so called, 164 n.
Charasch, Charasso, Carath, Charatto, their connection and signification, 263.
Chardoon, the Spanish, method of dressing, 736.
Charlemagne, Emperor, his institution of naval offices, 646, 547.
Charles V. Emperor of Germany, his abdication censured, 577. his visits to the tomb of Bueckeld, 680. his maxim concerning the sea, 635.
Charles I. King of England, eulogium on his virtuous suffering, vii. 522. his proclamations, &c. on the British fisheries and fleet for guarding them, 683, 684.
Charles II. King of England, his restoration, xi. adopts the Eastern costume, xiii. his enquiry into the state of English timber, xiv. presented with the first pine-apple raised in England, 101 n. 432 n. vindication of, from the charge of revenge, 185. 195, 196. 198. 203. from popery, 186. 203. eulogy on him and his brothers, 187. 201. 202, 203. pretended calumnious letter concerning, 195 n.—202 n. his virtuous conversation vindicated, 197. assertion of his intentions of vengeance, 199 n. 202 n, his pretended courtesy to the Presbyterians, 200 n. Dedications addressed to, 207. 339. 627. his encouragement of Evelyn's Fumifugium, 207 n. his buildings, plantations, &c. celebrated, 340, 341. 345. his charter and grant of Chelsea College to the Royal Society, 556. his encouragement of commerce, 634. his encouragement of naval discoveries, 665.
Chart and Map engravers of France, &c. 309.
Chastity of Youth, importance and means of preserving, 132. to be preserved by an early marriage, 134.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, his orthography of Gilly-flower, 466 n.
Chauveau, Francis, his invention and engravings, 305.
Chaulmes, the Duchess of, immense value of her bed plumes, 81.
Cheerfulness of the people of France, 92.
Chemice, casting of metal figures, 258.

Cheret, explanation and connection of the word, 263.
Cherries, in prime and lasting in May, 460. ditto in June, 465. ditto in July, 469. Catalogue of the best kinds of, 496.
Chervil, or Scandix Cerefolium, its variety in the kitchen garden, 445 n. Latin names and character of as a sallad, 738.
Chesnut, directions for dressing, 800.
Chiaro-scuro, first engravings in, 282.
Children (vide Youth), of France, the character and disposition of, 90. St. Chrysostom's book on the education of, 103—140. how sorrow for their deaths should be mitigated, 105, 106. anxiety of fathers to clothe them richly, 113. their manners to be early and carefully cultured to virtue, 114, 115. advice for the government of the speech of, 115, 116, 117. 119. ditto for their correction, 118. ditto for guarding their sense of hearing, 119. examples for introducing them to the knowledge of the Scriptures, 120. 122. 126, 127, 128. and the duties of religion, 122. repetitions of Scripture stories to be made by, 122. 124. advice for naming them, 124. their smelling to be kept from perfumes, 126. sight of to be guarded, 127. means of doing it, ib. their touch to be carefully preserved, 128. how their anger should be governed, 129. duties of wards their domestics, 130, 131, 132. of London, great mortality of, 214. exposure of in heathen countries, ib. importance of teaching them by pictures, 329, 330.
Chimnies, means of improving those in the works in London, 213.
China, early use of sculpture and chalcography, 274, 275. pretended antiquity of the Chinese printing, 275.
Chinese, their strangely-built ships, 654.
Choice of mankind generally erroneous, 548.
Christ, cause of his seeking retirement, 528.
Chrysippus, his praise of Dion, 17.
Chrysostom, St. John (vide Children), Evelyn's translation of the *Golden Book of*, 1659, x. 103—140. reasons for its publication, 106. discovery of the manuscript of, 112. concluding blessing of, 137. notes to, 138. his Marriage Homily referred to, 140. allusion to another work by him on the education of children, ib.
Chrysostom, Dion, reference to, 8.
Chrystal, ancient name for graving on, 259.
Church of France, notice of, 78. possessions of the, 87.
——— of England, desolate state of in the civil wars, 152 n.
Churches, censure of the English during the civil wars, 154. organs taken from the, and set up in taverns, 157. ornaments and figures proper for, 421.
Church-yards should be removed from the city, 213. 236.
Cicero, Marcus T., various references to and quotations from, 226. 327. 356. 510, 511. 513. 536. 551. 625. 634. 644, 645. 661. 726. 746. 794 n. 796 n.
Cigala, Johannes Michael, a pretended Ottoman prince, vide Mahomed Bei, 578—586. his pretended descent, 578.
———, Scipio, his capture, profession of Mahometanism, and advancement in Turkey, 578.
———, Sinen Bassa, his real issue, 584.
———, account of the families of, 585.
———, Mahomed, notice of him, 584.
———, Meni Pasha, his issue, 585.
———, Viscount, false account of his burial, 585.
Circuses, ancient ornaments and figures of, 421.
Cisij, Signor Pietro, his account of two impostors, 565.
Cities, importance of their improvement and decoration, 345. their neighbourhood unfavorable to vegetables, 778.
Cities of France, having parliaments, 72. in what they differ from that of Paris, ib.
Civil wars, dreadful state of religion in England during the, 152, 153. miseries of the, 172, 173, 174. 185.
City, parallel between the government of a, and the mind of a child, 115, 116. 126. the gates of allegorized, 116, 117. 119. 126, 127, 128. vide London.
Clarendon, Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of, notice of his mansion, 341 n.
Clary, method of dressing, 739.
Clavers, how used as a sallad, 739.
Claudian, various references to and quotations from, 6. 48, 49. 221.
Claudius, Emperor of Rome, poisoned by eating mushrooms, 746.
Clement of Alexandria, his name for the Egyptian priests, 43.
Cleophanes, colours introduced by, 323.
Cleyn, Francis and John, their astonishing drawings with the pen, 316.
Coal, the rarity of in London of benefit to the gardens and orchards, 212, 222.
——, sea, desirable to be freed from smoke, 213. immoderate use of in London, 220. danger of to the air, 227, 228. 230.
Coasts of France, their fortifications, 87.
Cochin, Nicholas, his engravings after Beaulieu, 306.
Cock, Jerome, engravings executed by, 291.
Cocu, Girolamo, engravings by, 283.
Cohen, Nehemiah, notice of him, 605. disputes with Sabatai Sevi, 606. his revenge, *ibid.* 607.
Colaptice, carving or cutting in stone, 528.
Colchis, Argonautic expedition to, 640.
Cold, names of plants bearing different degrees of, 489.
Colignon, Francis, his engravings, 306.
Collaert, Adrian, his engravings on steel, 298.

Colours used by the ancient artists, 323. first use of, ib.
Columella, L. Junius Moderatus, various quotations from and references to, 425. 431 and note, 432 n. 434 n. 729.
Columbus, Christopher, his maritime discoveries, 654, 655.
Columns, proportions of and propriety in using, 372. 375. Sulos, the name for, 378. their increase and diminution considered, ib. 379. striges in, 383. spaces or intercolumniations, 388. various dispositions of named and considered, 390. 413. human figures anciently used for, 391. 411, 412. of the Tuscan order, 406. of the Ionic order, 408. various other kinds of described, 412. wreathed ones, when used, ib. notice of double ones, 413.
Columna, Fabius, his discovery of the nature of plants by the insects feeding on them, 761.
Combabus, his sacrifice, 31.
Combefis, Padre Francesco, his discovery of the original MS. of St. Chrysostom's Golden Book, 112. his translation of St. Chrysostom referred to, 140.
Comines, Philip de, his commendation of English manners, 146 n.
Commenius, John Amos, his *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, 329, 330.
Commerce, opulence of many nations caused by, 632. its origin and progress considered, 633, 634. vast utility and importance of, 635. earliest memorials of noticed, 641. notice of the Hebrew, Phenician, &c. ib. of the Roman, 645, 646, 647. improvement of under Charlemagne, 647. account of the Egyptian, ib. of the Venetian and Portuguese, 648. of the Dutch and Northern nations, 649. 651. decay of in several eminent ports, 650. notice of the French, ib. of the Genoese, 652. of the Dutch, 658, 659, 681. of England, early flourishing state of, 663.
Commode, meaning of the word, 710.
Commons of France, their misery and litigious nature, 80. passions and manners of the, 91.
Commonwealth, importance of public officers in the, 515.
Company, trifling and virtuous described, 534, 535.
Compo-Composite Order, what it is, 411,
Composite Order, how its base is formed, 376. echinus in the, 380. volute in the, 381. abacus in the, 382. striges in the, 383. impost in the, 385. intercolumniation of the, 388. architrave and fascias in the, 392. modilions of the, 398. account and parts of the, 410.
Compts, Chambre des, receipts and officers of, 73.
——— Maitres and Auditors des, their number, 73.
Comte, Florent le, his mention of Nanteuil's portrait of Evelyn, 306 n.
Coninxlogensis, Ægidius, his excellent wood scenery, 295.
Connestable of France, rank and office of the, 74.
Conquerors, good effects produced by, 515.
Conseil l'Etat et Privé, account of, 67. objects of the, 68.
Conseil d'en haut, account of, 67.
Conseil des Parties, objects of the, 68.
Conservatory (vide Green-house) stove, new plan for one, 490—495. engraved views of it, 493.
Consoles, figures supporting an architrave, 391.
Constantine, Emperor of Rome, despoils Rome of its architecture, 389.
Constantine the Great, checks the flattery of a priest, 33.
Constantinople, imprisonment there of the pretended Messiah, 598. conduct of the Jews there regarding him, 599. order published in concerning Sabatai Sevi, 609. second letter of the Chochams of, to the Jews of Smyrna, 612, 613.
Continent, advantageous situation of the, 83.
Continental Travel, advice for, viii. 45.
Conversation, worthless condemned, 534.
Coote, Sir Charles, republican slander of, 196 n. 197.
Copper-plate engraving and printing, when first known, 276.
Corinth, why used as a name for the currant, 465 n.
Corinthian Order, capital of the, 357. how its base is formed, 376. astragal in the, 378. echinus in the, 381. volute in the, ib. 382. abacus in the, ib. striges in the, 383. impost in the, 385. intercolumniations of the, 388. architrave and fascias in the, 392. ovolo and dentelli in the, 397. modilions of the, 398. corona of the, 401. height of a column in the, 404. historical account and measurement of the, 408. parts, &c. of the, 409.
Corn Fleet of the Romans, its laws and privileges, 645.
Cornelian Cherry, historical notice of the, 437 n. list of the best sorts of the, 497.
Cornice, its name and parts, 397, 398. 402.
Coriolano, Christophero, his portraits of the painters, 285.
Corona, its architectural description, use and examples of, 399, 400, 401.
Coronation, duties of the French peers at a, 59.
Coronix, what it signifies in architecture, 403.
Corporations of France, cause of their unimportance, 81.
Cort, Cornelius, engravings by, 292.
Cortice, why the Trochile is so called, 377.
Corvinus, Matthew, King of Hungary, notice of his library, 556 n.
Cosmo de Medicis, Duke of Florence, his maxim concerning the sea, 635.
Cosroes, King of Persia, his protection of the Roman philosophers, 19.
Costume, carelessness of by eminent painters, 559.
Cotys, the embossed Figulian vase destroyed by, 272.

Covilan, Peter, his discovery of a new passage to India, 649.
Councils of France, 67.
Council of Direction, objects of the, 68.
Council of War, of France, 76.
Country, vices in persons residing in the, 520. 524, 525, 526 n. life in the, often mistaken, 543.
Cours in Paris, notice of the, 162 n. 165.
Court, the servitude of considered, 27. the continual disguise and confinement of, 31. officers of the French, 60. superior splendour of English, 61. virtue and vice of the, considered, 524.
Court of Peers, the title of the French parliament, 73.
Courtiers, unhappiness of their pursuit, 28. ancient instances of the complaisance of, 30. their persons in continual servitude, 31. oftentimes worthless men, 533.
Courts of France, manner of proceeding in the, 68. parliamentary ditto, and their officers, 71, 72.
——— of Justice, ornaments and figures proper for, 421.
Courtships, descriptive account of ancient ones, 700.
Couvay, John, engravings by, 304.
——— Dr. his hieroglyphical grammar, 329.
Cowley, Abraham, his connection with Evelyn's Kalendarium Hortense, 427. dedication of that work to him, 429. his letter and poem to Evelyn, called the Garden, xvi. 435, 436. Evelyn's letter to, referring to his tract against solitude, 510 n. poetical quotations from, xvi. 745 n. 761. 763. 793. 799.
Cowslips, directions for pickling, 804. ditto for making wine of ditto, 810.
Cranach, Lucas, nature of his engravings, 302.
Crassus, L. Licinius, his richly engraven cups, 272.
Crates, his advice to the morose man, 521.
Craven, William Earl of, destruction of his houses during the civil wars, 175 and note.
Crayon, drawing with the, described, 314.
Creation, excellence, beauty, and use of, 628, 630.
Cremona, Solomon, his false vision of Elias, 604.
Cresses, various kinds and qualities of, 739.
Cretans, their invention of masts and yards, 637. their great skill in navigation, 640.
Crinitus, Peter, verses quoted by on the origin of letters, 267.
Cromwell, Oliver, excessive tyranny of his government, 173. particulars of his terrific death, 179 n. his treason to the English flag, 675.
Cucumber, various methods of dressing, 739, 740. directions for pickling, 804.
Cullum, Sir Dudley, his letter to Evelyn on the new green-house stove, 497. account of him and his green-house, ib. note.
Cullum, Rev. Sir John, reference to his *History of Hawsted*, 497 n.
Cupolas, description and examples of, 416. derivation of the word, 417.
Cups, account of ancient engraved ones, 272.
Currants, historical notice concerning, 465 n. catalogue of the best sorts of, 496.
Custos, Dominic, portraits engraved by him, 301.
Cymatium, derivation and description of, 392. various names and places of the, 393.
Cypress, destruction of by the winter of 1683, 694.
Cyprian, Thascius Cæcilius, his idea concerning letters and sculpture, 267.

D.

Dædalus, sails invented by, 638.
Daffodil, formerly eaten as a sallad, 757.
Daisy, Latin names and use of the, 740.
Damascus, wrought scimetars brought from probably the first hint for etching, 282.
Damoxenus, cook described by, 763.
Dancing-masters in England, their rudeness, 164.
Dandelion, Latin names and uses of, 740.
Dane-Gelt, a proof of English naval sovereignty, 674.
Danes and Norwegians, Runic writing of the, 273.
Danes, their ravages and piracies stopped by the commerce of England, 632. character of their navigation, 651, 652. tribute paid to the, by Holland, 686.
Darius King of Persia, ferry-boats used by, 637.
Dates and marks, when first used on copper-plates, 276.
Daughters of France, how disposed of, 56.
Daughters, notice concerning their education, 137.
Dauphin of France, notice of his title, 54.
David, evil produced by his want of employment and solitude, 516, 530. his desire of social worship, 531.
D'Aviler, Mons. his remark on Gothic architecture, 366. his diagram for constructing a tympanum, 415.
December, length of the days, &c. in, 487. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, ib. work to be done in the parterre and flower garden in, 488. flowers in prime and lasting in, ib.
Decks to vessels, by whom invented, 637.
Declaration of the pretended Messiah in Italian, 594. ditto in English, 595.
Decor, in architecture, explained, 372.
Decuriæ Fabrorum Rhavennatium, what he was, 646.
Delices de la Campagne, notice of the work so called, 100.
Demetrius Phalerus, his contempt of wealth, 25.
——— Poliorcetes, flattery of at Athens, 33. his immense ships of war, 637.

Demosthenes, recommends exertion even in a corrupt state, 518.
Denham, Sir John, dedication to of the Parallel of Architecture, 343..
Denis, St. deposed from being the patron saint of France, 53. often the frontier of France, 94. privileges of the abbot of in the French parliament, 73.
Dentelli in architecture, 397.
Dephilus, vegetable diet rejected by, 777 n. 780.
Desectores, carvers in ivory, 258.
Desgodetz, Anthony, his rule for the increase of columns, 379.
Design, great and universal importance of, 312. definition of, and its difference from drawing, 313.
Devotion, summary of the duties of, 528, 529.
Diaglyphice, hollow carving in metals, 258.
Diamond, when first engraven on, 290.
Diastylos, what it signifies in architecture, 388.
Diathesis, in architecture, explained, 369.
Diatretice, a work on chrystal, 259.
Digby, Sir Kenelm, his observations on the pestilent nature of the air of London, 227. and of coal, 228.
Dijon, difference between its parliament and that of Paris, 72.
Dimidiæ Emmentiæ, explanation of the term, 259.
Dioclesian, Caius Valerius Jovius, Emperor of Rome, his maxim concerning a gardener, 98. instances of Volutes taken from his Baths, 381. his delight in a garden, 442. his abdication censured, 517.
Diodati, John, his wish concerning church music, 158. notice of him, 158 n.
Diodorus Siculus, illustration from concerning slaves, 11. attributes to Minos the earliest navigation, 638.
Diogenes, his saying when a slave, 22. contempt of Imperial favor, 26. saying concerning Callisthenes, ib. deification of the air by, 215. his rude treatment of Alexander, 521.
Diomedes, his orthography of the word sculptura, 258.
Dionysius, jun. King of Sicily, complaisance of his courtiers to, 30.
Dioscordes, Pedacius, his praise of mallows, 744. his mention of radish, 751, 752.
Dioscorides, engraver to the Emperor Augustus, 271.
Diptere, columns and measurements of, 390.
Discoveries made by the earliest navigators, 639. made by sea in Elizabeth's reign, 665.
Diseases commended in sport, 229.
Divines of France, character of the, 89.
Dock, botanical name and use of, 740.
Dolci, Ludovico, passage from concerning Charles V. 517 n.
Dome, its derivation and meaning, 417.
Domestic Officers of the Court of France, 60.
Domestics of Children to be carefully selected, 118, 119. and watched, 126. to assist in their education, 129.
Dominican Friar burned by the Turks, 572.
Domitian, Titus Flavius, idle leisure of, 514.
Donatellus, his eulogy on design, 312.
Doric Order, plinth and trochile in the, 377. striges in the, 383. pilaster of the, 384. impost of the, 385. intercolumniation in the, 388, 407. architrave in the, 392. cymatium in the, 393, frieze of the, 394. roses on the abacus of the, 395. triglyphs of the, ib. guttæ of the, ib. metopæ in the, 396. regula, ovolo, and dentelli of the, 397. modilions of the, 398. mutules for the, 399. measurement used in the, 404. historical description of the, 406. parts and proportions of the, 407.
Dorislaws, Isaac, biographical account of, 178 n.
Double Columns considered, 413, 414.
Double Pedestal, what it is, 374.
Doucine, vide Cymatium, 393.
Douse, Mr. Vander, an eminent artist for pen drawings, 316.
Drake, Sir Francis, his circumnavigatory voyages, 656. his valiant actions against the Spaniards, 664.
Drawing, nature and definition of, 313. supposed invention of by a shepherd, 314. with the crayon and pen, described, ib. directions concerning the outline in, 315. eminent artists in pen drawing, 316. in chalk, excellent effect of, ib. great and general importance of, 317. 326. use of to the dumb, 331.
Drawings, the original ones of the old masters widely scattered and carefully kept, 312. differently executed at various periods, 317.
Dress, expensive, the folly and danger of, 113, 114. not the folly of the greatest persons, 547. poem descriptive of ancient female, 703—709. dictionary of terms relating to, 710. references to ancient accounts of, 713.
Drink-Ordel of France, explained, 159 n.
Droit d'Aubaine, nature of the, 66.
Druefken, engravings of, 301.
Duillius, Caius Nepos, Roman naval expedition under, 643. naval triumph allowed to, 646.
Durdens, Villa of, ornamented from the materials of Nonesuch House, 419.
Durer, Albert, his manner of marking his plates, 276. engravings executed by, 277, 278. 281. his contests with M. Antonio and L. Van Leyden, 278. his designs engraved by the former, 280. great value of his works, 290. his woodcuts to the Tewrdannckks, 302. to Petrarch's Utriusque Fortunæ Remedia, ib. to Apuleius' Golden Ass, and Cicero's Epistles, ib. his prints copied by painters, 319. his measurements of the human body, 404.
Dutch, character of their travels, 47. their early establishment of India Companies, 649. character of their commerce, navigation, and naval exploits, 658, 659. inferiority of their navy to

that of the English, 667. causes of their national success, ib. their petition to Queen Elizabeth, 668. dispute the claim of the English to naval sovereignty, 673. respect paid to the British flag by, 675. privilege of fishing granted to the by England, 677, 684. their molestation of the British fisherics, 678. free fishing of interrupted, 679. their insolence checked by Kings James and Charles I. ib. 680. naval power of the, derived from the herring fishery, 680. rent due from the, to England for the use of ditto, 681.
Dutch Ambassador, his complaint of Evelyn's tract on Navigation, 628 n.
Dutch war, notice of Evelyn's intended history of the, 628 n, 629 n.

E.

Earth Nuts, method of dressing, 740.
Ease, laboured for more than retirement, 513. examples of slothful and luxurious, 544, 545.
East, ancient circuitous routes of communication with the, 648.
Eastern Nations, their navigation and ships, 654.
Eaux, La cour de les, et les Forêts, 74.
Ebur pingue, unpolished ivory, 259.
Ecclesiastical offices of the French Court, 61.
——— Peers of France, 59.
——— State of France, 78.
Ecclesiastics of France, dues paid by, 66. free of taxes, ib. their seats in the French Parliament, 73.
Ecclesiasticus, references to the Book of, 34. 358 n.
Echinus, in architecture, its meaning and derivation, 380.
Edgar, King of England, his sovereignty over the sea commemorated, 673.
Edict, Chambre de l', of France, a Court for French Protestants, 71.
Education, St. John Chrysostom's book on, 103. 140. assisted by the use of engravings, 329.
Edward I. King of England, his institution of admirals, 671.
——— II. ——— his sovereignty over the seas, 672.
——— III. ——— his extensive naval force, 661. his sovereignty over the seas, 672. grants the Dutch a privilege of fishing, 678.
Eggs, use of in sallads, 768.
Egypt, immense use of onions in, 749.
Egyptians, mysteries and learning of the, 43. ancient and extensive commerce of the, 647.
Elder, botanical name and nature of, 740. directions for potting, 803.
Elias, impostor representing, 589. preparations for by the Jews, 603. ceremonies in honour of, 604. supposed revelations of, ib. 605.
Elisha, the condition of his entertainer considered, 530.
Elysium Britannicum, notice of Evelyn's unfinished work so called, xx. 722.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, her policy regarding Spain, 88. numerous bad pictures of, 271. her policy and naval forces, 663. her maritime exploits and discoveries, 664, 665, 666. her sovereignty over the seas, 671.
Emblema, description and use of in architecture, 423.
Empedocles, refuses sovereignty, 26.
Employment, public, preferred to solitude, 1667, notice of, xvii. reprint of, 501—552. greatness affected in more than virtue, 512. reasons for its being shunned by many, ib. 513. general views of such as accept it, 513. not all alike, 514. value and importance of, 515. to be entered gradually, 516. not the cause of evil passions, 520. scholars and philosophers engaged in, 538. not inconsistent with the love of nature or learning, 545. should not be forced upon men, 548. should be entered into in youth, ib. general advice concerning, 549. descriptive sketch of, 551.
Enamelling, the first hint of printing engraved plates, 277.
Encaustic art, explanation of the, 258. occasioned the invention of brass prints, ib. various parts of, 259.
Encolaptice, explanation of the word, 258.
Endive, botanical names and qualities of, 741.
England, defrauded of rule in France, by the pretended Salique Law, 54. splendour of its court preferred to that of France, 61. nobility of less advantage here than in France, 66. disproportion between the revenues of and those of France, 67. may probably keep France in awe, 88. balance of, with regard to France and Spain, ib. singular decay (vide London) of vineyards in, 102. and of timber, ib. reprint of the tract entitled *A Character of*, 1659. 141—167. notice of ditto, ix. Letter in vindication of ditto, 143—146. satire contained in it of great use, and quoted in a sermon, 144. the author of it vilified, 144 n, 145 n. satirical examination of it, 146 n.—162 n. vide *Gallus Castratus*. address to the reader prefixed to, 147. opening compliments of the work, 148. fertility and beauty of England and its inhabitants, 149. suspicion and rude manners in, ib. 150. 167. vide church, civil wars, London, Paul's, St. Presbyterians, Parliamentarians, Royalists. numerous residences of the kings of, 150 n. fanatical religious sects in, 156. beauty of the country and parks of, 167. rapidity of riding and driving in, ib. tedious formality of the banquets and visits of, ib. miserable state of in the civil wars, 173, 174, 175. 180. 184, 185. 188. their probable effects to, 188, 189. notice of the principal engravers of, and their works, 309, 310. means for improving the art of engraving in, 310, 311. con-

ceited and idle nature of the workmen of, 360, 361. the study of architecture recommended to, 362. the importance of commerce to, 632. dominion of the sea belonging to, 668. 674. respect paid to the flag of at sea, 675. kings of, lords of the ocean, 671. 674, 675, 676. extent of the naval sovereignty of, 677. curious description of ancient manners and house-keeping in, 700, 701, 702.

English, their youth compared with those of the French, 91. rude familiarity of the, ib. hatred and contempt of the French for the, 92. suspicion and rudeness of the, 149, 150. attempted defence of it, 146 n. 147 n. their abilities in any profession, 361. first builders of frigates, 638. maritime discoveries made by the, 656. early navigation of the, 659. and excellent navies of the, 660. their ancient discoveries and maritime forces, ib. importance of the sea and navy to the, 661. naval forces under John and Edward III., ib. ditto, under Richard II. and Henry V., 662. ditto, under Henry VII. and VIII. and Elizabeth, 663, 664, 665, 666. celebration of their numerous naval discoveries, 665. their naval strength and exploits under James I., 666, 667. their claims to the dominion of the sea exhibited, 670—679. 685. their attention to fisheries important, 681, 682, 683.

English tongue, decay of from the Saxon, 353.

Engravers, their ancient manner of marking their plates, 276. not to make their shadows too dark, 322. of Italy, their names and principal works, 279—289. of Germany and Flanders, do. 277, 278. 290—302. of France, do. 303—309. of England, do. 301, 302.

Engraving, instruments for, various ancient names for, 262. vide Sculptura, 243—335. on silver, 272. when first used on copper plates, 276. supposed inventor of, 277. on plates how first printed, ib. means for improving the art of in England, 310. recommended to be practised by painters, 311. lights and shades, stuffs, &c. how they are expressed in, 320. plate and illustration of the manner, 321. a mixture of the kinds of, most excellent, 325. practised by eminent characters, ib. 326. flourished most in the most eloquent ages, 327. new method of, invented by Prince Rupert, 333.

Enoch, books said to have been written by, 264, supposed inventor of letters, 267.

Enquêts, Chambres des, of France, officers of, 71.

Entablature of the Tuscan Order, 406. of the Doric do. 407. of the Ionic do. 408. of the Corinthian do. 409. of the Composite, 411.

Entasis or swelling of columns, 378.

Epalamius, his improvement of the anchor, 637.

Epaphroditus, anecdote of, 24.

Ephesians, their law concerning buildings, 358.

Epibaterium, derivation of the word, 49.

Epicurus, his limitation of freedom, 19. his pleasure in gardens, 439. his idea of the inactivity of the gods, 510. his praise of public ministers, 513. his observation on the dispositions of men, 519.

Epictetus, his derision of the Nicopolitans, 16. his absolute independence of spirit, 23. character and anecdote of, 24. immense price given for his earthen lamp, 25. his observations on society, 521.

Epictheates, vide Cymatium, 393.

Epigenes, his remark on the antiquity of sculpture, 263.

Epiginosko, real signification of the word, 140.

Epimenides, his unhealthy residence, 224.

Epiphanias, Bishop of Salamis, his quotation of the Books of Adam, 263.

Epistilium, the Greek name of the Architrave, 391.

Epitaph on Richard Evelyn, jun. 112.

Erasmus, Desiderius, his satire on butchers and fishmongers, 237.

Erixion, notice of his death, 262.

Erythræi, oars invented by the, 637.

Eschevins of Paris, nature of their office, 94.

Escuyer, Grand, of France, his duties and officers, 61.

———, Premier, ———, his duties and officers, 61.

Esprit, St., order of knighthood of, institution and ceremonies of the, 77.

Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, biographical notice of, 176 n, 177 n. his successful expedition to Cadiz. 664.

Essex House, London, particulars of its scite, &c. 101 n. pictures of Queen Elizabeth destroyed at, 271.

Etching with Aqua Fortis, first used, 282.

Ethiops, effect of the air on the life of, 217. said to have the books of Seth and Enoch, 264.

Eubulus, his term for lettuces, 742.

Eve, solitude the cause of her temptation, 530.

Evelyn, John, his early custom of journalising, vii. notices of his literary productions, vii—xxii. his endeavours to gain Colonel Morley to the royal cause, x. his mention of Charles II. entering London, xi. his letter to Dr. Godolphin on his translation of Naudé, xii n. engaged to write an account of English forest trees, xiv. his letter to Cowley concerning solitude, xviii. his scheme for a Lay Monastery, and public labours of, ib. solicits the engraving of the Arundel Marbles, xix. his notions concerning gardens, xxi. scheme for a general history of trades, ib. works of in manuscript, ib. his love for Wotton, ib. summary of his worth and writings, xxii. his first literary undertaking, vii. 3, 4. commendatory poem addressed to, 6. reference to his Sylva, 102 n. his grief for his son's death, 105. (vide Evelyn, Richard), supposed to be the translator of *A Character of England*, and author of the letter in vindication of it, ix. 143 n. notice of his

portrait engraved by Nanteuil, 306, and note. his translation of Du Bosse's work on Engraving, 335. Latin verses addressed to on his book of Architecture, 347. extract from a letter by, on his Kalendarium Hortense, 427. letter and poem called the Garden, addressed to him by Cowley, 435, 436. his books relating to the Jesuits, 500, and note. his answer to Sir G. Mackenzie concerning his Tract on Public Employment, xvii. xviii. 504. his account of his translation of Freart's idea of the perfection of painting, 554. his letter to Lord Brouncker on the Spanish Sembrador, 621. notice concerning his poetical works, ix. 623 n. requested to write the history of the Dutch war, 628 n. notice of ditto, xix, xx. his letter to Mr. Aubrey concerning an oak at Wotton, &c. 687. his letter to the Royal Society on the damage done to his gardens, in 1683, 692. his last publication, 722. notice of his *Elysium Britannicum*, xx. 722. allusions to his Hortulan Kalendar, 729. his plan for a royal garden, 730, 731, 732. translation of Gassendus' Life of Peiresk, dedicated to, 747 n. various references to, and quotations from his *Memoirs and Diary*, xiii. 105 n. 112 n. 113 n. 148 n. 152 n, 153 n. 155 n. 158 n. 165 n. 171 n. 175 n. 194. 207 n. 243 n. 333 n. 339 n. 341 n. 342 n. 343 n. 351 n. 485 n. 500. 510. 554. 556 n. 557 n. 569 n. 628 n. 692 n. 693 n. 698. 714 n. dedications, prefaces, and addresses by, 5. 97. 99, 100, 101. 105. 112. 207—209. 212. 243. 337. 343. 351. 353. 429. 499. 505. 507. 555—558, 559—562. 565. 567. 623. 627. 714. 723. 728. various references and quotations from his other works, vii.—xxii. 157 n. 209. 339. 427. 434. 444 n. 449 n. 450, 451 n. 452 n. 461 n. 464. 472. 476. 480. 483. 487 n. 687.

Evelyn, George, Esq. dedications addressed to, 5. 105.

———, Mary, supposed author of the Mundus Muliebris, xx. 698.

———, powder mills brought to England by the family of, 689. damage done by their explosions, ib.

———, Richard, jun. son to John, his early death, 105. precocious abilities of, 107, 108. piety of, 109, 110. blessedness of his death, 111. Latin epitaph on, 112.

———, Richard, Esq. dedication addressed to, 105.

Europa, fable of explained, 640.

Eurythmia, harmony and proportion in architecture, 372.

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, reference to his life of Constantine, 33. his account of the origin and progress of commerce, 647.

Eusebius, Pamphilus, his idea of the invention of letters and sculpture, 267.

Eustylos, an intercolumniation so called, 389.

Exchequer of France, offices of the, 73.

Exotics destroyed at Says Court in 1683, 693, 694.

F.

Faber, Honoratus, his method for rapidly raising sallad, 780.

Fable, a Persian one concerning court favourites, 35.

Fairfax, Thomas, Lord, particulars of, 177 n.

Faithorne, William, excellent engravings by, 310. work on engravings by, 335.

Falcon Inn, curious particulars concerning the, 223 and note.

Fame, not due to inactivity, 511. the love of excites to virtue, 512.

Familiarity and rudeness of the English censured, 91. 149, 150. 162. definition of worthy, 535.

Fascias, dimensions and description of, 392.

Fasting days recommended to youth, 132.

Fathers, their solicitude for richly clothing their children censured, 113. compared to kings and governors of cities, 115, 116. improved by the education of their children, 130. general concluding directions to, 137. the ancient christian, refrained from eating flesh, 784, 788.

Fauconnier, Grand, of France, 62.

Favi, Signor Giacomo Maria, eulogy on, 246. account of him by M. Sorbiere, 247. curious collections of art made by, 248. his great genius and travels, 249. his remains and intended publication, 250.

Favorinus, his servility, 34. commended a Quartan Ague, 229.

Favourites of kings too often courted, 34, 35.

February, length of days, &c. in, 447. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 448. work to be in the flower garden in, ib.

Fellian, J., a pupil of Faithorne, 310.

Females, no succession of in the royal family of France, 54. allowed peerages in France, 59. should not be allowed to approach youth, 126, 128. their vanity censured by St. Chrysostom and Juvenal, 139. comparison between those of England and France, 161.

Fennel, medicinal qualities of, in Sallad, 741.

Ferdinand, King of Spain, his encouragement of Columbus rewarded, 655.

Ferry-boats, by whom invented, 637.

Feuillantines, their vegetable diet, 789.

Fifth-Monarchy-men, of whom they were composed, 523.

Figs, catalogue of the best, 496.

Figulina Vasa Cælata, anecdote of the, 272.

Figures, pedestals proper for various, 376. anciently used for columns, 391. for acroteria, 416. to correspond with their Niches, 418. appropriate one placed on public buildings, 421.

Filberds, catalogue of the best sorts of, 497.

Fillet, a name of the astragal, 378.

Finances of France, superintendant of, his duties and officers, 64.
———————, Controller General of, 65.
Finiguerra, Maso, supposed inventor of engraving, 277.
Finishing, not the most important part of drawing, 315.
Fisheries, right of the English to the, 677, 678, 679. 683, 684. 686. their importance to England, 681, 682, 683. licenses granted for using the, 683, 684.
Fishmongers, Erasmus' satire on, 237.
Flag, duty of the, ancient English claim of, 675.
Flattery, remarkable instances of, 32, 33, 37.
Flemish engravers and their works, notices of, 277, 278. 290—302.
Flemings, their settlement in England, 662.
Flesh, the eating of productive of heaviness, 780. the use of first permitted to man, 783, 784, 785.
Floors, of inlaid wood, 423. works on the construction of, ib.
Flora Historica, notice of the Gilly flower from the, 466 n.
Florence, weavers of guarded against coal smoke, 227.
Floris, Francis, the Flemish Michel Angelo, 292.
Florus, L. Annæus Lucian, his account of Pompey's pirate wars, 644.
Flower-garden, directions for working in the, in January, 446. do. for February, 448. do. in March, 451. do. for April, 456. do. for May, 460. do. for June, 465. do. for July, 469. do. for August, 473. do. for September, 477. do. for October, 480. do. for November, 484. do. for December, 488.
Flowers proper for planting near London, 240, 241.
Flowers, in prime and lasting in January, 446. do. in February, 449. do. in March, 454. do. in April, 458. do. in May, 461. do. in June, 466. do. in July, 471. do. in August, 475. do. in September, 478. do. in October, 481. do. in November, 486. do. in December, 488. classed list of tender and hardy, 489. taking up of, directions for, 463. 466. 470. 473, 474. damage done to by the winter of 1683, 695, 696. what sorts of are used in sallad, 741.
Foliage of the Corinthian capital considered, 409.
Food, the use of various kinds considered, 780, 781, 782, 783.
Fop Dictionary, 1690, reprint 710—713.
Forces of France, account of, 76. 83, 84, 85.
Forest Trees, destruction of, and Evelyn's work on, xiv.
Foundation, what it is, and its parts, 374.
Fountains, ancient figures and ornaments of, 421. their pipes to be covered in the winter, 488.
France, (vide Paris,) tract on the *state of, under Louis XIV.* viii. 39—95. excuse for writing of, 41. 51. intent of, 42. use of residing in, 50, 51. importance of the Empire of, 52. Machiavelli's saying of, ib. King of, absolute, 53. its patron Saint changed, ib. foundation and races of its monarchy, ib. pretended Salique Law of, 54. ancient legend of, ib. titles and births of the Kings and Princes of, ib. characters of the Royal Family of, 55. daughters of, how disposed of, 56. late King of, without illegitimate issue, ib. how the King became absolute, ib. 57, 58. Parliament of, only a name, 57. Princes and Peers of, nature of their estates, 58. names and number of the Peers of, 59. officers belonging to the Crown of, 60—62. ceremony at the death of the King of, 60. household and officers of the Queens of, 62. Royal guard of, 62—64. increase of the revenues of, by King Pepin, 65, 66. domain of, cannot be alienated, 66. Nobility and Clergy free from taxes, ib. the King of, his gabels on salt, ib. 67. do. his immense revenue, 67. officers and councils of State in, ib. manner of proceeding in them, 68. officers of justice of France, 69. Secretaries of State of, 70. other officers of, ib. officers of the Parliament of, ib. 71. cities of, which have Parliaments, 72. difference between them and that of Paris, ib. Exchequer Offices of, 73. great military officers of, 74. officers of the Crown of, 75. Grand Prieur de, his rank and office, 76. military and naval forces of, ib. 83, 84, 85. orders of Knighthood in, 77. ecclesiastical members and church of, 78. 87. present Government of, 78. various ranks of, 79. rebellions not prosperous in, 80. Commons and farmers of, ib. auxiliaries to the armies of, ib. mechanics of, ib. 90. merchants of, 81. Nobility of, their dress and manner of living, ib. learning much pretended to in, ib. ecclesiastical state of, 82. Catholics of, ib. Protestants of, ib. 88. sects of, 83. advantageous scite of, ib. abundance of its population and provision, 86. state of its arms, &c. ib. ancient and modern acquisitions of, 87. fortifications of, ib. present exalted state of, ib. nature and genius of the inhabitants of, 88. learned men in, 89. physicians and surgeons of, ib. youth and women of, 90, 91. passions and character of the people of, 91. the King reverenced in, ib. dislike of the English in, 92. persons and temper of the people of, ib. its frequent changes, 95. notice of the tract entitled *A Character of France* 1659, 143 n. character of the Royal Palaces in, 149 n. Protestants in, their customs, 153. satire on the gallants and females of, 156 n. 157 n. 158 n. 159 n. 160 n. 161 n. manners in, preferable to those of England, 162, 163. odoriferous atmosphere of some towns in, 208. excellence of the air in, 225. vines of injured by the smoke from England, 234. notices of the principal engravers of, and their works,

303—309. eminent print collectors in, 328. encouragement of navigation in, 634. absurdity of its claim to naval dominion, 669.
Francis I. King of France, his intention to call in the Turks censured, 84. good effects of his love for learning, 32. how he became learned 540. his naval wars, 651.
Franco, Baptista, engravings executed by, 284.
Freart, Roland, Sieur de Chambray, Epistles Dedicatory attached to Evelyn's Translation of the *Parallel of Architecture*, 337. authors cited in, 342. excellence of the work, 343. Latin verses in praise of, 347. various references to do. xv. 382. 391. 395. 404. 411. introductory epistles attached to Evelyn's Translation of his *Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, 553—562. Evelyn's account of do. xix. 554. and character of, 559.
Freggio, what is signified by, 394.
French, their vanity in altering the Composite order, 410. rise and progress of their navigation and commerce, 650. their acknowledgements of British naval sovereignty, 674, 675. privilege of fishing granted to, by the English, 677. acknowledge the English claim to the fisheries, 685.
French Gardiner, 1658, 1669, Epistles Dedicatory to the, 98, 99. account of the editions of the, xi. 97 n. various references to the, 444.
Frieze, in Architecture, description and nature of a, 394. in the Doric Order, 407.
Frigates, the first attributed to the English, 638.
Frisius, Simon, his etchings, 293.
Frontiers of France, fortifications of the, 87.
Frontinus, Sextus Julius, Roman marine stores mentioned by, 646.
Frosts, cautions relating to, 453. 474. 487.
Fruit, various directions for preserving, 451. 475. 479. 483. remarks concerning the eating of, 773 and note.
Fruits, exquisite nature of, 439. vide Orchard. names of those in prime and lasting in January, 445. do. in February, 448. do. in March, 451. do. in April, 456. do. in May, 460. do. in June, 465. do. in July, 468. do. in August, 472. do. in September, 476. do. in October, 480. do. in November, 484. do. for December, 487.
Fruit-trees, directions for preserving the moisture in, 564. do. for feeding of, 467. catalogue of the best, 495. damage done to, by the winter of 1683, 695.
Fumifugium, 1662, notice of, xii. reprint of, 205—242. preface to the reprint of 1772, 212. Analysis of the tract referred to, 215 n.
Fungus Reticularis, its place of growth and particulars of the, 746, 747.
Furnace, vide Stove.
Furniture, list of old English, used by females, 707, 708.

G.

Gabels paid upon salt, in France, 66. immense profit and rigorous exaction of, 67.
Gaffarel, Jacques, his account of Talismans, 269.
Galenus, Claudius, various references to, and quotations from, 227. 236. 734 n. 743, 744 n. 752. 754. 757, 758. 777. 787.
Galéres, Général des, his rank and office, 75.
Gallants of England, intemperate and unpolished customs of the, 157. 159. 160. 163. their inferiority to those of France, 161. some exceptions to this, 163. advice to, on entering upon the town, 699.
Galle, Cornelius, notice of his works, 295.
—— Theodore, his engraved works, 296.
Galli Insubres, Cæsar's saying concerning the, 88.
Gallus Castratus, an answer to the Character of England, 1659, notice of, ix. reprint of the, 143 n.—162 n. author of it censured, 143, 144, 145, 146. opening address of, to the ladies of England, 144 n. censure of the author of the *Character of England*, ib. 145 n. 151 n. 152 n. scurrilous examination of that work, 146 n.—162 n.
Gama, Vasco di, discoveries in Asia made by, 648.
Game and wild-fowl destroyed by moor-burning, 235.
Gamesters, debasing nature of their pleasures, 545.
Garden, The, letter and poem by Cowley so called, xvi. 435, 436.
——— plan for a royal one, 730, 731, 732.
Garden-tools to be kept in order, 445.
Gardens, list of the luxuries attached to ancient, 98. and orchards of London, damaged by the smoke, 212. 221. improvement of, during the siege of Newcastle, 222. proposal for planting, near London, 240. poem in praise of, 436. the enjoyments of, 429. 437, 438. 440. first made by God, 437. the Creator to be seen in, 441. vide Flower-garden, Olitory, Orchard, Parterre. notice of the Apothecaries at Chelsea, 485 n. of Says Court, damage done to the, in 1683, 692—696.
Gardener, excellence and industry of the life of a good one, 430. should be acquainted with Astronomy, 431.
Gardener's Almanack, vide Kalendarium.
Gardeners, plan for the encouragement and benefit of, near London, 241, 242.
Gardening, anciently encouraged at Rome, 726 and note. extensive nature of the study of, 728, 729.
Garlick, qualities, character of, and manner of dressing, 741, 742.
Gassendus, Peter, translation of his Life of Peiresk dedicated to Evelyn, 747 n.
Gassion, Mareschal de, preserves Paris from the Spanish, 94.

Gates of a city allegorised, 116, 117. 119. 126, 127, 128.
Gellius, Aulus, his mention of the adoxous of the Greeks, 230, and note.
Gems, sculptures used on, 271. names of eminent artists in, 289.
Generals of the English Parliament, instances of their fall, and biographical notices of, 176—179 and notes.
Generalties of France explained, 65.
Genoa, odoriferous atmosphere of, 208. commerce the cause of its wealth, 632. Tunny-fishery formed by, 686.
Genoese, their trade and navigation, 652. naval exploits of the, 653.
Gens d'Armes of France, notice of, 64.
Gentry of England, their ignorance of architecture lamented, 362.
Gerkins, or Gerckems, method of preserving, 740.
German language, excellent use of the, 50.
Germany, account of the principal engravers of, and their works, 277. 290—302.
Giolito, Gabrielle, his engravings for Ariosto, 284.
Gilly-flower, varieties of the, 465 n. etymology of the name, 446 n.
Glasses moulded into form by labour, 139.
Globe, the doctrine of shadows illustrated by a, 321.
Gloves, list of those anciently worn by females, 705.
Gluttony, how to guard against it in children, 124.
Glyphice, sculptors of metals, 258.
Glyphion, Stylus, notice concerning, 261.
Goar, James, reference to, concerning the sacrifice of the hair, 138.
Goats'-beard, medicinal qualities of, 742.
Gold, the power of, in courtship, 705.
Goldman, Nicholas, reference to his Treatise on Architecture, 382.
Goltzius, Henry, his excellent engravings, 294. his imitations of Lucas Van Leyden, 302. his singular drawings with a pen and oil, 316.
———, Hubert, his heads of the Roman Emperors on wood, 302.
Gomboust, Mons. his plan of Paris, 309.
Gooseberries, catalogue of the best kinds of, 496.
Gorlæus, Abraham, his account of ancient engraved rings and seals, 269.
Goths, their invasion destroyed the Roman arts, 273. invasion of the, the origin of Monachism, 532. and Vandals, their navigation, 649.
Goudt, Count, plates by him, 295.
Government, modern of France, 78. character of ditto, 79. of Paris described, 94.
Governors of Provinces in France, their rank and commission, 76.
G. P. I. B. by whom used as a mark, 291.
Gracchus, Caius, censured for retiring from his duty, 518.
Gradetti, their meaning and place on columns, 379. 381.
Græf-sex, of the Danes and Norwegians explained, 273.
Grafting, the wonderful nature of celebrated by Cowley, 441. various directions concerning, 447. 449. 483.
Grand Conseil of France, nature and office of the, 68, 69.
Granger, Rev. James, his character of Sir John Hotham, 177 n. his notice of the Princess of Bohemia, 326 n.
Grapes in prime and lasting in September, 477. ditto in October, 480.
Graphatores, engravers, 261.
Gratius, Faliscus, verses from, 795.
Grave, Robert, his engravings from a curious picture at Strawberry-hill, 101 n. 432 n.
Greatness, why some persons shun it, 512. how it should be achieved and secured, 516. the best defence against censure, &c. 517.
Greeks, their tradition concerning slaves, 10. their custom of sacrificing their hair, 138. earliest writings known to, 268. when they received and perfected sculpture, ibid. 270. drawing, &c. cultivated by, 326. architecture derived from the, 355.
———, their naval exploits and discoveries, 742. fall of the, 643.
Greffier en Chef, Clerk of the Parliament of France, his office and pension, 72.
Green-houses and green-house-plants, various directions concerning, 453, 478. 484. 488. methods of warming, 485. 492, 493, 494. 497, 498. vide Conservatory. errors of the common green-house, 490, 491. proper measurements, &c. for, 491. notice of Sir Dudley Cullum's, 497 n.
Greenland, its discovery and appropriation to England, 683.
Greenwich Palace, Barclay's praise of, 232.
Grenoble, Chambre Miparties established in, 72.
Grenville, Sir Richard, his valiant engagement with the Spaniards, 664.
Gresham College, meetings of the Royal Society at, 556 n.
Greuter, Matthew, his engraved works, 294.
———, Frederick, plates by, 295.
Grew, Dr. Nehemiah, his tables of the tastes of plants, 764 and note. his mention of vegetable salts, 766.
Groennighen, Swart Jan Van, character of his engravings, 302.
Grotius, Hugo, various references to, and quotations from, 111. 636. 661. 664, 665. 673 and note, 788.
Gruter, Janus, various references to and quotations from, 646 n. 670.
Gryllus, his transmigration, 761.
Guard of the French King described, 62.

Guernsey lily, direction for the planting of, &c. 457.
Guido, Raffaelle, notice of his engravings, 288.
Gustavus I. King of Sweden, immense ship built by, 652.
Gunpowder Plot, contrived by a recluse, 522.
Guttæ or drops in architecture, 395.
Guttemberg, John, the supposed inventor of printing, 276.
Gymnastic exercises and academies of the French, 85.
Gypsochi, workers in plaster, 258.

H.

Hadrianus, Emperor of Rome, his love for Antinous, 30.
Hair, ancient sacrifices of, and method of wearing it, 413. 138. technical words for the dressing of it, &c. 710, 711, 712.
Hakluyt, Rev. Richard, his collection of voyages, 665 n.
Halifax, Charles Montague, Earl of, notice of, 723 n.
Hampden, John, notice of his death, 178 n.
Harlaem, City of, bleachers of the, prohibit the use of coal, 228.
Harmony and proportion in architecture, 372.
Harpagus, cruel treatment of by Astyages, 33.
Harrington, James, allusion to the coarseness of language in his *Oceana*, 145. notice of him, ibid. n.
Hatching, in drawing, what it is, 314, 315. in engraving, directions and plate illustrative of the various effects produced by, 320, 321, 322. single ones recommended 322. counter hatchings sometimes of good effect, 323.
Havens of France, vessels riding in the, 84.
Havre de Grace, motto on the artillery of, 58.
Head, examples of shadows falling on one, 321.
Head-dresses, anciently worn by ladies in England, 706, 707. terms used in, 710, 711, 712.
Health-drinking in France, uncompulsive nature of, 160. defence of the custom, 158 n.
Hearing, advice for guarding the sense of in children, 119.
Heart, supposed to be the seat of anger, 128.
Heaven, not a place of indolence, 523.
Heathens, their custom of sacrificing their hair, 138.
Heliodorus, Bishop of Tricca, amiable disposition of, 109.
Hemicircular arch, 386.
Henrietta-Maria, Queen of Charles I. her orange-trees and orange-garden sold, 460 n.
Henry III. King of England, his institution of naval commanders, 671.
—— V. ——, his sovereignty over the seas, 672.
Henry VII. King of England, his naval forces, 663. his increase of the fisheries, 678.
—— VIII. ——, his naval forces, 663. emblem used on his coin, 674.
Henry III. King of France, effects of his example, 32. institutes the Order of St. Esprit, 77.
Henshaw, Thomas, Esq. epistles dedicatory to, 97. 99. account of, 97 n.
Heraclea, naval battle at, 643.
Herbs, directions for gathering and drying, 464. directions for making a tart of, 809.
Hercules, Hesiod's account of his shield, 269.
Heraclitus, his contempt of worldly power, 26.
Herbert, Lord Edward, of Cherbury, reference to his History of Henry VIII., 663 n.
Hermits, their unhealthy abodes, 224. their superstitious and useless lives of, 530. notice concerning the early ones, 532.
Herodotus Halicarnassensis, various references to and quotations from, 22. 33. 270. 639. 749.
Herring fishery, amazing extent and produce of the, 680. 682. rent due for the to England from the Dutch, 681.
Hertford, Sir William Seymour, Marquess of, his house and gardens in the Strand, 222. notice of him, ibid. n.
Hertocks, A. plates engraved by, 300.
Hesiod various references to and quotations from, 268, 269. 761.
Hesychius, reference to concerning the impiety of Tribonius, 33.
Hevelius or Hevelke, John, plates in his *Selenographia*, 1647, 301.
Heuter, Pontus, his mention of the naval exploits of the Dutch, 659 n.
Hexastylos, signification of in architecture, 388.
Hills of Surrey, various particulars concerning the 688, 689.
Hiensius, his eulogy on vermin, 230.
Hiero, his floating palace, 637.
Hieroglyphics, what they were, 266. of the Danes, notice of, 273. of the Mexicans, 275.
Hieronicæ, where preserved, 268.
Hippagines, ferry-boats invented by, 637.
Hippocrates, various references to and illustrations from, 216, 217. 236. 241. 752. 778. 789.
Hippodromes, ancient ornaments and figures of, 421.
Hippus, large vessels invented by, 637.
Historians, fame given by the best only, 533. their rewards neglected, 542.
Holbein, Hans, rarity of his engravings on wood, 294. old English sea-fight painted by, 663 n.
Holborn, ancient improvements in, 345.
Holland, its wants and abundance equally great, 631. wealth of arising from the herring fishery, 681, 682.
Hollar, Wenceslaus, multitude and excellence of his etchings, 300. plates relating to London, 309. his views round London, &c. 311.

Holly, fine one destroyed at Says Court, 695.
Holthuzen, his skill in engraving on wood, 294.
Homer, various references to, and illustrations from, 18. 43. 268, 269. 640. 749. 774 n.
Hondius, William, his maps and other engravings, 299.
Hooker, Robert, notice of, 622 n.
Hoole, Charles, bad plates to his edition of Commenius, 330.
Hops, how to be used and dressed, 742.
Hoquencourt, Mareschal de, Grand Prevôt of France, 62.
Horapollinis Notæ, hieroglyphical obelisks, 266.
Horatius Flaccus, Quintus, various references to, and quotations from, 139. 259. 271. 313. 329. 636. 644 n. 744. 747 n. 763 n. 773 n. 778 n. 782 and note. 796 n, 797.
Horologium Beatæ Mariæ, earliest European letters in, 275.
Horsemanship, natural excellence of the French in, 85.
Horse, Master of the in France, his officers, 61.
Horse-Radish, Spanish black, method of preparing, 752.
Horses, causes of their many diseases, 781. occasional longevity of, ib.
Hosts of taverns in London, amazing success of, 157. 166.
Hot-beds, various directions concerning, 449. 452. 456.
Hôtel de Bourgoigne, a theatre in Paris, 164 n.
Hotham, Sir John, his character by Granger, 177 n. execution of him and his son, 178 n.
Housekeeping, descriptive account of old English, 700, 701.
Houses, general order and heights of rooms in, 369. bad situations often selected for, 370. continual repairs of, costly, ib. flat-roofed ones of the Jews, 375.
Howard, Henry, of Norfolk, dedication to, 555. his protection and encouragement of the Royal Society, ib. 556 n.
Howel, James, his *Instructions for Forreine Travel*, viii.
———, Dr. William, his defence of early British navigation, 659 and note.
Hoyle, Thomas, biographical particulars of, 179 n.
H. S. B. by whom used as a mark, 291.
Humboldt, Frederick Baron Von, his specimen of Mexican Hieroglyphics, 275 n.
Humours of children to be frequently crossed, 129.
Hundred gentlemen of the Guard of France, 62.
Hunter, Dr. Andrew, his edition of *Evelyn's Sylva*, 1772, xiv. editions of Evelyn's other works by, note, xv.
Hyde Park, ancient description of, 165. a toll on entering it, 165 n.
Hydriæ, or water pots engraven, 272.
Hypethre, how it is formed, 391.
Hypotrachelium, in architecture, its derivation and meaning, 380.
Hyssop, medicinal virtues of, 742.

J.

Jack-by-the-Hedge, its vegetable uses, 742.
Jamblichus, reference to concerning Pythagoras, 18.
James I. King of England, his act against Moor burning, 234. fine ships built by, 666. his sovereignty over the seas, 671. his proclamation concerning his sovereignty of the seas and fisheries, 678, 679. limits the seas round England, 679. prohibits fishing in the island fishery, 683.
Jansen, Cornelius, Bishop of Ypres, his sect in France, 83. notice of him, ib. n.
January, length of days in, 443. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen-garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 445. work for the parterre and flower-garden in, 446. flowers in prime and lasting in, ib.
Japan, encouragement of artists by the Emperor of, 317.
J. B. M. signification of the mark, 282.
Ibrahim, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, his descent, 569. becomes attached to a slave's child, 571. nearly drowns his son, ib. permits his Aga to go to Mecca, 572. his war with the Venetians, 576. his issue particularized, 577.
Ichnography in architecture, derivation and explanation of, 371.
Idolatry, the origin of, 266.
Jegher, Christopher, his wood-cut of Rubens' Temptation of Christ, 297.
Jermain, Lord H. Republican calumny of, 195 n. 197.
Jerome, St. reference to concerning the fallen angels, 10. concerning travel, 44. passage from his epitaph on Marcellus, 107 n. his character of Heliodorus, 109. his account of the early hermits, 532 n.
Jesuitism, the Mystery of, notice of Evelyn's translation of 1664, xvii.
Jesuits of Spain, their endeavours to alienate the people of France, 88. infamous conduct of the, 499. volumes relative to the in the library at Wotton, 500 n.
Jewels, list of anciently used by females in England, 704, 705. 709. 711.
Jews, their flat-roofed houses, 375. their expectations of a Messiah, 587, 588, 589. 592. letter to the from the false Elias, 591. their penance, alms, &c. in expectation of the Messiah, 592, 593. his declaration to the, 594, 595. fictitious princes appointed over the, 596. their constancy to the false Messiah, 598. conduct of those at Constantinople to him, 599.

their visitations to ditto. 600. 605. form of prayer appointed for the, by ditto, ib. 601. their honours to him, 602. disbelief of some concerning him, ib. their revenge against such, 603. their preparations, &c. for Elias, ib. 604, 605. their distress and derision of, on discovering the imposture of Sabatai Sevi, 608, 609. their assertion concerning him, ib. orders relating to him sent to the, ib. miracles attributed by the Jews to him, 611. some still believe on him and Nathan, ib. letter to the, against Nathan Benjamin, 612, 613. history of their extirpation from Persia, 615—620. their settlement in ditto, 615. their usury and danger in ditto, 616. examination of the, by the Sophy, ib. 617. assign a period for the Messiah's coming, 618. cause of their terrible destruction throughout Persia, 619.

Impostors, history of the three late famous, 1669, notice of, xix. reprint of, 563—620. vide Mahomed, Ottomano, Sabatai, Turks, Venetians.

Imposts in Architecture explained, 385.

Inactivity, not the life of the Almighty, 510. Cicero's censure of, 511. not deserving of fame, ib. nor worthy of ambition, 512.

Incumbæ, vide Imposts.

Independence, the sum of liberty, 12.

Independents in England during the civil wars, 155. their miserable character, 156.

India, ancient marts for its merchandise, and circuitous modes of trading to, 648. new passage to, discovered by the Portugese, 649.

Indies, East and West, views, &c. of, recommended to be engraven, 311.

Infanterie de la France, Colonel of, his lucrative office, 75. compared with the Spanish, 85. Machiavel's saying concerning the, ib. improving state of the, 86.

Inferior officers of the French Court, 61.

Ink-maker in China, his privileges, 275.

Insects, various directions for removing, 455. 466. 468. 476. feeding on herbs indicative of their nature, 761. their eggs to be removed from sallads, ib.

Insulata Columna, what it signifies in architecture, 388.

Intaglia, an Italian seal, 262. very ancient use of, 269.

Intemperance, not the vice of the greatest persons, 547.

Intercolumniation, what it signifies in Architecture, 388.

Intoxication, common in England, and fatal effects of it, 159.

Jode, Peter de, his engravings after Vandyke, 297. and other works, 298.

John, King of England, great naval force of, 661. Duty of the Flag claimed by, 675.

Johnson, Dr. Samuel, his authorities for the derivation of Gilliflower, 466 n.

Jones, Inigo, his banquetting house compared with Henry the Seventh's chapel, 366.

Ionic Order, capital of the, 357. how its base is formed, 376. situation of the Astragal in the, 378. Volute in the, 382. Striges in the, 383. Intercolumniation in the, 388. Dentelli in the 397. Modillions of the, 398. historical account, description, and parts of the, 408.

Joppa, astronomical sculptures erected at, 264.

Josephus, Flavius, his notion of the origin of letters, 267. his idea of the oldest Greek writings, 268. his idea of the origin of commerce, 633.

Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts, analysis of Evelyn's Fumifugium in the, 215 n.

Ireland, dangerous air of, 218.

Iron weapons, the carrying of, made a capital offence, 262.

Ireton, Henry, biographical particulars of, 179 n.

Isabella of Castile, her encouragement of Columbus rewarded, 655.

Isles, a double portico, 391.

Isocrates, his praise of men usefully learned, 542.

Israel Van Mechlin, one of the earliest copperplate engravers, 276.

Italians, their phrase for the hope of a Courtier, 28.

Italy, excuse for not fully treating of, 51. account of the principal engravers of, and their works, 279—289. architects and architecture encouraged in, 362. seasons in, to be carefully observed by gardeners, 431.

July, length of the days in &c. 467. work to be in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 468. work to be done in, in the parterre and flower garden, 469. flowers in prime and lasting in, 471.

Jumbel Aga, Chief Eunuch of the Seraglio, 569. a slave bought for him, 570. brings up her natural child, ib. incurs the Sultana's hatred, ib. vainly tries to resign his office, 571. but at length departs for Mecca, 572. Dominican Friar burned by, ib. storm on his voyage ib. his fight with Maltese vessels and death, 573.

June, length of the days in, &c. 463. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 465. work to be done in the parterre and flower garden in, ib. flowers in prime and lasting in, 466.

Junius, Francis, praise of his Lexicon, 354. his his translation of a passage in Kings, 260. his names for the style, 261, 262.

Justice, officers of, in France, 69.

Justin Martyr, his assertion concerning Socrates, 26. his account of Greek navigation referred to, 642 n.

Justinian, Emperor, Tribonius' flattery of, 33.

Justinus, M. Junianus, his history of the Greek wars, 642 and note.

Juvenal, Decius Junius, various references to and quotations from, 138, 139. 259. 697. 712. 749.

Ivory, ancient names for gravers and carvers in, 258.

Kalendarium Hortense, 1664, notice of, xvi. reprint of do. 425—498. bibliographical note on the editions, &c. of the, 427. introduction to the, 430. importance of the monthly directions and method pursued in, 431, 432, 433. notice of the authors consulted for, 434. letter and poem addressed to Evelyn on this work, 435, 436. vide the respective months.
Keckermann, Dr. Bartholomew, his praise of the English navigation, 666.
Kephalidion, what it signifies, 383.
Key-stone, its use, 386, 387. general rule for ornamenting the, 422.
Kilianus, Lucas, engravings executed by, 299.
King-killing, History of, 1719. particulars of the life of Dorislaus from the, 178 n.
Kings, servitude of, 14. wise men called so by the Stoics, 17. modesty to be observed in the presence of, 34. their love of extensive power, ib. the source of honour, 35. the servants of vanity, 38. effects of the government of powerful and prudent sovereigns, 52, 53. evil consequences from forsaking of, 52. of France, absolute, 53. 56, 57. titles of do. 54. of France, ceremony at their death, 60. do. their guard, 62. do. ancient revenue of, 65, 66. do. amount of their present revenue, 67. do. his affability and the reverence he experiences, 91. their abdication censured, 517. examples of excellent, 526, 527. deaths of by recluses, 528. their power of dismissing bad courtiers and advancing good men, 533. learning greatly derived from, 546. should be attended by an eastern minister, 567.
Kings of England, their sovereignty over the seas, 672. their rights on the seas, 675. extent of their sovereignty on do. 677. 685.
Kircher, Athanasius, his mention of the obelisks of Misra, &c. 265, 266.
Kitchen-garden, vide Olitory.
Knighthood, Orders of in France, 77.

L.

Labacco, Antonio, his book of architecture, 284.
Lacedemonians, their pride, 521.
Lactantius, God's inactivity rejected by, 510.
Ladies of England, their free and intemperate customs, 158. 160. defended from those assertions, 155 n. 156 n. 159 n. 160 n. their skill in card playing, 160, 161. inferiority of their treatment to that customary in France, 161. censure of their dress and manners, 162. some exceptions to this, 163. conduct of in Hyde Park, 165. their expectations of their admirers, 699. manners of the old English, 701, 702. poetical description of the dress and dressing rooms of, 703—709.
Laet, John, his mention of Acadian sculpture, 275.
L'Alzato, what it signifies in architecture, 371.
Lambard, William, early British navigation mentioned by, 660 n.
Lambert, Major General, John, character and notice of, 182 n.
Lambeth, notice of the spring gardens at, 240, and note.
Lamoignon, Guillaume de, notice of, 624 n.
Land forces of France, excellence of, 84, 85.
Lanferri, Antonio, his engravings after Michel Angelo, &c. 283, 284.
L'Asne, Michael, numerous portraits engraved by, 305.
Latins, commercial privileges permitted the, 633.
Layers of Gilliflowers and Carnations, directions concerning, 469.
Laws ever to be enforced, 116, 139.
Lead, Hesiod's poems engraven on, 268.
Learning, state of in France, 89. much derived from princes and public men, 546.
Ledus, his sculptured battles, 272.
Leeks, their medicinal qualities, 742.
Leisure to be improved, not idle, 514.
Leith-hill, beautiful and extensive prospect from, 688 and note.
Lemons, botanical names and qualities of, 744. directions for pickling, 805.
L'Estrange, Sir Roger, his *Discourse of the Fishery*, 681 n.
Letters, high antiquity of, 263, 264. dispute concerning their invention, 266. earliest in Europe, 275. names of French engravers of, 305.
Letters from the pretended Elias to the false Messiah, 590. from do. to the Jews, 591. of declaration to be from the false Messiah, 595, 599, 600. from the Chochams of Constantinople to the Jews of Smyrna, 609. 612.
Lettuce, Genoa, direction for preserving, 480 n.
Lettuces, historical notice of, and method of dressing, 742, 743. various kinds of, 744.
Lex Julia de Adulteriis, reference to Horace concerning the, 139.
Lexicons, defective in terms of arts, 354.
Libanius, his supposition that the powers of man are lost, 343.
Liberty, enjoyed by few, but contended for by many, 8. the gift of nature, ib. essential to all existence, 9. struggles after by the angels, ib. 10. in what it consists, 10. of the body, ib. of the mind, 11. independence of action, the sum of, 12. philosophical notions of, 13. 17, 18. 21. vice an enemy to, 15. by whom enjoyed, 16. important limitations to, 19. dangers of unrestrained, 20. reason, the bestower of, ib. where it most probably exists, 23. extreme rarity of, 27. not enjoyed by any, 38.
Liberty and Servitude, notice of Evelyn's tract on 1649, vii. reprint of do. 1—38.
Licetus, Fortunius, his book of antique rings, 269.

Lightfoot, William, his character as an engraver, 310.
Light Horse of France, 76.
Lights and shades, how produced in drawing with the pen, 314. and in what manner expressed in engraving, 320.
Lime and sulphur, how beneficial to the lungs, 223 n.
Lime-kiln on Bankside, notice of, 223.
Lime-trees in St. James's Park, first planting of the, 241.
L'Impiedi Facciata, what it signifies in architecture, 371.
Lines in engraving, rules for laying of the, 321. their perspective, 322. used for heraldic blazons, 323.
Lister, Dr. Martin, his paper on mushrooms referred to, 747. his notices of insects feeding on plants, 761. his method for forcing asparagus, 779. his censure of religious recluses, 790 n, 791.
Lithoxoi, sculptors in stone, 258.
Literary men, their diffidence on speaking, 540. reason for do. 541.
Literature, consistent with public employment, 538, 539, 540. frivolous pursuits of, 541.
Littleton, Adam, Hebrew Etymons mentioned by, 263.
Livius, Titus, journeys made to hear his eloquence, 44. his mention of embossed plate, 260. his mention of the Roman contempt for commerce, 633.
Loadstone, eulogy on the discoveries produced by the, 657.
Lomatius, Giovanni Paolo, his rule concerning Dentelli, 397.
Lombart, Peter, excellent engravings by, 300.
Londerselius, his engraved landscapes, 295.
London, vide St. Paul's. scheme for removing the smoke of, xiii. difficulty of comparing it with Paris, 93. continual revelry of, 95. rudeness of the common people in to foreigners, 150. fine situation, 218, 219. and poor appearance of, 151. 156. 210. defence of, 148 n. 149 n. praise of, 150 n. smoke and foggy atmosphere of, 219, 220, 221. and taverns in, 157. intemperance common in, 158, 159. smoke of assails the Court, 207. how to improve the air of, 208. 213. improvements required in, 210. and the probability of their taking place, 211. unwholesome and coarse trades and works of on the river banks, 207. 210. 212. 220. 231. gardens of, damaged by the smoke of, 212. 221. means for removing the smoky works of, 213. church-yards should be removed from, ib. mortality of its air, 214. 220. soil of, 219. pestilent nature of its coal smoke, 220, 221. 223. 225. 227, 228. 230. diseases induced by the air of, 224, 225, 226. 228. scheme for removing the smoky works of, 232. and for supplying it with their commodities, 233. importance of purifying its atmosphere, 238. and improvement of by way of plantations, 239. spring-gardens in, notice of, 240, and note. ancient city of, 484 n. improvements and buildings of palaces and churches in, executed under Charles II. 340. 344. notices of noblemen's houses anciently in, 341 n, 342 n. ancient improvements in, 344. 351.
London, Mr. George, his garden near Chelsea recommended, 497. account of him and his garden, 714, 715 and notes, 716, 717.
Longevity, remarkable instance of, 782.
Losses, how they should be borne by youth, 132.
Louis XI. King of France, his saying of the French Kings, 53. his institution of the Order of St. Michael, 77. consequence of his disarming the Commons of France, 86.
—— XIII. ———— his peculiarities in selecting his guard, 63. large vessels built by, 637.
—— XIV. ———— panegyric on his Court, 36. state of France under, 39—95. descent of, 54. his birth, education, and relations, ib. 55.
Louise Princess of Bohemia, paintings of, 326.
Lubinus, Eilhardus, his method of education by prints, 329.
Lucan, M. Annæus, quotations from, 225, 226. 546.
Lucas Van Leyden, his manner of marking his engravings, 276. his copies of Albert Durer's plates, 278. other engravings by, 279.
Lucatelo, Don Joseph, his account of the Spanish Sembrador, 621 n.
Lucian, his anecdote of Combabus, 31. do. of Alexander, 37. sacrifice of hair mentioned by, 138. his mention of Alexander and Cæsar in another world, 532.
Lucretius, Carus T. character of Evelyn's translation of into verse, ix. motto from on a smoky atmosphere, 205.
Lycurgus, did not encourage commerce, and why, 634.
Lysippus, his effigy of Alexander, 37.

M.

Mabugius, John, historical error of in one of his pictures, 560. notice of the painting, ib. note.
Machiavelli, Nicolo, his saying concerning France, 52. do. on the French Infantry, 85. do. on the genius of the people of France, 88, 89. on the oaths of princes, 197 n.
Mackenzie, Sir George, his *Essay on Solitude*, and Evelyn's answer to do. xvii. 503, 504. notice of him and his works, 502.
Macrobius, Aurelius, various references to, 794 n, 795 n. 797.
Madeira, discovery of the island of, 648.
Magazines, ornaments and figures proper for, 421.
Maggi, Giovanni, his engravings, 286, 287.

Magi, pretended Chaldean books of the, 265.
Mahomed, Han, Sultaun of the Ottoman Empire, his descent, 569. is nearly drowned, 571. his war with the Venetians, 576.
Mahomed Bei, the second Impostor, his story and pretensions, 578—586. his history published in France, 578 and note. his descent, and bringing up, 578, 579. his adventures and near conversion in Palestine, 579. loss of his treasure and consequent travels, 580. is baptized at Warsaw, ib. pilgrimage and travels of, 581. his imposture spread, ib. and encouragement of him at various courts, ib. 582. his reception in France, 582. his real descent, ib. infamous amours of, and departure from his native country, 583. his wanderings and impostures, ib. discovery of in England, ib. 584. probable family of, 585. remarks on the pamphlet concerning, ib. his ignorance and errors in his pamphlet, 585. proofs of his deceit and falsity in do. 586.
Mahometanism invented by recluses, 523.
Majoragius, Mark Anthony, his commendation of dirt, 230.
Maitre, Grand, of France, his duties and offices, 60.
Mallery, Charles de, excellence of his works, 296.
Mallows, medicinal qualities and historical notices of, 744.
Malta, island of, value of the mastership of its religion, 76.
Maltese, spread the error of Sultaun Ibrahim's son, 573, 574. examine the identity of Padre Ottomano, 574. and send a messenger to Constantinople for that purpose, ib. the imposture discovered to them, 575. instances of their covetousness, 577. naval exploits of the, 653.
Man, his greatest excellence in action and society, 550, 551. prudence and industry required for his support, 630.
Manch, Gard de la, vide Archers, 63.
Manchester, Edward Montagu Earl of, biographical notice of, 177 n.
Mangos, directions for pickling, 804.
Manners, curious description of Old English, 700, 701, 702.
Mantegna, Andrea, designed for Baccio Baldini, 277. engravings by, 285.
Mantuana, Andrea, engravings by, 285.
Mantuano, Giorgio, plates engraved by, 282.
————, Giovanni Battista, 281. plates engraved by, 282.
Manure, various directions concerning in gardens and orchards, 443. 448. 461. 482.
Manutius, Aldus, his explanation of a passage in Martial, 259.
Map Engravers, eminent foreign ones, 309.
Marbre, Table de, an admiralty court of France, 74.
Marca, Giovanni Battista, his engravings, 288.
March, length of the days, &c. in, 449. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 451. work to be done in, in the parterre and flower garden, ib. flowers in prime and lasting in, 454.
Marco di Ravenna, his works, 280.
Marcolini, Francesco, his engravings, 284.
Mareschals of France, offices and rank of, 74.
Maritime forces of France, improving state of the, 84.
Marmora Arundeliana, &c. list of editions of, 557 n.
Marriage, how to be spoken of to youth, 128. to be early with secular youth, 134, 135.
Marriages of the Jews in expectation of the Messiah, 593.
Marryland, a Voyage to, reprint of the poem so called, 703—709.
Martelay, M. de la, his collection of prints for teaching all sciences, 329.
Martens found in Surrey, 690.
Martial, Marcus Valerius, various quotations from, and references to, 7. 138. 259, 260. 272. 339 n. 344 n. 734 n. 736. 744. 747. 765. 772 n, 773 n. 792.
Martin of Antwerp, engravings executed by, 277.
Martyr, Justin, his reasons why blood should not be eaten, 787.
Mary, the blessed Virgin, made the patron saint of France, 53.
Masts and yards, to whom their invention is attributed, 637.
Matham, James, his engraved fruits, 295,
Mauperche, Henri, his landscapes, 304.
Mausolea, ornaments and figures anciently used for, 421.
Maximinus, Caius Julius Verus, Emperor of Rome, gluttony of, 797.
May, length of the days, &c. in, 459. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 460. work to be done in, in the parterre and flower garden, ib. flowers in prime and lasting in, 463.
May, Hugh, notice of him, 343 and note.
Mazarine, Cardinal Julius, dedication addressed to, 4. his office and character, 78.
Measurements in architecture, 404.
Mechanics and tradesmen of France, character of the, 80. excellence of the former, 90.
Mecca, privilege of making a pilgrimage to, 572.
Medallists, of Rome, times of their excellence, 273. names of eminent modern Italian, 299. of eminent English, 310.
Medicine in France, miserable state of, 90.
Mediterranean Sea, excellence of its situation, 629.
Medlars, catalogue of the best kinds of, 496.
Megalopsuchia, magnanimity, 512.
Mela, Pomponius, empire of the Sea mentioned by, 668 and note.
Mellan, Claude, his singular engraving of St. Veronica's napkin, 304.
Melon, its nature and various particulars of the, 745. directions for pickling, 805.
Membretti, an Italian name for pilasters, 384.

Memmius, his belief that the gods were inactive, 510.
Menapius, Gul. Insulanus, his commendation of a quartan ague, 229.
Men of War, supposed to have been first built by Minos, 638.
Mensula or keystone, its use, 386, 387.
Mentor, his richly-wrought cups, 272.
Mentum, origin of that term in Architecture, 400.
Merchants, their value in a state, 633. ancient splendour and exploits of, 639, 640. notice of the earliest, 641.
Merchants of France, character of the, 81,
Mercurius Trismegistus, his mystical engravings, 265.
Mercury, English, 745.
Messiah, vide Sabatai, numerous pretenders to be the, 568. prophecies concerning a pretended one, 589, 590. two expected by the Jews, 606. ideas of the Jews concerning the, 616. year of his coming assigned by the Jews, 618.
Metals, ancient names for casting figures and carving in, 258.
Metopæ, meaning, derivation, and ornaments of the, 396.
Metropolis, the best map of a country, 92.
Metz, difference between its parliament and that of Paris, 72.
Meurtrieres, what is meant by the term, 712
Mexico, hieroglyphical sculptures found in, 275.
Mezzo-tinto Engraving, enigmatical account of, 333, 334. increased perfection of, 334 n.
M. F. explanation of the mark, 280.
Michael, St. Order of Knighthood, notice of, 77.
Michelino, his imitation of ancient medals, 289.
Migades, nature of the word explained, 139.
Mikropsuchia, despising of glory, 512.
Military and civil architecture, how connected, 365.
Milton, John, harmony of edible plants mentioned by, 764. 798.
Mills in Wotton, for powder and brass wire, 689. fulling do. 690.
Minced Sallad, directions for making, 809.
Mind, liberty of the, 11. wholly enslaved at court, 32.
Ministers of state, their value, 515. why they should sometimes retire, 549. evils of their serving by rotation, 550.
Mint, Latin names and qualities of, 745.
Minos, King of Crete, the inventor of ships of war, 638.
Miparties, Chambres des, members of, and why established, 72, 73.
Miracles, related by Mahomed Bei, 579. falsely attributed to the pretended Messiah, 597. 611.
Mirandula, Giovanni Picus, earl of, his possession of the books of the Magi, 265.
Miriam, Matthew, his etchings, 293.
Misra, king of Egypt, sculptured obelisk erected by, 265.
M. M 3. M.C. marks of early engravers, 276, 277.
Model in architecture recommended, 368. 373.
Modilions, description of, and rules for, 398.
Modules, intention, and quantity of, 404.
Modulus, use of the, 259.
Monarchy of France, when founded, 53. male races of ditto, ib. how it became absolute, 56, 57. numerous guards a sign of the French, 64.
Monconys, Balthasar, his notice of the spring gardens at Lambeth, 240 n.
Monier, P. his work on engraving, 334 n.
Monkish architecture, censure of, 365, 366. numerous specimens of extant, 366.
Monks, frequent crimes of, 522. notice of the early ones, 532. censure of their idle and unwholesome lives, 790, 791.
Monnoyes, Cour des, its officers and duties, 74.
Monochromists, painters who used but one colour in their works, 323.
Monthly advice to gardeners, great importance of, 431.
Monument of London, its carved pedestal, 375.
Moor-burning, act of parliament against, 234. penalties for, 235, 236.
Moors and Arabs the corruptors of architecture, 365.
Moréri, Louis, his account of Mahomed Bei referred to, 578 n. of N. Serini, 581 n.
Morin, John, notice of his engravings, 304.
Morisot, Claude Bartholomew, opposes the British claim to the dominion of the Sea, 668.
Moro, Giovanni Battista d'Angeli del, 283.
Morris, Corbyn, his enquiry into the mortality of London, 214.
Mortality, Bills of, increase of from the atmosphere of London, 214.
Mortier, President au, his office and habit, 71.
Mosaic-work, nature and examples of, 423.
Moses, sculpture existing before his time, 265. sculpture mentioned by, 266. supposed inventor of letters, 267.
Mother, how she should assist in the education of a child, 118. 121, 122. 137.
Motto on the artillery at Havre de Grace, 58.
Mould, various directions concerning in gardens and orchards, 443, 444. 450. 452. 469. 486.
Moulin, Peter du, his sect in France, 83. notice of him, ib. n.
M. R. signification of the mark, 281.
Muffet, Dr. Thomas, his directions concerning sallads, 765.
Mulberries, list of the best sorts of, 496.
Muller, Herman, his engravings, 293.
Mundus Muliebris, 1690, notice of, xx. reprint of the, 697—713.
Murat, Ottoman Sultaun, his war with the Venetians, 576.
Museum, the British, presentation copy of the Mystery of Jesuitism there, 499.

Mushrooms, various historical and other particulars of, 746, 747. directions for gathering, dressing, and preserving, 801. 805.
Musquetiers of the royal guard of France, 62.
Mustard, medicinal qualities and use of, 748. directions for making and using in sallads, 767. directions for making, 802.
Mutules, architectural use of, 399.
Mys, his excellent works in sculptured metals, 272.
Mystery of Jesuitism, notice of a presentation copy of the, 499. dedicatory epistle to the, 1664, ib. editions of in the Wotton library, 500 n.
Mythology, active life celebrated in the heathen, 511.

N

Naming of children, pious advice for the, 124.
Nanteuil, Robert, Evelyn's portrait engraved by, 306, and note. other works of, ib. 307. his drawing with a pen, 316.
Nasturtium. Vide Cresses. various kinds and qualities of, 739. directions for pickling, 806.
Natalis, Michael, his engravings, 298, 299.
Nathan, Benjamin, a Jew personating Elias, 589. letter written by do. to the pretended Messiah, 590. his letter to the Jews, 591. miracles attributed to him, 611. his imposture still supported, 612. is opposed by the Chochams of Constantinople, ib. letter addressed to the Jews concerning him, 612, 613. conclusion of his imposture, 614.
Naval Architecture, king Charles the Second's knowledge and encouragement of, 340.
Naudé, Gabriel, Evelyn's translation of his work concerning libraries, x.
Navigation, eulogium on its utility and power, 635. the invention of claimed by several countries, 638. numerous improvements in, ib. notice of the Hebrew and Phenician, 641. of the Persian and Greek, 642. of the Roman, 643. its improvement under Charlemagne, 646. notice of the Egyptian, 647. of the Venetian and Portuguese, 648. of the Dutch, 649. 658. of the Goths and Vandals, 649. of the French, 650. of the Danes, &c. 651, 652. of the Genoese and Swedes, 652, 653. of the Rhodians, Maltese, and Turks, 653. of the Eastern Countries and Spaniards, 654. of the English, 656. 658. Portuguese inventions in aid of, 656. early and imperfect state of, 657. success and increase of, under Elizabeth, 665.
Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress, 1674, notice of, xix. reprint of, 625—686. publication of, suppressed, 628 n.
Navigators, the earliest noticed, 636.
Navy, superiority of the English under James I. 666, 667.
Nazianzen, St. Gregory, his praise of pictures, 330.
Nectarines, names of those in prime and lasting in August, 473. catalogue of the best, 495.
Needham, Marchmont, his *News from Brussels*, 1659, and Evelyn's answer to, xi.
Netherlands, importance of travelling in the, 50. excuse for not speaking of, at full, 51. danger to England in their accession to France, 88.
Nettles, qualities and use of, 748.
Newcastle, siege of, how of benefit to London, 212. 222. coal of, diseases induced by, 227.
Nicesius, his gross flattery of Alexander, 33.
Niches, general account of, and rules for, 417, 418.
Nicias, used but one colour in painting, 323.
Nicomedes King of Bithynia, deceit of his cook, 793.
Nicolas, Mons. first president of the Chambre des Compts, 73.
Nieulant, William Van, his etchings after Paul Brill, 295.
Nightingales, their existence through the winter, 696.
Nobility of England, their ignorance of architecture lamented, 362.
Nobility of France, free of taxes, 66. nature of the, 79. their service to the king, ib. arms and chivalry their profession, ib. 84. their garb and manner of living, 81. magnificence of, ib. great pretenders to learning, ib. their contempt of law and medicine, 82.
Nolpe, Peter, engravings by, 300.
Nonesuch House, materials of, used by the earl of Berkeley, 419 and note.
Nonius, Louis, reference to his commentary on Martial, 744.
Northern Countries, singular effect of the air on the, 215, 216. navigation of the, 650, 651.
Northumberland House obscured by the smoke of London, 223. yet remaining in perfection, ibid. n.
Norwegians, Runic writing of the, 273.
Nova Francia, Hieroglyphics in, 275.
Nova Zembla, deleterious nature of its fuel, 227.
November, length of the days, &c. in, 482. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 484. work to be done in, in the parterre and flower garden, ib. flowers in prime and lasting in, 426.
Nouvolstell, George, his engravings, 294.
Numismata, a Discourse of Medals, 1697, notice of Evelyn's work so called, xx.

O

Oak at Wotton Park, immense size of one, 687. destruction of, in 1683, 693.
Oars, first invention and increase of, 637.
October, length of the days, &c. in, 479. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 480. work to be done in, in the parterre and flower garden, ib. flowers in prime and lasting in, 481.
Octostyle in architecture, 390.

Offa, king of Mercia, his league with Charlemagne, 662.
Officers of the crown of France. their duties and assistants, 60—62.
Offices in France may descend to widows, 65.
Oil, directions for using in sallads, 765.
Olera, what plants are signified by the name, 733.
Oleron, laws of, referred to, 674.
Olitory or kitchen garden, directions for work in the, in January, 443. do. in February, 447. do. in March, 449. do. in April, 454. do. in May, 459. do. in June, 463. do. in July, 467. do. in August, 470. do. in September, 475. do. in October, 479. do. in November, 482. do. in December, 487.
Onions, methods of dressing and medicinal qualities of, 748. historical notices of, 749.
Orach, nature and use of, 749.
Oranges, directions for planting, &c. 454. 457. 460. 470. 473. nature and use of, 749.
Orange-trees, various directions concerning, 719. sold by the parliament, 460 n.
Orators to be instructed in all arts, 327.
Orchards, directions for work in the, in January, 443. do. in February, 447. do. in March, 449. do. in April, 454. do. in May, 459. do. in June, 463. do. in July, 467. do. in August, 470. do. in September, 475. do. in October, 479. do. in November, 482. do. in December, 487. catalogue of fruit trees for a moderate-sized one, 495.
Orders of Architecture determined by capitals, 405. names and descriptions of the, ib. Tuscan, ib. Doric, 406. Ionic, Corinthian, 408. what they represent, 410. the Composite, ib.
Orders of Knighthood in France, 77.
Ordonance in Architecture, what it is, 368.
Ordonation, vide Module, 404.
Organs taken from the English Churches, put up in taverns, 157.
Origen, Adamantius, his censure of the blasphemy of Celsus, 54.
Orleans, Gaston Jean Baptist, duke of, his offices and character, 55. a member of the Conseil d'en haut, 67. holds the office of Constable of France, 74 chief of the French council of war, 76.
———, Duchess of, her complaint of the smoke of London, 208.
———, Anne Marie of, her character, 55.
Orlo, an Italian name for a plinth, 377.
Ornaments in architecture, their nature and use, 420. how they were adapted to ancient public buildings, 421. general rules for their use, 422.
Ornithogalums, formerly eaten as sallads, 757.
Orthography, in architecture, explanation of, 371.
Ostia, excellence of the ancient Trajan port at, 646.
Ostracism, fatal effect of, in Athens, 519.
Ottomano, Padre, the first Impostor; his history and pretensions, 569—577. his birth, 570. his mother's death, 573. first called the son of Ibrahim, ib. the imposture spread by the Maltese, ib. 574. his identity first examined, 574. and the imposture discovered, 575. becomes a dominican friar, 577.
Ottomans, their power from supporting their sovereigns, 53.
Ovidius Naso, P. quotations from, 221. 268. 733 note. 783 n. 798 n.
Ovolo, its description in architecture, 397.
Outline in drawing not to be too precise, 315. directions for making and finishing, ib.
Owen, Rev. Mr. preaches in Evelyn's house during the Civil Wars, 153 n.
Oxenham, John, his valiant expedition against the Spaniards, 664.
Oxford, University of, Arundel marbles presented to the, 557.

P.

Painters, parallel between them and the guardians of a child, 115. recommended to practise engraving, 311. recommended to draw with the pen, 319. names of some who used but one colour, 323. passions expressed by the ancient ones, 331. careless of costume, 557. singular errors of in their pictures, 560. their inattention to perspective, 561. such as were learned the best skilled in costume, ib. extensive knowledge required in, 562.
Painting, principles of the perfection of, by M. Freart, 554. pictures used in treating of ditto, ib. its close connection with architecture and sculpture, 559.
Paintings, difficulty of copying by engravings, 324.
Palladio, Andrea, reference to his comments on Vitruvius, 373. regulated the proportions of pedestals, 375. his rule concerning pilasters, 383. ditto for the Doric pedestal, 407. ditto for the Corinthian ditto, 409.
Palma, Giacomo, his graphical works, 285.
Pamphilius, the first decorator of ceilings, 401.
Panderen, Egbert Van, engravings by, 295.
Paper, materials for writing on used before its invention, 267.
Paracelsus, P. A. T. his observation on air, 222.
Paradigmatice, explanation of the art, 258.
Paradise, vegetable food used in, 783, 784. time of man's fall from, considered, 783.
Parallel of Ancient and Modern Architecture, 1664, Evelyn's translation of, xv. other editions of, xvi.
Parasol, Lionardo, Isabella, and Bernardino, their engravings and works, 287.
Parastatæ, a Greek name for pilasters, 383.
Parents, how to excite in children a reverence for them, 123.
Paris, recommended for a traveller's residence, 50. the archbishop of, 94. his privilege in

the French parliament, 73. excellent scite and buildings of, 92. immense crowds in the streets and houses of, 93. houses of the quality in, ib. difficulty of comparison of with London, ib. increase and beauty of the new buildings in, ib. government of, 94. nightly disorders of, ib. its strength not equal to a siege, ib. excellence of the air of, ib. plaster of, a repeller of the plague, 95. superior to London in its appearance, 151. vulgar attack upon, 149 n. cours in, what, 162 n. Hotel de Bourgoigne there, 164 n. comparison between the course in and Hyde Park, 165. slaughter-houses banished from, 237 n.

Parkinson, John, notice of him and his works, 433 n.

Parliament of France, a name only, 57. character of, 70. established by Philip the Fair, 71. courts and officers of, ib. their habits, ib. arrests or acts of declared, ib. names of the French cities possessing one, 72. how it differs from that of Paris, ib. prerogative title of the French, 73. duties of ditto, and manner of pleading in, ib. how ecclesiastics sit in it, ib.

———, Act of the English against moor burning, 234.

———, Rump, political change produced by the, 174.

Parliamentarians, their coveteousness and cruelty, 175, 176. 180. instances of their fall, ib. and n. detestable conduct of the, 183, 184. their dangerous state, 184, 185.

Parmegiano, Francesco, his engravings in chiaroscuro, 282. one of the first who engraved with aquafortis, 283.

Parr, Old, his change of health in London, 224. change of diet the cause of his death, 782.

Parsley, its qualities and use, 750, 751.

Parsnips, method of dressing, 749, 802.

Parterre, directions for working in the, in January, 446. ditto for February, 448. ditto for March, 451. ditto for April, 456. ditto for May, 460. ditto for June, 465. ditto for July, 469. ditto for August, 473. ditto for September, 477. ditto for October, 480. ditto for November, 484. ditto for December, 488.

Passe, Crispin and Magdalen, excellent engravings by, 303.

Passions, instances of servitude to the, 15. men generally governed by some of them, 22. supposed seats of in the human body, 128, 129. how they are to be moderated in children, 129. of great men, conspicuous, 525.

Patent Rolls, various references to the, concerning the British sovereignty of the seas, 672 n. 677 n. 680 n. 685 n.

Patriarchs, causes of their long life, 782.

Patroclus, his present to Antigonus, 636.

Paulet, La, explanation of, 65.

Paul's, St. Cathedral Church of, profanation of during the civil wars, 151. 351. the neighbourhood of infested with smoke, 223. intended reparation of, 351.

Pautre, John Le, his engravings of ornaments and ceremonies, 304.

Payne, John, his abilities as an engraver, 309.

Peaches, names of those in prime and lasting in July, 469. ditto in August, 473. ditto in September, 476. catalogue of the best, 495.

Pearls, popular belief concerning the formation of, 115. 139.

Pears, names of those in prime and lasting in January, 445. ditto in February, 448. ditto in March, 451. ditto in April, 456. ditto in May, 460. ditto in June, 465. ditto in July, 468. ditto in August, 472. ditto in September, 476. ditto in October, 480. ditto in November, 484. ditto in December, 487. catalogue of the best, 495.

Peas, Sugar, their use in sallad, 749.

Pedantry of some French professors, 89.

Pedestal, various parts and names of a, 374, 375, 376. instances of historically-carved ones, 375. where most generally used, ib. what kinds were used for various figures, 376. of the Doric order, 407. of the Ionic, 408. of the Corinthian, 409. of the Composite ditto, 411.

Peers of France, their origin and number, 58. immunities and privileges of, 59. Court of, a title of the French parliament, 73.

Peiresk, Nich. Cl. Fabricius, Lord of, artificial method of raising mushrooms described by, 747 and note.

Pen, art of drawing with the, 314, 315. objections to it, 315. names of masters who excelled with it, 316, 319.

Penance performed by the Jews respecting a pretended Messiah, 592.

Pennant, Thomas, reference to concerning Bridgewater House, 222 n.

Perini, Luca, engravings executed by, 284.

Pennia, Samuel, his conversion to the false Messiah in Smyrna, 595.

Pennyroyal-pudding, directions for making, 808.

Pepper, medicinal qualities and various kinds of, 750. use of in sallads, 767.

Pepin, King of France, increases the possessions of the crown, 65.

Perelle, Gabriel, his engraved landscapes and views, 304.

Periptere, arrangement and number of columns in the, 390.

Peristyle, what it is, 391.

Perrault, Claude, his explanation of taxis in architecture, 368. of diathesis, 369. his rule for the diminution of columns, 379. observation on ante-pilasters, 385. place of the tænia mentioned by, 393. his idea of the Composite order, 410. dispositions of columns considered by, 413. double tympanum mentioned by, 414.

Perrier, Francis, his engravings of antique Roman sculpture, 304, 557

Persia, settlement of the Jews in, 615.
Persians, their naval engagements and discoveries, 642.
Persius Flaccus, Aulus, quotations from, 139. 764 n.
Perspective of lines, treated of by Du Bosse, 322. inattention of painters to, 561.
Peruzzi, Baldassare, his engravings in chiaro-scuro, 282.
Petalism, fatal effects of in Sicily, 519.
Peter's, St. at Rome, number of columns in the peristyle of, 388. cupola on, 416.
Petit, Mons. some account of, 248.
Petronius Arbiter, his lamentation of the decay of art and virtue, 274.
Philander, William, his argument in favour of a model in architecture, 373. his distinction concerning the tænia, 394. his derivation of the frieze, ib. ditto of modilions, 398.
Philip II. King of Macedon, complaisance of his courtiers to, 30.
——— King of Spain, anecdote of his mildness and patience, 526. his payment to England for the privilege of fishing, 677.
Phillips, ——, particulars from, on the planting of the potatoe in England, 447 n. ancient prices of orange trees from, 460 n. historical notice of the Cornelian cherry by, 473 n.
Philo, his treatise on virtuous liberty, 17.
Philo Judæus, his notion of the origin of letters and sculpture, 267.
Philosophers, their giving liberty to confined animals, 9. Indian ditto, prohibit the use of servants, 11. their ideas concerning liberty, 13. 17, 18. 21. their retirement into Persia, 19. boldness and confidence of, 21. difficulty of finding their free man, 22. instances of such as refused kingdoms for freedom, 26. travels of in search of knowledge, 43. their expression for air, 215. drawing, &c. practised by the, 331. their action and conversation, 517. crimes charged upon the, 522. their relaxation, 537. much in public employment, 538. not unfitted for business by study, 539. refrained from eating flesh, 784. 788.
Philosophical Liberty, nature of, 17.
Philosophical Transactions, various quotations from and references to the, 497 n. 554. 621 n. 628 n. 692 n. 747 n. 756. 760 n, 761 n. 766 n. 768 n.
Philostratus, illustration from concerning natural liberty, 9. his expression for design, 313. freedom in copying mentioned by, 315, 445.
Phœnicians, supposed the oldest navigators and merchants, 639, 641.
Phrygiones, its true signification, 394.
Physicians of France, character of the, 89.
——— of England, their desire to purify the air of London, 228.
Pickles, various directions for making, 802—807.
Pictures, eminent collections of in England open to engravers, 310. the collecting of, a relaxation from business, 332.
Pietro, Signor, his labours to discover the imposture of Padre Ottomano, 574, 575.
Pigeons used by merchants as letter carriers, 648.
Pilæ in Architecture explained, 385.
Pilasters, their nature described, 384—385.
Pimpernel, general use of, in sallads, 751.
Pine-apple, first one raised in England presented to Charles II. 101 n. 432 n.
Pinto, Ferdinand Mendez, Chinese act of devotion related by, 9.
Pipes for green-houses, of what material they should be made, 494.
Pirckhemierus, Billbaldus, his commendation of the gout, 229. notice of his library, 556 n.
Pisa, extraordinary arches in the bridge at, 386.
Pisæus, his improvements in ships, 637.
Pius, II. Pope, reference to his miseries of Courts, 29.
Plague, not always to be found in Paris, 95. seldom in France, 225. singular scheme for removing the, 239.
Planceres, what is signified by, 400.
Planta, Edward, his account of the French slaughter-houses, 237.
Plantations round London, scheme for making, 240.
Plants, vide Vegetables. classed list of tender and hardy, 489. damaged by Winter how to recover, 694, 695. wild and unknown ones to be avoided, 760.
Plaster of Paris a probable repeller of the plague, 95.
Plastice, explanation of, 258. more modern than sculpture, 269.
Plato, various quotations from and references to, 10. 19. 106. 215. 357. 517. 634. 744.
Plautus, his satire upon ships and women, 703.
Plebeians of France, their misery, 79.
Plinth, what it is, and its parts, 377.
Pliny, C. Cælius Secundus, various references to and quotations from, 43. 232. 259, 260. 263. 267. 270, 271, 272. 313. 326. 401. 637, 638. 726 and note. 734. 736. 738. 743 n. 746. 758. 781 and note, 794 n, 795 n, 796 n.
Plumpers, ancient use of them, 712.
Plums, names of those in prime and lasting in July, 469. do. in August, 473. do. in October, 480. catalogue of the best, 496.
Plumstead Marshes, remedy for the foul air of, 232.
Plutarch, various references to, and quotations from, 17. 43. 138. 272. 510. 518. 520. 536, 537. 541. 549. 644. 734. 761. 772 n.
Podius, Q. a mute who was taught drawing, 331.
Poetry in English and Latin, various pieces and fragments of, 48, 49. 53. 138, 139. 234. 267. 271. 339 n. 344. 347. 431 n. 436. 515. 529. 763, 764. 785, 786 and note. 793. 795, 796, 797, 798, 799.

Poets, their rewards neglected, 542.
Poilly, Nicholas, his portrait of Cardinal Richelieu, 305.
Poisonous plants, wonderful power of, 761 and n.
Pollux, his names for engraving instruments, 262.
Polybius, his mention of the Roman conquests by sea, 636. his account of the Roman naval battles with the Carthaginians, 643.
Polycletus, exactness of a statue sculptured by, 315.
Pompey, Cneus Magnus, his pirate wars, 644.
Pontius, Paul, portraits and other prints engraved by, 296.
Pope, blasphemous title given to the, 499.
Poppy, used as a sallad, 757.
Porphyry, his title for mushrooms, 746.
Portraits of eminent persons abused as signs, 271.
Ports, decay of ancient eminent, 650.
Portuguese, idolatrous request of one, 19. discoveries made by the at sea, 648, 649. their inventions in aid of navigation, 656.
Potage-maigre, directions for making, 807.
Potatoes, notice concerning the planting of, in England, 447 n. directions for dressing and pickling, 806.
Pot-herbs, for what they are most proper, 742.
Powder Mills, by whom first brought to England, 689.
Prayer, to be early cultivated by youth, 134. why ordered to be secret, 528. form of, established by the false Messiah, 600, 601.
Prayers of the Church neglected during the civil wars in England, 155.
Preachers, irreverent habits of, during the civil wars, 153.
Presbyterians, irreverent devotions of during the civil wars, 152, 153. their character and customs, 154, 155. qualification of the censure of the, 192. the origin of the civil wars in England, 196 n. pretended courtesy of Charles II. to the, 200 n.
Presidents, &c. over the Parliamentary Courts of France, 71.
Prevosts of Merchands in Paris, 94.
Prevôt, Grand, of France, his office and power, 62.
Prieur, Grand, of France, his rank and revenue, 76.
Primstaf of the Danes and Norwegians, what, 273.
Princes of France, nature of their estates, 58.
Princes, fictitious Israelitish made by the pretended Messiah, 596.
Printing, earliest instances of in Europe, 275. very ancient use of in China, ib. unknown to the Greeks and Romans, 276. doubt concerning its production, ib.
Prints, account of some of the most ancient, 276. proper for learning of hatching from, in drawing, 314, 315. names of painters who copied from, 319. copies in, most easily detected, 324. astonishing collection of, of the Abbé Marolles, 328. value of some mentioned by, ib. excellent use of, in the education of children, 329.
Procaccia, an Italian Guide, 49.
Process of the Libel, reference to the book so called, 663.
Procharagraphia, the first draught or outline, 315.
Procopius, anecdote of Tribonius cited from, 33. his mention of the early navigations of the Phœnicians, 639.
Proctors of France, their number, 72. how they plead in Parliament, 73.
Projectures in Architecture, names and nature of, 399.
Prophecies concerning the year 1666, 587. of the pretended Messiah, 589. 596.
Proplastice, what explained, 258. materials of the Proplastic art, 259.
Proportion in Architecture exemplified, 372. derived of the human figure, 403.
Prostyle, number of columns used in the, 390.
Protestants of France, doctrine and feeble state of, 82, unanimity of, 83. praise of the, 155.
Proteus, his skilful management of sails, &c. 638.
Protogenes, his excellent effigies, 271.
Prototypus, use of the, 259.
Proverbs, various, 14. 27. 139. 231. 274. 312. 315. 389. 511, 512. 516. 540. 542. 544. 746. 751. 758.
Provinces of France, rank of the Governors of, 76.
Prudence how to inspire youth with, 136.
Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens, his mention of ancient styles, 262.
Pruning, various directions for, 444. 447. 449, 450. 455. 459. 467. 471. 487.
Pseudo-diptere, arrangement and number of columns in the, 390.
Ptolemy, King of Egypt, sends the youth of his Country to travel, 43.
Ptolemy Philopater, number of oars in his galley, 637.
Puddings of carrot, penny-royal, spinage, and tansie, directions for making, 808.
Purslain, qualities and mode of preparing, 751. directions for potting, 806.
Pycnostylos, what it signifies in Architecture, 388.
Pyrrhon, his invention of bended planks, 637.
Pyrrhus, his reply concerning wisdom, 515.
Pythagoras, various references to, 43, 44. 744.
Pythagoreans, gave liberty to confined animals, 9. custom of the concerning rings, 11. their ideas of liberty, 18.

Q.

Queens of France, their household and officers, 62.
Quinces, catalogue of the best, 495.
Quintenye, Mons. John de la, method of preparing stocks in his *Complete Gardener*, 482. do. of forcing sallad and asparagus, 487 n. his *Complete Gardener*, 714 and note. his *Directions concerning Melons and Oranges*, 716.
Quintilian, Marcus Fabius, various references to, 258. 260. 313. 326, 327. 331.

Quintus Curtius Rufus, his mention of the Vehicula Cælata, 269.

R.

Radish, medical qualities and domestic use of, 751. historical notices of the, 752.
Raffaelle Sanzio, d' Urbino, his praise of M. Antonio, 279. his care in having the plates of his works printed and marked, 280. recommends M. Antonio to Albert Durer, ib. works of his engraven, 279, 280, 281, 282. his bible, 288. his cartoons copied with a pen, 316. his improvement of costume, 560.
Rag-women, what they were, 712.
Rainsborough, Colonel Thomas, particulars of, 179 n.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his praise of the English navy under King James I. 666, 667.
Rampion, its use as a sallad, 752.
Rapinus, Renatus, Evelyn's translation of his Latin poem on gardens, 623 n.
Raspberries, list of the best sorts of, 496.
Ray, Dr. John, passage quoted from his *Historia Plantarum*, 728 n. his paper on hemlock referred to, 760. his notices of insects feeding on plants, 761 and note. his defence of plants as a diet, 791 and note, 792.
Raziel the Angel, said to have invented sculpture, 263.
Reason, true liberty in the government of, 20.
Rebellions in France not prosperous, 80.
Recluses, many crimes devised by, 522. frequently impatient, 527. misfortunes of, 528. vices and miseries of, 546. descriptive characters of do. 551, 552. religious, censured, 790 and notes, 791.
Reformation, great persons in France inclined to one, 83.
Reggio, Sebastiano del, plates engraved by, 282.
Regiment des Gardes de la France, notice of, 63.
Regula in architecture, what, 397, 401.
Regulus, M. Attilius, his naval battle at Heraclea, 643.
Relaxation, importance of to public men, 537.
Relievo, Basso and Mezzo, 259. their nature and situations, 419.
Religion, servitude occasioned by the want of it, 16. of France, divisions of the, 82. indifference of the French to, 91. children to be early instructed in, 114. 122. not assisted by solitude, 528.
Rembrandt Van Rhyn, his admirable etchings, 300.
Renato, engravings by, 284.
Requêts, Maitres des, in France, 68. their number and duties, 70.
——— du Palais, Chambres des, nature of, 73.
Restoration, calumnious and forged letter concerning the, 195 n.—202 n.
Resurrection, manner of giving an idea of the to a child, 121.
Retirement, when men praise it, 513. how it should be employed, 514. when it is justifiable, 518. should be universal to be good, 520. lost on wickedness and folly, 521. no defence against vice, &c. ib. 525. 527. not productive of wise men, 537. occupations and feelings of idle men in, 543, 544. sloth and debasing pleasures of, 545. its sylvan sports considered, 546.
Revenge, instances of lawful cited, 130.
Revenue of France, uncertain nature and officers of, 64. ancient increase of, 65, 66.
Rheims, difference between its parliament and that of Paris, 72.
Rhodians, navigation of the, 653.
Rialto, Arch of the at Venice, 387.
Richard II. King of England, his naval victory over the French, 662. his tribute on the fisheries, 678.
Richards, his translation of Palladio, 423.
Richelieu, Armand du Plessis, Cardinal de, immoral saying of, 56. his subtilty in rendering the King of France absolute, 57. his increase of the French King's Revenue, 67. infringes the privileges of the French Parliament, 73. his augmentation of the office of Admiral of France, 75. seducer of the Scots in the civil wars, 172. his encouragement of navigation, 651.
Rimstoc of the Danes and Norwegians, what, 273.
Rings with engraved seals, use and dignity of, 269.
Rings round pillars, various names, places, and proportions of, 379.
Robinson, Dr. Tancred, his paper on mushrooms referred to, 747 n.
Roccha, Angelus, his mention of the columns of Seth, 267.
Rocket, its use as a sallad, 752.
Rocoles, J. B. his *Impostures Insignes*, 1683, 578.
Roman way in Surrey, notice of the, 689.
Roman remains found in Surrey, 690.
Romans, evil consequences of their forsaking their kings, 52. their custom concerning burials, 236. invasion of the Goths, destroyed their arts, 273. their contempt for commerce, 633. their great successes by sea, 636. their early naval expeditions, 643, 644, 645. frequent sea-fights with the Carthaginians, ib. their naval triumphs, 646. and stores for maritime war, ib. decline of their power at sea, ib. their extensive commerce, 647.
Romano, Julio, engravings after his works, 281, 282.
Rome, character of its buildings, 213 n. its deformities and reformation celebrated by Martial, 344. the sumptuous buildings of, how erected and despoiled, 389. gardening anciently much practised in, 726 and note. excess of food in, 794, 795, 796, 797.

Roofs, various kinds of, 414.
Rooms, order of arranging in a house, 369. and general dimensions of, ib. proper situations for, 370.
Rose, John, publication of his *English Vineyard Vindicated*, 1669, 97 n. 101. various references to, 444 n. painting of his presenting the first English pine-apple to Charles II. 101 n. 432 n.
Rosemary, general destruction of in 1683, 693. medicinal use of, 752.
Ross, Alexander, Hexastichon by, addressed to John Evelyn, 6.
——Propertia di, her works in sculpture and engraving, 285.
Rota, Martin, engravings executed by, 285.
Roti, Mons. praise of as a medalist, 290.
Rouen, difference between its parliament and that of Paris, 72.
Roussellet, Giles, his frontispiece to the Polyglot Bible, 305.
Royal Society, Evelyn's Sculptura presented to the, 245 n. culture of potatoes recommended by the, 447 n. Evelyn's Sylva, written at the desire of the, 339. Technical Lexicon undertaken by the, 354. historical account of, 556 n. its encouragement from Lords Chancellors, 723. its frequent removals, 724.
Royalists of England, their sufferings during the civil wars, 174. 179. 183, 184. had no thoughts of vengeance, 195 n. 204.
R. S. signification of, 280.
Rubens, Sir Peter Paul, engravings after his works, 296. his attention to costume, 560.
Rudder, by whom invented, 637.
Rueus, Francis, his account of Talismans, 269.
Runic writings of the Danes and Norwegians, account of, 273.
Rupert, Prince, his excellent engravings and etchings, 324. his new invented kind of engraving, 333, 334. his encouragement of naval discoveries, 665.

S.

Sabatai Sevi, pretended Messiah of the Jews, his story and impostures, 587—614. state of affairs at his first appearance, 587. his real descent and education, 588. banished from Smyrna and married, ib. travels and reforms the Jewish law, ib. and commences his imposture, 589. spread of do. ib. letter to do. 590. his directions to the Jews, 591. his arrival at, and disputations in Smyrna, 593. his reception and declaration of his office there, 594. amazing spread of his imposture, 595. delusions of, and Jewish Princes made by, 596. his false Miracle, 597. departs to Constantinople, and his imprisonment there, 598. address to the Jews there, 599. his prison changed, ib. visitations of the Jews to, 600. 605. and a new form of prayer established by, 600, 601. honours paid to by the Jews, 602. his announcement of Elias, 604. his dispute with Nehemiah Cohen, 606. imposture of, discovered to the Turks, 607. is carried to the Grand Signor, ib. announces his imposition and becomes a Turk, 608. assertion of the Jews concerning him, 609. order published in Smyrna relating to, ib. farther miracles attributed to him, 611. his imposture still supported, ib. 612.
Sacraments, neglected in England during the civil wars, 153.
Sacrifice, ancient place of with the Jews, 236.
Sadeler, Justus, John, Ægidius, and Ralph, their engravings, 292. 302.
Saenredamus, John, notice of his works, 295.
Saffron, use of in sallad, 767.
Sage, nature and use of, 753.
Sails, by whom invented and manœuvred, 638.
Salamanca, Antonio, engravings by, 285.
Salique law of France, deceitful intent of, 54.
Sallad, rapid means of raising, 779, 780. common nature of the Roman, 792, 793. 795, 796.
——dishes, directions concerning, 768.
——gatherers, basket for, 768.
Sallad-all-Sorts, directions for composing, 809.
Sallads, vide Acetaria. general signification of, 733, 734. furniture and materials of, 734. easily procured in France and Italy, ib. names of several sorts anciently used, 744. 757, 758. remarks on the gatherers of, 760. skill required in the selecting and dressing of, 761. general physical qualities of, 762. 764. congeniality in the composing of, 763, 764. directions for the dressing of, 765. 768. list of herbs for making of, 768, 769. tables of their species, ordering, and culture, 769, 770. directions on the seasons for gathering, compoeing, and dressing, 771, 772. 774, 775, 776. times for eating considered, 772, 773.
Sallow or Sally, a name for the willow, 240.
Salmasius, Claude, his notice of Cavatores, &c. 261. do. of painted ceilings, 401. his direction concerning sallads, 734.
Salt, French duty paid upon, 66. immense profits and arbitrary exaction of, do. 67. directions for using in sallads, 766.
Samphire, qualities and growth of, 753. directions for pickling, 806.
Sandwich, the Earl of, a practiser of engraving, 325.
Sarto, Andrea del, his copies from the prints of A. Durer, 319.
Satire, useful for the improvement of a nation, 144. 147.
Savile, Sir Henry, his edition of *St. Chrysostom's works*, 1610-12, 140.
Says Court, damage done to the garden of in 1683, 692.
Scalæ Cochlides, winding stairs, 387.
Scalæ Occultæ, back stairs, 387.
Scaliger, Julius Cæsar, and Josephus Justus,

various references to, 49. 275. 377. 567. 733. 780 and note.
Scallions, use of as sallads, 753.
Scalprum what, 261, 262.
Scamilli impares Vitruviani, considered and explained, 375, 376.
Sceaux, Garde de, office of the in France, 69.
Scenography and sciography, their signification in architecture, 371.
Schoen, Martin, one of the earliest copper-plate engravers, 276.
Schurmann, Anna Maria à, an engraver, 301.
Sciabas, bought as a virgin slave, 570. her natural son, ibid. introduced to the sultana who persecutes her, 571. leaves Cairo for Mecca, 572. her death, 573.
Scipio, his active retirement, 536. his early employment for Rome, 548.
Scotia of pedestals, what they were, 375. 377.
Scots, base conduct of the in the civil wars recapitulated, 172. civil wars first engendered by the, 196 n. defence of the, 197.
Scottish archers of France described, 63.
Scriptural books, ancient writing and authors of, 265.
Scriptures, examples for introducing the histories of the to a child, 120. 122. when the terrors of the should be taught to children, 126.
Scriptures, various allusions and references to, and illustrations from the, 6. 11. 19, 20. 34, 35. 105. 110. 113, 114. 117. 120. 122. 125. 130, 131. 133. 139, 140. 147. 171. 174. 183, 184, 185. 187, 188, 189, 190, 191. 197, 198. 236. 243. 260, 261. 265, 266. 358. 419. 430. 499. 506 n. 511 n. 513 n. 515 n. 517 n. 520 n, 521 n, 522 n, 523 n. 525 n. 528 n, 529 n, 530 n, 531 n, 532 n, 533 n. 535 n, 536 n. 545 n. 547 n. 549 n. 601, 602. 604. 631. 634. 636, 637. 639. 641. 645. 650. 713. 724, 725. 729. 734. 776. 782 n, 783 n, 784 n, 785 n. 787 n. 794.
Sculptores Marmoris, multitudes of, 270.
Sculptors, names of eminent preserved by Pliny, 271, 272.
Sculptura, 1662, notice of Evelyn's work so called, xv. xxi. re-print of, 242—336. vide table of contents and table of titles, 251—257. notice concerning the additions to, 257 n. a difference between it, scalptura, and cælatura, 258, 259. numerous arts signified by, ib. 261.
Sculpture, its derivation and distinguishing names instruments, &c. 258—262. definition of, 261. account of its original, 263—269. on brazen and brick columns, 265. existence of after the flood, ib. mention of it by Moses, 266. older than idolatry, ib. more ancient than modelling, 269. time and place of its perfection, 270. used on gems, 271. its existence and decay in Greece and Rome, 273. of the Danes, ib. of the Chinese, 275. at Nonesuch and Durdans, 419. its close connection with architecture and painting, 559.
Scurvy-grass, its nature and use, 753.
Sea, importance of its command to a sovereign, 635. notice of the most ancient voyages on the, 639. disputes concerning the dominion of the, 668. ancient property of noticed, 669. claims of the English to its dominion exhibited, 670—679. 685. government of after the Norman Conquest, 671.
Sea-kail, historical mention of, 738.
Seal of France, the great, kept by the Chancellor, 69. days and manner of sealing with, ibid.
Seals, ancient name and etymons of, 262, 263.
Secretaries of the King's-chamber and cabinet in France, 61.
Sects during the civil wars in England, 175.
Seine, river of France, notice of the, 93.
Selden, John, his *Mare clausum* referred to, 668 n. his mention of the Kings of England being lords of the sea, 671.
Self-denial, how to be taught to youth, 132.
Sembrador, a Spanish machine for ploughing, sowing, and harrowing, notice of, 621.
Semedo, Alvarez, attributes an immense antiquity to the Chinese printing, 275.
Seneca, Lucius Annæus, various references to and quotations from, 15. 17. 20, 21. 23. 25, 26, 27. 34. 331. 501. 512. 518. 520, 521. 537. 539. 541. 543, 544. 549, 550. 640. 645. 726. 746. 785.
September, length of the days, &c. in, 475. work to be done in, in the orchard and kitchen-garden, ib. fruits in prime and lasting in, 476. work to be done in, in the parterre and flower-garden, 477. flowers in prime and lasting in, 478.
Seraglio, slaves of the, how they are made free, 572.
Serenus, his mention of the sculpture of Cham, 265.
Serini, Peter, an impostor pretending to be his brother, 568.
—— N. mention of, 581.
Serlio, Sebastiano, his book of architecture, 284.
Servants, origin of, 10. 131. how to assist in the education of the children, 129, 130. ancient Greek names of, 140.
Service-berry, list of the best sorts of the, 496.
Servillus Vatia, his luxurious retirement, 543.
Servitude, universal existence of, 13. regal, 14. to avarice, 15. to the passions, ib. 20. to the world, 16.
Sesostris, King of Egypt, his invention of swiftly-sailing ships, 637.
Seth, notice of books written by, 264. Brazen pillars sculptured by, 267.
Sethius, Simon, his praise of asparagus, 754.
Severus, Emperor of Rome, septizonium tower erected by, 712.
Sextius, his censure of eating flesh, 785.
Shadows, how they are produced by hatching, 314, 315. 320. plate and illustrations relating to, 321. harmony of required in engraving, 324.

Shallots, vide Onion, 749.
Sharrock, Dr. Robert, his classed list of tender and hardy plants, &c. 489.
Shepherd, supposed invention of drawing by one, 314.
Shields embossed and engraved, 260. 269.
Ship, extraordinary one seen in Scotland, 578.
Ships, construction of the most ancient, 636. by whom improved, 637, 638. of the ancient Britons, 659. eminent ones built by James I. 666.
Shrubs, flowering, classed list of tender and hardy, 489.
Shute, John, notice of him and his work on architecture, 403 and note.
Siderophoreia, explanation of, 262.
Sight of children and youth to be guarded and how, 127.
Signa, immense numbers of in Greece, 270.
Signor, the Grand, his treatment of the false Messiah, 607, 608.
Silphium, historical notices of the, 758, 759.
Silver, ancient names for graving and casting in, 259. anciently often engraven on, 272. 277.
Simple fornix arch, 386.
Simus, vide Cymatium, 393.
Sinai, mount, population and piety of, 531.
Skeleton, gigantic one found at Wotton, 688.
Skirret-milk, how it is made, 808.
Skirrets, medicinal and domestic qualities of, 754.
Slaves not permitted to draw or paint, 326.
Sleidane, John, his praise of Francis I. 540.
Smelling of children to be kept from perfumes, 126.
Smoke, vide Air. London, derivation of the word, 220. of London, pestilent effects of the, 157. 207. 212. 223. its chief sources, 231.
Smoke-jack, notice of a singular one, 690.
Smyrna, conduct of the pretended Messiah in, 593. his great success and declaration in, 594, 595. fictitious Israelitish Princes made in, 596. false miracle in, 597. ridicule of the Jews concerning their false Messiah, 608. order sent to concerning ditto, 609. and of Nathan, 612.
Snails found in Surrey, 690.
Society, often a preservation from vice, 530. scriptural proofs of its excellence, 531. descriptive sketch of its blessings, 551.
Socrates, his excellent life and refusal of court honours, 26. his censure of useless travel, 44. resists the thirty tyrants, 518. 538. discovers the proud philosopher, 521.
Soil, vide Manure. Mould. causes of its foulness and excellence, 778, 779.
Soldiers of France, commendation of, 85. their fury at the first charge, 89.
Solinus, C. Julius, his expression for a traveller's return, 46.
Solis, Virgilius, his eyes put out for his lewd engravings, 294.
Solitude, vide Employment. Retirement. title of Sir G. Mackenzie's work on, 502. praised by most ancient writers, 507. ambition to be found in, 511. how productive of evil, 516. not free from vice, 521. 525. 527. of no benefit to religion, 523. its frugality not praiseworthy, 525. no defence from temptation, 530. the real use of, 536. its miseries, 551. descriptive sketch of ditto, ib. 552. summary of the evils of, 552.
Somers, John Lord, Baron of Evesham, dedication addressed to, 723. notice of him, ib. n.
Somerset House, inlaid floor at, 423.
Sophia, Saint, grand cupola upon the Church of, 416.
Sorbiere, Samuel, his eulogium on Signor Favi, 246. his account of him, 247.
Sorrow, reasons for mitigation of in the loss of children, 105, 106.
Sorrel, various kinds and qualities of, 754.
Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley, earl of, notice of his mansion, 342 n.
Sowing, directions for, 482.
Sow thistle, notice of, 754.
Spagnolet, a gown, 713.
Spain, its greatness dangerous to England, 88. useful to England to check France, ib. Queen Elizabeth's policy concerning, ib. has no pretence to alienate the subjects of France, ib. odoriferous atmosphere of, 208.
Spanheim, Ezekiel, Silphion Coins mentioned by, 758 n.
Spaniards, historical notice of their navigation, 654. their custom in eating sallad, 773.
Spanish, privilege of fishing granted to the, by England, 677.
Spanish Infantry, excellence of the, 85.
Spanish Paper, what it is, 713.
Sphragida, nature and signification of the word, 139.
Spinach, method of dressing and qualities of, 755. pudding, directions for making, 808.
Spits turned by water, 690.
Spring gardens, notice of some plantations in London so called, 240.
Sprunking glass, 713.
Stafford, Richard, poisonous plants mentioned by, 761 n.
Stairs, observations on, 387.
Stanley, Thomas, reference to his commentary on Æschylus, 640.
Stapelton, Sir Philip, notice of, 178 n.
Stapely, Col. Anthony, notice of, 179 n.
State, officers and counsellors of in France, 67. 69. Secretaries of, their number and duties, 70.
Statesmen, their desire of retirement, 516. why they retired in Sicily, 519.
Statius, P. Papicius, verses from, 261. 332.
Statuaries, parallel between them and the guardians of a child, 115.
Stawel, Sir John, biographical notice of, 176 n.

Stelai, derivation of the word, 375.
Stereobata in architecture, what it signifies, 374.
Stobæus, example of slothful ease cited from, 545.
Stocks, various directions concerning, 483.
Stoics, their notions concerning vice, 15. concerning the liberty of wisdom, 17.
Stone, ancient names of carving and carvers in, anciently used for writing, 267. Chinese engraving and printing on, 275. dug in the parish of Wotton, 688.
Stone-street causeway, notice of, 689.
Storms raised in the air by moor-burning, 235, 236.
Stove, bad effects of the common one used in conservatories, 420. new invented one, directions and plans for, 492, 493, 494. 497, 498. letter from Sir D. Cullum to Evelyn concerning it, 497—498. for greenhouses, various remarks on, 719, 720,
Strabo, attributes to Minos the most ancient navigation, 838. his account of the early Roman commerce, 647. early British navigation mentioned by, 659 n.
Strada, Faminianus, his praise of the Dutch navigation, 652 n.
Stradanus, John, his *Nova Reperta*, 296.
Strafford, Thomas Wentworth Earl of, his execution, 175 and note.
Strait or turning arch, 386.
Stratonicus, fine sculpture executed by, 272.
Strawberry, historical notice concerning the, 480 note. list of the best sorts of the, 496.
Strawberry hill, curious Picture there referred to, 101 n. 432 n.
Striges, their derivation and meaning, 383. sometimes partly filled up, ib.
Structura in Architecture, what it is, 374.
Stylobata in architecture explained, 374.
Stylus, various names for the, 261, 262. frequently instruments of death, 262. made of bone, ib.
Suave, Lamberto, engravings by, 284.
Substruction in architecture, various interpretations of, 374.
Succory, its use as a sallad, 755.
Suetonius, C. Tranquillus, various references to, 645. 743 n. 746.
Sugar, directions for using in sallads, 766, 767.
Suidas, various references to, 262. 264. 266. 513.
Suisses, Colonel Général des, in France, his rank and troops, 75.
Sulos, the name for a column, 378,
Sulphur, when beneficial to the lungs, 223 n.
Sultana, the Grand, her weakness at the birth of of Mohamed, 569. nurse provided for her, 570. banishes that slave and her son, 571. and becomes Jumbel Aga's enemy, ib.
Sultane, what it is, 713.
Sunderland, the Countess of, Evelyn's letter to concerning the Kalendarium Hortense, 427.
Sun-flower, eaten as a sallad, 757.
Supercilium in architecture, what it signifies, 392.
Surgeons of France, character of the, 89.
Surrey, various particulars relating to, 687—691.
Suyderhoef, Jonas, his engraved portraits, 298.
Swanevelt, Herman, engravings of, 295.
Swedes, their navigation and fleets, 652. tribute paid to the, by the Dutch, 686.
Swiss Guard of France described, 63.
Switzers, Christopher, his engravings on wood, 310.
Sylva, or a discourse of Forest trees, 1662, notice of, xiii. occasion of writing it, xiv. late edition of. xv.
Sylvestre, Israel, extent and character of his works, 306.
Symonds or Simon, Thomas, a medal engraver, 310.
Syracusans, their naval exploits, 643.
Systylos in architecture, what it signifies, 388.

T

Table-book,, curious allusion to a, 132. ancient Greek names of, 140. waxen ones and styles for, 262.
Table of oak at Wotton Park, immense size of one, 687.
Tables for inscriptions, rules and directions for, 421.
Tacitus, C. Cornelius, his expression for hieroglyphical monuments, 266. his testimony to the British naval dominion, 670.
——— Vopiscus, Emperor, his fondness for letluce, 743. his temperance in food, 797.
Taille-douce, French engraving so called, 262. when invented and used, 303.
Talismans, constellated figures engraved, 269.
Talon, the French name of the astragal, 378.
Tansy, qualities and manner of dressing of, 755. pudding, directions for making, 808.
Tarragon, excellent qualities of, 755.
Tart of herbs, directions for making, 809.
Tatian, his time of flourishing, 269. passage from proving the antiquity of recording by Sculpture, ib.
Taverns in London, intemperance and success of the, 157. organs taken from the churches set up in, 158. in Hyde Park, account of, 165, 166.
Tavernier, Bernier Jean Baptiste, his mention of cucumbers in the Levant, 740.
Taxes of France how collected, 65. sources of, ib. 66.
Taxis in architecture explained, 368.
Taylor, Jeremy, Bishop of Down and Connor, his mention of Evelyn's Lucretius, x.
Telamones, figures supporting an architrave, 391
Temples, ancient ornaments and figures of, 420.
Tempest, Peter, reference to his plates of the cries of London, 484 n.

Tempesta, Antonio, account of his principal etchings, 287.
Temporal Peers of France, their names and number, 59. duties of at a coronation, ib.
Tenia, its signification in architecture, 393.
Tertullian, J. Septimius Florens, his defence of the books of Seth and Enoch, 264.
Tessellated pavements and floors, varieties of, 423.
Testudo arch 386.
Tetrastylos, their signification in architecture, 388.
Tewrdannkks, notice of the Romance so called, 302 and note.
Thames river preferable to the Seine, 93. numerous smoky works on its banks, 207. 210. 212. 220. 223. infected with coal smoke, 230. works of London to be carried down the, 232. waters of sometimes brackish near Greenwich, 233. offensive trades should be removed from its banks, 237.
Thasii, decks to vessels invented by the, 637.
Theatres, ornaments and figures anciently used for, 421.
Themistocles, his triumph over the fleet of Xerxes, 642.
Theocritus, Greek phrase quoted from, 263.
Theophrastus, his definition of the plants called Olera, 733.
Thermæ, ornaments and figures anciently used for, 421.
Thistle, milky, manner of dressing as a sallad, 755.
Thistles, directions for dressing, 809.
Thomasinus, Philip, number and excellence of his engravings, 302.
Thomson, Dr. Thomas, his history of the Royal Society, 556 n.
Thucydides, allusion to his early admiration of Herodotus, 108. his account of the Greek naval engagements, 642.
Thulden, Theodore Vander, engravings by him, 298.
Tibullus, Aulus Albius, his mention of the earliest navigators, 639.
Tilius, John, his confession of the naval weakness of the French, 669 and note.
Timæus, his expressive name for air, 215
Timber of England, decay of, 102.
Tiphys, the rudder invented by, 637.
Titian Vecelli, his engravings and designs, 284.
Todesco, his singular surname, 275.
Toilet of the ancient ladies of England described, 706, 707, 708, 709. dictionary of the terms of the, 710—713.
Tomicæ, what explained, 258.
Tondino, the Italian name of the Astragal, 378.
Tone in shadow, what it is, 324.
Tongue, advice for the government of in a child, 115, 116, 117.
Tooke, Benjamin, the publisher of Evelyn's works, 97 n.
Toreumata, embossed metal cups, 260.
Toreutice, explanation of, 258.
Tortoise destroyed at Says Court in the winter of 1683, 696.
Torus, nature and derivation of the, 377.
Touch of youths and children to be guarded, 128.
Toulouse, Chambre Miparties established in, 72.
Tornelle, Court of La, its objects and officers, 17.
Trajan Port at Ostia, its excellence, 646.
Trajan's Column, its carved pedestals, 375. engraved plates of, 557.
Trallanus, Alexander, his account of talismans, 269.
Transplanting, directions for, 482, 486.
Travel, remarks on foreign, viii. use and end of, 43, 46. instances of useful, ib. 44. censure of careless, 44. various advices for, 45. inconveniences of, 48. scheme of European, 50.
Traytor's Perspective Glass, 1662, references to the, 177 n. 179 n.
Treasurer of the Navy, first mention of, 642.
Treasurers de l'Espargne of France, character of, 64. ditto of their office, 65.
——— of the Parties Casuelles, their duties, 65.
Treccia, of Milan, the first engraver on diamond, 290.
Trento, Antonio di, his engravings in chiaroscuro, 282.
Tribonius, his flattery of Justinian, 33.
Tribunals, what are meant by in architecture, 419.
Trick-Madame, its qualities and use, 755, 756.
Triglyphs, derivation, origin, and nature of, 395.
Trochile, derivation and nature of the word, 377.
Tropheis, signification of the word, 140.
Truffles, directions for dressing, 809.
Truncus, in architecture, its signification, 374, 375.
Tuberose, Indian, directions for planting, &c. 457, 477.
Tuilleries, Palace of the, its gardens and company preferable to those of Hyde Park, 166.
Tulips, method of taking up, 463, 466. directions for planting, 481, 484. formerly eaten in sallads, 757.
Turkish dominions, extreme barbarity and idolatry of the, 184, 185.
Turks, supposed cause of the war between them and the Venetians, 565. 576. real cause of ditto, 575. their imprisonment of the false Messiah, 598, 599, 600. reason of their toleration of the Jews who followed him, 602, 603. made acquainted with his imposture, 607. their conquests from Christendom and piracy, 653.
Turner, Mr. notice of, and his works, 433 n.
Turnips, various sorts, use and qualities of, 756. directions for dressing, 809.
Tuscan Order, base of the, how it it is formed, 376. impost in the, 385. intercolumniation of the, 388, 406. architrave in the, 392, 406. frieze in the, 394. regula and ovolo in the, 396. historical description and examples of

the, 405. parts and measurements of the, 406. ballusters of the, 422.
Tuscans, sculpture received and perfected by the, 270.
Tusser, Thomas, notice of his book of husbandry, 434.
Tympanum, its description and situation, 414. other parts so called, 415. how ornamented, 416.
Tyrannus, or the Mode, 1661, notice of the tract, xiii.

V.

Vandyke, Sir Anthony, portraits engraved after, 297. his own etchings, ib.
Vanier, Jacques, his verses on the smoke of England, 234 n.
Vankessell, Theodore, portraits engraved by, 299.
Varenius, Bernard, his mention of the encouragement of artists in Japan, 317.
Varro, Marcus Terentius, references to concerning engraving, 259, 260. his mention of ancient materials for writing on, 267. his mention of Mentor, the sculptor's works, 272. his mention of drawing, 326.
Vasari, Giorgio, his account of the invention of engraving, 277. his heads of the painters, 285.
Vassallacci, Antonio, studied drawing from prints, 319.
Vatablius, Franciscus, his translation of a passage in Kings, 260.
Vaults or arches, various kinds of, 386.
Vauxhall, anciently infested by smoke, 223.
Vayer, François de la Mothe le, character of his writings, viii. his dialogue on retirement, xix. notice of him and his works, 3 n. his dedication to Cardinal Mazarine, 4.
Vegetable diet, its excellence considered, 775, 776—799.
Vegetables, proper to be planted near London, 241. their use as an aliment considered 777, 778. cause of their corruption in the neighbourhood of cities, 778. grounds fittest for the growth of, 779. nutritious qualities of, impaired, 788, 789. variety of the diet, and its subsequent excess, 794. names of noble families derived from, 795 and note.
Vegetius, squadrons of Augustus mentioned by, 645.
Velde, John Van de, his engraved landscapes, 295.
Venice, supposed cause of the war between it and Turkey, 565. 576. real origin of ditto, 575.
Venetians, Barbary gallies destroyed by the, 576. their success in navigation, 631. rise and progress of their extensive commerce, 648. 652. their claim to the Adriatic, 673.
Veneur, Grand, of France, 62.
Verden, his perspective views, 299.
Vermin, paste for destroying, 446. directions for removing in gardens, 448. 455. 466. 468. 470.
Veronese, Paolo, copied the prints of A. Durer, 319. singular error in one of his pictures, 560.
Vertue, George, his notice of Mabugius' picture of Adam and Eve, 560 n.
Vesputius, Americus, his claim to the discovery of America, 655.
Vestigii Descriptio, what it is, 371.
Vestigium Operis, what it is, 371.
Vessels, structure of the earliest, 636. by whom improved, 637.
Vice, an enemy to liberty, 15. intrudes itself into solitude, 521. 525. 527.
Vico, Æneas, his medals and engravings, 283.
Victories unwelcome to the French, 92.
Views near London, &c. recommended to be engraven, 311.
Vignola, Giacomo Barozzio de, his book of architecture, 284.
Villalpando, John Baptist, his notice of a capital in the Temple of Solomon, 381. 395.
Villamena, Francisco, excellent engravings by, 286. his engravings of Trajan's column, 557.
Villeloin, Mons. de Marolles, Abbé de, his *Theatre of the Muses*, 299. extract from his Memoirs, 327. his wonderful collection of prints, 328.
Vincentino, Baptista, engravings by, 283.
——— Valeria, his works as a medallist, 289.
Vine, parts of the, used in sallad, 756.
Vinegar, directions for making, 811.
Vines, various directions concerning, 447. 463. 467, 468. 471. 487. list of the best kinds of, 496.
Vineyards in England, decay of, 102. common in the time of Evelyn, 468 n.
——— in France, damaged by smoke from England, 234.
Viper-Grass, medicinal qualities of and manner of dressing it, 756.
Virgilius Maro, Publius, various extracts from and references to, 1. 219. 222. 231. 240. 259. 425. 431 and note. 435. 515 n. 772.
Virgin-love, a preservative to chastity, 134, 135.
Virtues and vices, various supposed seats of, 129.
Vischer, Cornelius, engravings by, 299.
Visits in England, tedious formality of, 167.
Vitellius Aulus, Emperor of Rome, luxury of his table, 439.
Vitruvius Pollio, M. his rule concerning air and water by buildings, 218. ancient artists celebrated by, 318. editions of mentioned, 353. Lexicons to, 354. qualities required by him in an architect, 356, 357. 391. his wish concerning the estimates of architects, 358. encouragement shewn to him, 360. his definition of architecture, 364. his connection between military and civil architecture, 365. propriety of columns practised by, 372. recommends that architects should understand drawing, ib. his name for imposts, 385. his ideas of the dispositions of columns, 390. his distinction of a monoptere, 391. his derivation of architectural proportion, 403.

Ulpian, Domitius, his mention of the commercial privileges of the Latins, 633 n.
Ulysses, King of Ithaca, character of his travels, 47. notice of his embossed shield, 260.
Understanding, nature of the liberty of the, 11. supposed seat of, 129.
Voice, effect of the air of London on the, 226.
Voluta, its derivation, meaning, and varieties, 381. farther notices of, 383. 408.
Vopiscus, Flavius, his mention of ancient materials for writing on, 297.
Vorst, Van, excellent engravings by, 297.
Vossius, Gerard, his account of the title of Admirals, 662 n.
———, Isaac, his censure of Peter Calaber, 267.
Vosterman, Lucas, his effective way of engraving Vandyke's Heads, 297.
Vouillemont, Sebastian, Etching by, 299.
Voyages by sea, notice of the most ancient, 639.
Uries, or Frisius, John Fredeman de, his perspective views, 299.

W.

Waldegrave, the Earl of, curious painting in his possession, 432 n.
Waller, Sir William, biographical notice of, 177 n.
———, Mr. his extraordinary abilities, 714 n.
Walnuts, catalogues of the best kinds of, 496. directions for pickling, 806, 807.
War, Council of in France, place of meeting, 76.
Warden Pears formerly sold baked in London streets, 484 n.
Warwick, Robert Rich. Earl of, his death, 177 n.
Wase, Christopher, his Latin Epitaph on Richard Evelyn, jun. 112 n.
Water, eulogium on the excellence and beauty of, 630.
Watering, of gardens and various directions for, 451. of trees, directions for, 464. 474. 485.
Water-pipes, directions for preserving, 488.
Waters in Wotton, various notices of the, 689, 690.
Water-spouts of London, inconvenience of the, 210.
Water-works of London, unwholesome smoke arising from their engines, 212.
Watson, Dr. Richard, his testimony of the shelter afforded to the sequestrated English clergy by Sir Richard Browne, 506 n.
Western winds of London, 232.
Westminster, much molested by smoke, 223. Henry VII. chapel at censured, 366.
Whistler, Dr. instance cited by, of the unwholesome nature of London air, 224.
White, Thomas, reference to his Extasis, 499.
Whitehall, Court of invaded by smoke, 207. 223.
Whitelock, Bulstrode, reference to his Memorials concerning the Earl of Strafford, 175 n. do. on Col. Rainsborough, 179 n.
Widows in France, casual offices hereditary to, 65.
Wilderness, no preservation to Israel from sin 532.
Will, liberty of the considered, 11. continual renunciation of it in a Court, 31.
Windows, various general directions for, 417.
Winegard, his engraved vestiges of Rome, 299.
Winter of 1683-84, effects of its severity, 692—696.
Wire, mills for drawing of brass, first building of, 689.
Wisby, ancient port and commercial laws of, 649.
Wisdom, produced by society and conversation, 537.
Wisdom of Solomon, origin of idolatry mentioned in the, 266.
Wise, Henry, a gardener at Brompton Park, recommended, 497. notice of him and his gardens, 714, 715 and notes, 716, 717.
Wisemen, of the ancient philosophers difficult to discover, 22. some similar to them in modern times, 22, 23.
Wolson, Chevalier, his invention of heraldic colour lines, 323.
Women, in France, sudden and early decay of, 90. how to speak of to youth, 128. danger of their acquaintance with do. 133. drawing of importance to, 326. prone to bad passions, 520. Plautus' satire on, 703. descriptive poem on the dress of, 703—709.
Wood, means for the better supply of London with, 231. ancient names for carving and carvers in, 258. used anciently for writing on, 267. 273. 275. nature of engraving on, 287. inlaying of for floors, 423. growing in the parish of Wotton in Surrey, 687, 688. 690. damaged at Says Court, &c. in 1683, 692. recovery of after a thaw, 693.
Wood Sorrel, notice of, 756.
Wool, excellence of the English, 662.
Workmen of England, conceited and idle dispositions of, 360, 361.
World, enslaving nature of the, 16. excellence of all its features, 629.
Wormius, Olaus, his notice of Danish hieroglyphics, 273.
Worms, vide Vermin.
Wormwood, used for sallad, 758.
Wotton, Sir Henry, his observations on statues, 270. his censure of Albert Durer, 277. his remark on the English language, 353. his idea of the model in architecture, 368. 373. his remark on pilasters, 383.
Wotton, Surrey, Evelyn's Eulogy on, xxii. library at, volumes there relating to the Jesuits, 500 n. wood surrounding the estate of, 687. various notices of the parish of, 688—690.
Wreathed columns, historical notice of, 412.
Wren, Sir Christopher, his house on the Bankside, 223 n. his skill in engraving, 327. dedication addressed to, 351. his works compared with gothic architecture, 366. eulogy on, 562.

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